BYZANTINE NARRATIVE

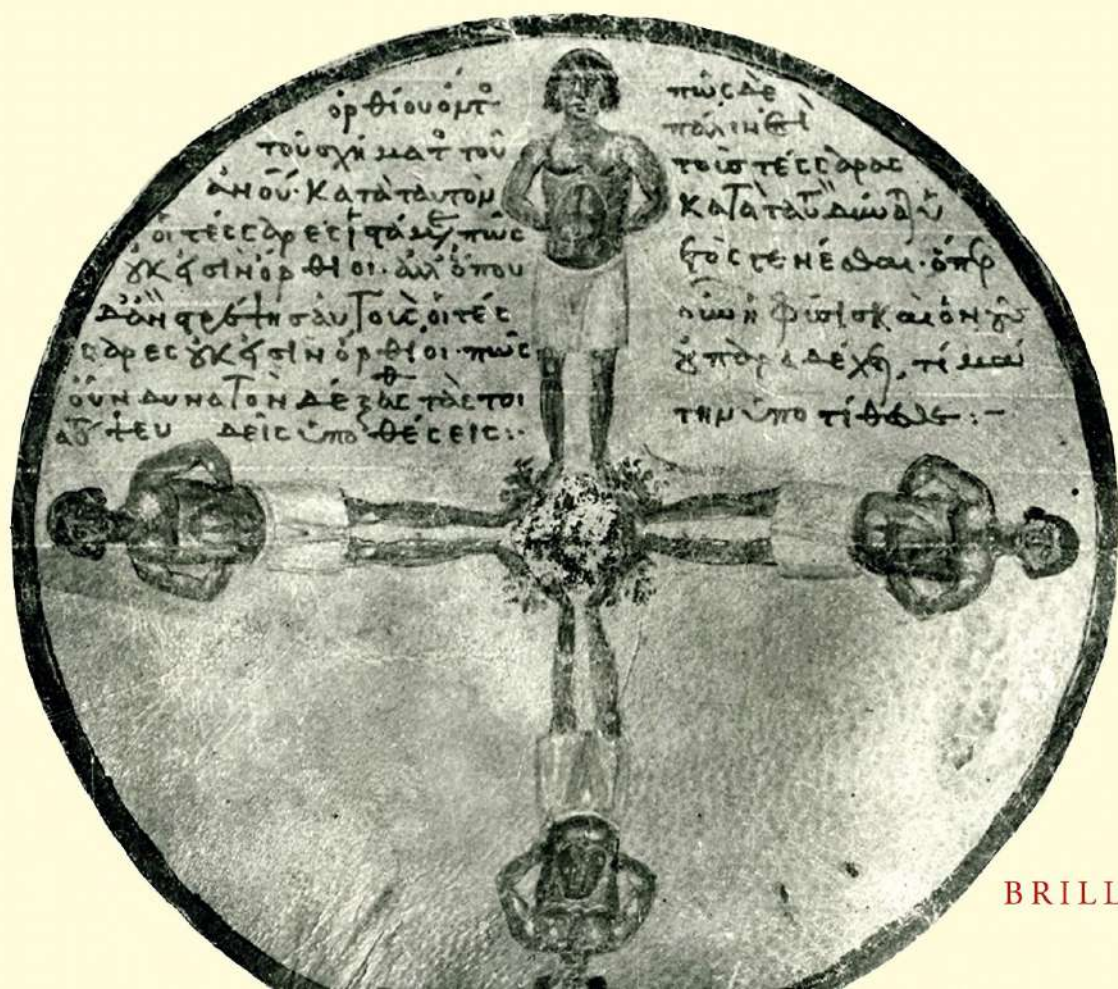## PAPERS IN HONOUR OF ROGER SCOTT

Edited by

John Burke

with

**Ursula Betka, Penelope Buckley, Kathleen Hay,
Roger Scott & Andrew Stephenson**

Byzantine Narrative

Byzantina Australiensia

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BRILL

Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀντιπόδων ἐπεξεργαστικώτερον θελήσειέ τις ζητῆσαι, ῥᾳδίως τοὺς γραώδεις μύθους αὐτῶν ἀνακαλύψει.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, I,20.

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Introduction

Billed 'in Honour of Roger Scott', and marking his formal retirement from teaching, the XIVth was the largest ever conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies. From this celebration in Melbourne on 13–15 August 2004 derive many of the forty-one papers presented here, including the honorand's keynote address. Other papers were volunteered by scholars from various countries who, learning of the forthcoming publication, asked to be included in what — despite Roger's protests — had effectively become the *Festschrift* proposed, independently, by Penelope Buckley and others.

'Narrative' has in recent years become a key to understanding societies and their cultures, following several major theoretical studies in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Yet this is the first collective examination of narrative in Byzantine culture. Fittingly, the agenda is inclusive. The opening paper, by Margaret Mullett, significantly shows how narrative links the transformation of several *genres* (including historiography and hagiography) through the development of the novel and fiction. Two other papers extend the investigation into debate literature (Nicholas) and music (E. Kelly), the latter revealing how women's narrative could subvert the prevailing gender ideology.

The writing of History accounts for a major part of Byzantine literature, and it is appropriate that a number of our papers examine historical narratives as works of literature rather than as sources for 'facts' and, as a corollary to this, how the 'facts' of history need modulation once the literary context is recognized. Nilsson and Croke reveal how Byzantine historians and their most famous reader, Photius, conceived of the relationship between the events of the past and their telling. Further development of this theme includes a study of how metaphor (in particular of 'sea' and 'chariot') is used in Psellos' *Chronographia* to narrate the complexity of individuals so that author and audience play a more central role in the narrative (McCartney); Gillett's analysis of how Jordanes draws on classical imagery in his ethnography with a political purpose; a new reading of the only ancient or medieval history written by a woman (Buckley on Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*), showing how Alexios is increased across the narrative from being a great warrior to being the merciful proxy for Christ in line with changing Byzantine concepts of the ideal ruler; the tracing of how chronicles changed the image of Justinian from conqueror to peaceful theologian and builder of churches and in doing so provided a basis for the Byzantine romance of Belisarios (Scott); two papers (Sklavos, Strugnell) showing how the fabric of Skylitzes' 'factual' narrative is suffused with implicit political, social and moral values; and one that shows how economic information in Zozimos and Prokopios is equally value-laden (Ziche). Sakel's exploration of the continuation of the chronicle *genre* holds implications for our understanding of the production process of earlier examples. We are particularly proud of being able to include two papers by Chinese scholars (Xu Jialing, Chen Zhi-Qiang) which examine parallels between Byzantine and Chinese historiography. Finally, observations on the only illustrated manuscript of a Byzantine chronicle paradoxically

underscore the prose's aurality and provoke reflection on how historical narrative texts were experienced in Byzantium (Burke).

The Art papers highlight Melbourne's own twelfth-century Gospel Book (used as the sole illustration of Canon Tables in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*) with contrasting but complementary interpretations by Manion and Ševčenko of the illustrations to this famous manuscript. These help bring out the interplay between narrative and illustration, as too do the remaining art contributions. Thus Harley explores how Passion sequences are used as early as the fifth century to articulate specific theological points in contrast to the usual categorization of early Christian art as principally symbolic and conservative, and so indicate the early formulation of a narrative tradition in Christian art. Likewise, Martin argues that the story of Salvation in a scarcely-known tomb chapel of the Bagawat Necropolis in the remote Kharga Oasis in Egypt is narrated in ways similar to that of contemporary Rome and elsewhere, revealing a previously unknown link. Nira Stone analyses techniques used in narrative illustrations in some of the first surviving illuminated Armenian manuscripts, on the periphery of Byzantium. Barclay Lloyd looks at how written narrative was transformed into visual imagery for depicting the Genesis story of the Creation in three cycles of 'Byzantine' mosaics in Italy, showing that the textual and the visual origins of the depictions need to be considered to understand their significance. Similarly, Mihajlovski uses iconography as well as the historical context to examine the significance of three previously unpublished lead seals. Another group of papers investigates the narrative of built spaces and the built environment, extending the range and complexity of what is involved in narrativity (Gregory, Lewit, Nathan, Westbook).

Betka identifies Byzantine elements in the earliest icons of St Francis of Assisi and associated practices, implicitly calling into question the conceptual division between 'East' and 'West', as also do papers on the narrativity of mosaics in Aquileia (Del Frate) and the column of Arcadius (J. Kelly), Priestley's story of the Varangians, Hill's examination of the interplay between Byzantine and Syriac versions of another form of narrative literature (the Gospel harmony), and the narrative poem *Conquest of Constantinople* (Panayotopoulou-Doulavera). The political strains between East and West are evident, however, in the narrative accounts of the trial and death of Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor, as brought out by Neil, and in Gillett's analysis of Jordanes' *Getica*.

Several papers contribute to our understanding of specifically Christian literature, especially hagiography and hymnography. Osborn considers narrative and rhetoric in early Christian thought with particular reference to Clement of Alexandria who did more than anyone else to bring Athens and Jerusalem together within Christian thought, a fusion which is central to the development of Byzantine and European civilization. Djurić explains how Plato and the Sibyl get into Christian iconography, while Wortley outlines how the Christian veneration of the remains of Constantine and Helena developed over time and what purposes it served (concluding that Constantine's bones may actually be in Venice). A particular group of papers examine the continuing Byzantine interest in eschatology and newly interpret the significance of narratives based on a fear of the end of the world: Leadbetter argues that the emergence of a Last Roman

Emperor became a logical answer to the conundrum of Christian Empire; Champion shows how this provides a context which will make sense of what had been seen as an oddity of Byzantine literature, Kosmas Indikopleustes' *Christian Topography*; Varghese shows how Romanos includes a narration of contemporary events in hymns to associate the emperor with Antichrist; Timotin challenges earlier millennial interpretations of Byzantine visionary accounts of 'the other world', arguing that several hagiographers were more concerned with other contemporary issues than with eschatology. This group of papers make a significant contribution to one of the more fascinating issues in Byzantine literature and further demonstrate the fecundity of 'narrative' as an analytical concept.

Twenty of the contributors have a current or recent affiliation with the University of Melbourne, where Roger almost single-handedly maintained the Byzantine Studies programme over many years; most of them were his students. Ten other Australian institutions are represented, testifying to Roger's active involvement in the national association since its foundation. Thirteen papers from nearly as many countries are eloquent witness to his international standing.

The contributors range from distinguished senior professors and retired scholars to recent graduates. The editors are happy that the papers reflect this spectrum of scholarly experience as a mirror to Roger's dedication to both research and teaching. Nevertheless, all papers were subjected to the same process of anonymous peer review. The editors regret only that they cannot publicly thank each and every referee by name for their generosity and very positive contributions to the quality of the volume. They may be assured that the authors of the papers are equally appreciative of their learned and disinterested input.

The theme of the volume mirrors Roger's abiding interest in historiography, in analysing how the story of the past is presented, and in political intrigue. It is thus entirely appropriate to reproduce here his own story of how the conference 'in Honour of Roger Scott' came about. His narrative reveals so many of his familiar characteristics:

> Let me say straightaway how honoured and touched I am to have this conference in my honour and let me also thank immediately all those who have helped organise it and in particular Kate Hay and Andrew Stephenson. As it is rather odd to have a conference in my honour since I am by no means the most distinguished Australian Byzantinist, I would like to explain how this conference came about.
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> It began with Eric Osborn asking me to help him in, I think, September of 2002 to organise a small conference on second-century Christianity to be held in April of 2003, second-century Christianity being Eric's specialty. This was proceeding slowly until Eric phoned me in December 2002 and began 'Now Roger, about that conference in your honour'. When I asked him to explain what on earth he was talking about he said, 'That conference we've been organising'. It transpired that Jaynie Anderson, as Head of the School then known as Fine Arts,

Classical Studies and Archaeology, had told Eric to organise such a conference to mark my retirement. So after thanking Eric I did put it to him that I would prefer any conference to be after my retirement rather than before it and perhaps it could deal with something other than second-century Christianity, to which Eric happily concurred. A little later, in July 2003, at our Adelaide meeting of AABS, when we were discussing where and when to hold our next conference, I mentioned that my Department was planning a conference to mark my retirement and that if we usurped it we would also be able to appropriate whatever money had been allocated to it. As AABS does not have any money for its conferences, which are meant to be self-supporting, this seemed a good idea. So I reported this back to Eric, who was relieved at not having to organise yet another conference, and then to Jaynie Anderson as head of School and I also politely asked Jaynie what sort of budget she had in mind for us. Jaynie looked decidedly puzzled at this before stating firmly that, although a conference to mark my retirement seemed quite a nice idea, the School certainly did not have any funds for that sort of thing. By this stage of course AABS had already settled on holding a conference in Melbourne in 2004. Thus it transpired that Roger Scott appeared to have fabricated a way of having a conference in honour of Roger Scott and that I was on a massive ego trip.

So stating that the conference was in my honour was simply to try to get some funding for our conference, admittedly without success. But I hope it is clear why I would prefer this to be regarded as simply a perfectly normal AABS conference and nothing else. Otherwise, to be fair, it will be necessary to have all our conferences for the foreseeable future honouring those of our members who have had far more distinguished careers than I have. It would be invidious to work through a full list but some names do spring to mind: Pauline Allen, Brian Croke, Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys and our current president John Melville-Jones, and there are others who are far too young to qualify despite their distinguished achievements. I would, however, stress that AABS' main debt will always be to Ann Moffatt.

It was Ann Moffatt who almost single-handedly was responsible for the creation of AABS;[1] for much of the 1960s and 1970s she was the only Australian Byzantinist known outside Australia because of her papers at conferences on Byzantine education and teachers; so it was her international reputation and her invitations that led to Ihor Ševčenko and Robert Browning visiting us in 1978 and 1979 respectively and then recommending

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With sterling assistance from Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys, who both continued to play a vital role in AABS throughout their time in Sydney. Appropriately our next AABS conference in Sydney will be held in their honour.

to L'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines in Vienna in 1981 that we be accepted into that body. She was our first president (1978–86), our second treasurer (1986–96) and has been responsible for hosting far more conferences of AABS than anyone else, including the crucial first one in Canberra. She has also played a major role in the production of every single volume of *Byzantina Australiensia* so far. If there is a scholar who should be honoured by AABS it is Ann Moffatt.

The editors too thank Ann Moffatt, for seeing the volume through the press as well as for her Foreword. In addition, they thank the President and Committee of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies for their collaboration and assistance throughout what has been a lengthy process, and for accepting the volume in the series *Byzantina Australiensia*. A not inconsiderable portion of the research underlying a number of papers has been funded by the Australian Research Council, and publication costs have been generously subsidized by the University of Melbourne.

The massive task of seeing forty one papers through peer review, revision, editing and proof reading was accomplished by the six members of the editorial team in their 'copious spare time'. Some 3380 messages in my email folder indicate the size of the workload, but it is important to stress that the work was shared: each member of the team shepherded roughly the same number of papers throughout the entire undertaking and also acted as 'sheepdog' for a second batch of papers. As co-ordinator I could only admire their equal and exemplary dedication; working with such richly talented colleagues was deeply rewarding, and I hope they gained as much from the experience as I did. Yet I am sure I speak for the others in singling out Andrew Stephenson, who acted as bibliographer for the project, attempted bravely and diplomatically to ensure a measure of consistency in citations and other aspects of style, and was responsible for the list of bibliographical abbreviations.

We offer this volume to Roger Scott on our own behalf and in the name of the authors represented in it and of all his students and colleagues, in appreciation of his teaching, his scholarship and his friendship over half a century. Ad multos annos!

John Burke
for the Byzantine Narrative Editorial Committee

Roger Scott

Born in Sri Lanka in 1938 to an English father and an Australian mother, Roger Scott with his parents settled shortly after World War II in Melbourne. At Melbourne Grammar School and then at the University of Melbourne Roger proved equally passionate and successful as a student of Greek and Latin and as a hockey-player. In his subsequent career as a classical scholar and teacher he has excelled again both as an inspiring Byzantinist himself and in his teamwork with colleagues and students. His achievements were recognized in his election in 2000 as a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities.

As an undergraduate Roger was a key member of the Classics Club, ensuring that the requisite number of flagons of red wine were purchased from King & Godfrey's in Carlton for weekends of play-readings in the various holiday houses to which this happy group decamped. Special allowance was always made for the visit by the Classics staff and their wives for Sunday lunch, with an extra flagon for good measure, ostensibly for Professor Hunt. In the Club's annual staging of a Greek tragedy Roger was a likely candidate for Chorus leader or king. At this time he also became the proud owner of a matchbox-like two-seater Austin 7, 1934 vintage, requiring some push-starting, or outright pushing. Roger later calculated that '*√Weg', named from the Indo-European root for 'vehicle' or 'waggon', could be shipped within his luggage allowance to Cambridge.

Coming out of the established literary mould of Melbourne Classics of the 1950s, Roger gained a first class Honours degree and a prestigious Shell Scholarship for study at Cambridge plus the R.C. Jebb Scholarship in Classics for the British Commonwealth. But he did not remain wedded to literary studies. Encouraged at an early stage by Dick Johnson, subsequently Professor of Classics at the ANU, who saw the potential in Byzantine studies, and later influenced by ancient historians at the University of Sydney, Roger moved into the field of ancient history, and especially late antiquity and then Byzantium. This was a field which had been neglected largely because of a general antipathy towards academic study of the Christian era of the Roman Empire, all the more pronounced in the then fiercely secular atmosphere of Australian universities.

Conversion to late antiquity and Byzantium was not immediate, and in Australian universities such a specialization can scarcely be achieved. In his first posts at the University of Sydney (1964–5), where he met his wife Sandra, Roger taught ancient history and published also on classical literature. Back at the University of Melbourne from 1966 he continued to teach Greek and Latin, language and literature, ancient history and courses on Classical civilisation. However, by the late 1960s courses based on texts in translation revealed the potential for studies in classical and late antiquity to a growing number of students. With the active support of his Head of Department, Professor Graeme Clarke, there were more opportunities for Roger to focus within Classics on undergraduate courses in Byzantine history and to work with research students. Roger was later instrumental in having a post in Medieval Studies re-established in 1987 after a hiatus of some twenty years. This position enabled the creation of

a programme in Medieval Studies by drawing also on the various existing strengths across the Faculty.

Roger's students benefited from these developments and have acknowledged that the interest in Byzantine studies that he fostered in them was to enrich their lives thereafter. They have particularly appreciated finding themselves drawn into a scholar's enthusiasm for his subject and the excitement of the process of rigorous research. Foremost, however, in their memories are his generosity with his time, his great concern for and faith in his students, and his apparent readiness, too, to learn, from them. His lectures are remembered as quietly spoken but vibrant, sprinkled with humour, and always graciously acknowledging the contributions of others. In particular Roger has recognized Cynthia Stallman, one of his most devoted students and later brilliant colleague who died tragically young and who, on her return from Oxford and Harvard, had helped him prepare the original version of his Byzantine courses.

Having determined to focus his research on the Greek-speaking half of the Roman Empire, Roger spent part of his first sabbatical in 1972 with his wife and infant son in Thessalonica. There he won the respect of local scholars for whom these late Roman and early Byzantine Greek sources were integral to their national history and identity. The wheel came full circle in 1995 when Roger co-convened a conference in Melbourne on Byzantine Macedonia attended by about fifty scholars from Europe and North America, the majority from Greece. At the time sensitivities about the Macedonian identity were sharpened in the Antipodes following the break-up of the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. The few potentially disruptive interjections at the Macedonia conference evaporated thanks to the convener's prior careful organization and on-the-spot diplomacy. Two volumes of papers which Roger co-edited with John Burke testify to the scholarly achievements of the proceedings.

Roger has made his name as a scholar and teacher who is scrupulously accurate and balanced in his handling of the ancient sources. He has a profound knowledge of them and of related modern scholarship. The 'Australian Malalas', as the two volumes of translation and studies of this sixth-century historian are referred to, was produced on the initiative of, and primarily by Roger and Elizabeth Jeffreys; they coincidentally started on the project separately and then together created a team of nine academics from Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra who met regularly with Australian Research Council funding to work on the text. The volumes are still constantly cited by scholars of every nationality working on this period, grateful to have a modern-language translation of the medieval text and related testimonia and commentary. At the same time this local collaboration proved to be a source of great encouragement to academics working previously in relative isolation around Australia.

Roger's reputation as a scholar of standing to match that of his British contemporaries was firmly established when he and Margaret Mullett of Queen's University, Belfast, published the volume *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*: this arose from a conference initiated by the Centre for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham to celebrate the 75th anniversary in 1979 of the Classical Association of Great Britain by bringing together both Classicists and Byzantinists. Roger was the member of the team who had

particular expertise in both areas. Since then he has often participated alongside his colleagues in Britain in their conferences and as speaker in their lecture series and several times he has been welcomed as a Research Associate at the University of Birmingham and King's College London. In 1983 he was awarded a Fellowship at Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington DC and his study of Justinianic propaganda in Malalas and Prokopios was subsequently published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. In 1993 he gave the Josef Martin memorial lecture at the Institut für klassische Philologie, Würzburg University. In 2000 he was appointed Visiting Professor at the newly established Centre for Byzantine Studies at Queen's University, Belfast, a position he held again in 2003. Through January 2003 he was Visiting Professor at the École des Hautes Études in Paris, presenting a weekly seminar on Byzantine chronicles to postgraduate students of the Centre d'Études Byzantines, Néo-Helleniques et Sud-Est Européennes. The next year he was off again to present an invited paper on the *Chronicle* of Theophanes at the international colloquium on Byzantine literature held in Nicosia.

While still teaching Greek and Latin in Classics and repeatedly serving as Head and Deputy Head of Department and as Associate Dean (Budgets) of the Arts Faculty, Roger undertook with Professor Cyril Mango of Oxford the first modern translation of the ninth-century Greek chronicle of Theophanes. The period from AD 284 to 602 fell to Roger, while Cyril Mango handled the latter part to AD 813. As most of the contemporary histories for this period bridging antiquity and the Byzantine Middle Ages are lost, there are complex problems in interpreting Theophanes. The 850-page volume boasts a monograph length introduction, textual notes and a concisely written commentary addressing the interpretation of almost every sentence of the text and assessing related sources. Byzantinists will be very familiar with this volume which Clarendon Press had to reprint within a year of its publication in 1997 and again the next year.

Roger's inclusive approach and team-player instincts made him among the first in Australian Faculties of Arts to seize the opportunity for Australian Research Council funded team projects in the humanities. Malalas has been followed by another, studying with John Burke the uniquely illustrated twelfth-century Madrid manuscript of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historiarum* under Margaret Mullett (Belfast). In addition to making the text available for the first time in English, the project has generated a series of studies and invaluable resources for art historians. Roger's most recent grant, in partnership with Paul Tuffin (Adelaide), is for an English version of the chronicle of George Kedrenos, a project that has since expanded to include cooperation with an Italian team who are preparing the CFHB edition of the text and a parallel Italian translation. Through this series of initiatives Roger has made primary historical sources, and particularly the study of Byzantine historiography, accessible to a wide range of students and scholars and promoted Byzantine Studies on several fronts. He has also published, in 2004, an initial translation of the early Byzantine treatise by Alexander the Monk on the discovery of the True Cross which is to accompany a new edition of the Greek text being prepared by John Nesbitt (Dumbarton Oaks).

It is fitting that the present volume arising from the Melbourne conference of 2004 should honour Roger on his retirement from teaching. He saw Melbourne

Classics through some difficult years when his and other universities restructured their Faculties, some with near disastrous results for Classics. For all his modesty and rather diffident manner Roger showed a toughness and resilience then so that he leaves Melbourne Classics now intact as a discipline and on a better footing, though currently without a Byzantinist. He has been President of the Classical Association of Victoria since 2000, having previously served as its treasurer and secretary for various periods since 1967. Until August 2005 he continued his role as a committee member of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies which he helped found in 1978 as its first Treasurer (1978–87) and of which he was later President (1987–92) and several times conference convener. He is a key figure at these conferences. Everyone comes to hear Roger's papers knowing that they will be lucid and that they will offer some advance in the discipline. Starting with the first, he has also edited and/or contributed to six of the fifteen volumes to date of *Byzantina Australiensia*, helping, in this way too, to put Australian Byzantine studies on the map.

It is with real affection that past and present students and colleagues now wish Roger well, knowing that he will continue to make a very important contribution to the discipline here and internationally as the invitations he is receiving for further collaboration testify.

Ann Moffatt
The Australian National University
Canberra

Illustrations

Margaret Mullett

Novelisation in Byzantium:
Narrative after the Revival of Fiction

This paper was written to inaugurate the conference on Byzantine narrative, which is both in the series of Australian Association of Byzantine Studies conferences and in honour of Roger Scott. As my earliest collaborator he instilled in me a confidence in and taste for collaborative endeavours which has stayed with me ever since. Everyone who has ever worked with him will know why. In this paper I want to return to that early collaboration and take up some of the points made by Roger in his article on 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography'[1] which — in a field dominated by Australian scholars — remains the best single study of the writing of history in Byzantium.

Now, I am not a historiographer, and have only recently begun to work in narrative: my work, as foreshadowed in that volume, has been in the interactive genres, in rhetoric and in particular in letter-writing. But I do work in the twelfth century, and it occurs to me that I may be able to offer some slight clarification of some of the questions Roger Scott posed in that article, what he saw as the puzzling, and non-classical, statements of John Tzetzes and Anna Komnene with regard to history and truth. You will remember that Tzetzes's poem on Thucydides as translated by W.B. Stanford[2] ends:

> Now hear the best method of writing a history:
> Be grave and be clear, be persuasive and bland,
> Be fierce when it's needed, and sometimes expand.

and Roger seized on the word 'persuasive' as needing explanation. Anna,[3] on the other hand, complains that she had no written material about her father to work on:

> except worthless and altogether trifling compositions, simple in diction and artless and adhering to truth, not displaying any affectation or trailing along in rhetorical bombast (Roger's translation).[4]

Truth here seems an undesirable feature in a history. Roger's great expertise (after his magnificent *Theophanes*) is in the sixth century, a period which shares one characteristic with the century of Anna and Tzetzes: its innovation and fluidity, its mixing of genres. 'Important realignments', I have said, 'find an

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1. R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 61–74.
2. W.B. Stanford, 'Tzetzes' Farewell to Thucydides' *Greece and Rome* 11 (1941–2) 40–1.
3. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* ed. B. Leib (3 vols Paris 1937–45); ed. D. Reinsch & A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*. CFHB 40 (2 vols Berlin 2001); tr. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (London 1969).
4. *Alexiad* 14.7.7 (Leib 3:175–6).

expression in literature, tensions are resolved with the new alliances of the late sixth century'.[5] The greatest works of the period are hybrids, which may be seen either as brilliantly original attempts to break the law of genre or as symptoms of an educational decline that will lead within a century into the Byzantine Dark Age.[6] The twelfth century, for a long time disparaged as 'an age of uncreative erudition, of sterile good taste'[7] has now come to be seen as even more creative than the sixth century, even more daring in its hybrids, its generic experimentation, and its rich vein of satire and parody, which again preceded a rupture of the educational system with the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, an event we have all been recently re-evaluating.[8]

My title suggests a general treatment of a broad sweep of narrative. In fact I shall concentrate on three texts: one a history, the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene, one a saint's life, the *Life* of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas Kataskepenos,[9] and the third is the closest we come to an epistolary fiction in the twelfth century, the *Diegesis Merike.*[10] The second thing in my title which needs explanation is 'the revival of fiction', which has been a commonplace of the way we think about the twelfth century since Roderick Beaton first wrote *The Medieval Greek Romance.*[11] Byzantine literature for much of its existence had comprised largely factual works, whether narrative, parainetic or psychophelitic. As drama dropped out of the theatre and into the schoolroom, as epic heroes ceased to be the sons of goddesses and became emperors, the gap was filled with hagiography, sermons and hymns. What the rhetoric of the second sophistic called *plasma,*[12] fiction, which we might call possible worlds,[13] was apparently increasingly unused, so that the encyclopaedic literature of the period after iconoclasm appears to be *plasma*-free. This does not mean that fiction was not read: every educated Byzantine had started his grammar on Homer, and the Hellenistic novels were

5.   M. Mullett. 'The Madness of Genre' *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* ed. A. Cutler & S. Franklin, *DOP* 46 (1992) 237.

6.   C. Rapp. 'Literary Culture under Justinian' *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* ed. M. Maas (Cambridge 2005) 376–97.

7.   R. Browning. 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' *Past & Present* 69 (1975) 5.

8.   See for example, M. Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1204: Byzantium, the Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Boston 2003); J. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London 2004).

9.   Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου τοῦ Φιλεώτου συγγραφεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ὁσίου Νικολάου τοῦ Κατασκεπηνοῦ ed. and tr. E. Sargologos, *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (†1110).* SubsHag 39 (Brussels 1964).

10. *Diegesis merike* ed. P. Meyer. *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte des Athosklöster* (Leipzig 1894, rp. Amsterdam 1965) 163–84; P. Uspenskij, *Istorija Afona* vol. 2.1 (Kiev 1877) 35–78.

11. R. Beaton. *The Medieval Greek Romance* (Cambridge 1989, rev. ed. London 1996).

12. G.W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley 1994).

13. R. Ronen, *Possible Worlds in Literary Theory.* Literature, Culture, Theory 7 (Cambridge 1994).

read right through this period.[14] What we find however being written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is rather different. As Michael Psellos evaluated the different merits of Heliodoros and Achilles Tatios,[15] and transformed every genre he turned his hand to, eastern adventures like Syntipas were translated into Greek,[16] versions of the exploits of border heroes from the great days of the Arab-Byzantine wars were brought by exiles to Constantinople in the form of heroic verse,[17] and in after-dinner advice-literature by a retired general, serious dialogues were given fictional frames.[18] And Anna's father, Alexios I Komnenos, seems to have commissioned the translation from the Arabic by Symeon Seth of a group of animal fables called *Stephanites kai Ichnelates*.[19]

Four novels of the twelfth century, based on the ancient novels which had been read so avidly in Byzantium, set the seal on this revival. *Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites tells of a pair of lovers separated by events and reunited at the end, a story closely related to Achilles Tatios but in prose and in the first person, and with a highly original focus on two fourteen-day periods and much interplay between levels of discourse, including dream.[20]

14. R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium' *Viator* 8 (1975) 15–33, rp. *Studies on Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London 1977) XVII; on reading of the novels see ch. 3 of S. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides: The Greek Novel from Antiquity to the Empire* (London 1996) 84–114.

15. A. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Vienna 1986).

16. G. Kehayioglou, 'Translations of Eastern Novels and their Influence on Late Byzantine and Modern Greek Fiction (11th–18th Centuries)' *The Greek Novel AD 1–1985* ed. R. Beaton (London 1988) 156–66.

17. For Digenes most comprehensively R. Beaton and D. Ricks, eds, *Digenes Akrites: New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*. Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies (KCL) 2 (Aldershot 1993); for the exile argument, R. Beaton, 'Cappadocians at Court: Digenes and Timarion' *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium 14–16 April 1989* ed. M. Mullett & D. Smythe. BBTT 4.1 (Belfast 1996) 329–38; for a good new text, *Digenis Akritis: the Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions* ed. and tr. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge 1998).

18. Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* ed. B. Wassiliewsky & V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De officiis regiis libellus* (St Petersburg 1896, rp. Amsterdam 1965). We await Charlotte Roueché's new translation and commentary, but for prolegomena see her 'Byzantine Writers and Readers: Storytelling in the Eleventh Century' in Beaton, *Greek Novel* 123–33, and the triptych 'Defining the Foreign in Kekaumenos' *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* ed. D.C. Smythe. SPBS 8 (Aldershot 2000) 203–14; 'The Literary Background of Kekaumenos' *Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* ed. C. Holmes & J. Waring (Leiden 2002) 111–38; and 'The Rhetoric of Kekaumenos' *Rhetoric in Byzantium* ed. E. Jeffreys. SPBS 11 (Aldershot 2003) 23–37.

19. L.-O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*. Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 2 (Stockholm 1962); for dissemination see J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis, *Übersetzung und Rezeption: Die byzantinischen, neugriechischen und altspanischen Versionen von Kalila wa-Dimna* (Wiesbaden, 2003) and Alison Noble's unpublished Belfast PhD on the Eugenian recension.

20. F. Conca, ed., *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo* (Turin 1994) 500–686; I. Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios*

Theodore Prodromos's *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, in iambic trimeters, starts *in medias res* in Rhodes and takes his pair of lovers in the end home to Abydos.[21] As well as a verse chronicle, Constantine Manasses has left a romance in *politikos stichos*, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, which survives only in fragments.[22] What is now thought to be the latest of these novels, the *Drosilla and Charikles* of Niketas Eugeneianos, Prodromos's pupil, again starts *in medias res* in Barzos, where the story ends happily after many adventures and included lyrics. His is thought to be the most parodic, the most aware of the other attempts.[23] All share a close relationship to ancient examples, a generalized classicising landscape and seascape, an emphasis on chastity, and a happy ending.

This is not to say, of course, that this revival came out of the blue. The closest Byzantium has come to the medieval framestory like the *Thousand-and-One Nights*, or Boccacio's plague-narratives, or Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, is John Moschos's account of his journey around the monasteries of the eastern Mediterranean (which was to inspire a different kind of writing in William Dalrymple's *From the Holy Mountain*).[24] Apocryphal Acts offer the same kind of adventure travel story as the Hellenistic novel; desert narratives offer fables for the Byzantine world; the best Chinese box narrative of the medieval world is the *Life* of St Theoktiste[25]; and Symeon Metaphrastes wrote a sequel to Achilles Tatios's *Leukippe and Kleitophon* in the form of the *Life and Martyrdom of Saints Galaktion and Episteme*.[26] All this is well known, not least because of Australian scholarship.[27]

The last part of my title to be explained is the concept of novelisation. By this I mean not the practice of writing the book of the movie after the event, but the theory of Mikhail Mikhailovic Bakhtin. In his 'Epic and Novel: Towards a Methodology for the Study of the Novel' he suggests that 'the novel gets on poorly with other genres', and he says:

> Of particular interest are those eras when the novel becomes the
> dominant genre. All literature is then caught up in the process of
> 'becoming,' and in a special kind of 'generic criticism'... In an era

Makrembolities' Hysmine & Hysminias. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 7 (Uppsala 2001).

21. Conca, *Il romanzo* 64–302.
22. O. Mazal, ed., *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses: Überlieferung, Rekonstruktion, Textausgabe der Fragmente*. WByzSt 4 (Vienna 1967); E. Tsolakis, Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ καὶ κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τοῦ μυθιστορήματος τοῦ 'Τὰ κατ' Ἀρίστανδρον καὶ Καλλιθέαν'. Ἐπ.Ἐπ.Φιλ.Σχο.Παν.Θεσ. 10 (Thessalonica 1967).
23. Conca, *Il romanzo* 306–496. See also the new translation by J.B. Burton, *A Byzantine Novel: Drosilla and Charikles by Niketas Eugenianos* (Wauconda Ill. 2004).
24. John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* PG 87.3, cols 2851–3116; W. Dalrymple, *From the Holy Mountain: A Journey in the Shadow of Byzantium* (London 1997).
25. 'Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos' tr. A.C. Hero *The Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation* ed. A.M. Talbot. Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 1 (Washington 1996) 96–116.
26. PG 116, cols 93–108.
27. MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides* 110.

> when the novel reigns supreme, almost all the remaining genres are to a greater or lesser extent 'novelized': drama (...), epic poetry (...), even lyric poetry (...). Those genres that stubbornly preserve their old canonic nature begin to appear stylised... In an environment where the novel is the dominant genre, the conventional languages of strictly canonical genre begin to sound in new ways, which are quite different from the ways they sounded in those eras when the novel was *not* included in 'high' literature.[28]

Bakhtin goes on to examine the impact of the entry of the novel into a literature:

> What are the salient features of this 'novelisation' of other genres suggested by us above? They become more free and flexible, their language renews itself by incorporating extraliterary heteroglossia and the 'novelistic' layers of literary language, they become 'dialogised', permeated with laughter, irony, humour, elements of self-parody and finally — this is the most important thing — the novel inserts into these other genres an indeterminacy, a certain semantic openendedness, a living contact with unfinished, still-evolving contemporary reality (the openended present).[29]

I have a certain amount of difficulty in accepting one premise of this theory, which is that genres other than the novel are by definition dead, or 'more or less fixed'. I take the view that every text changes the genre in which it is written,[30] but if we leave this on one side I think you can already see how attractive this theory is to anyone attempting to explain the remarkable genre-mixing, innovations, and revivals of the Byzantine twelfth century. We should not, of course, imagine that the novel was dominant in twelfth-century Byzantium on the basis of one fragmentary and three complete texts, but it should be remembered that the manuscript tradition of *Hysmine and Hysminias,* for example, with forty three surviving manuscripts from the thirteenth to sixteenth century, compares well with historical and indeed other texts (we think of Skylitzes as being very popular with twenty one manuscripts, and the classic ascetic anthology, the *Synagoge* of Evergetis, as having a very large tradition with over eighty).[31] Any study of the period should take into account that the largest single body of material is religious polemic, and that in secular literature, rhetoric, particularly funerary rhetoric, fulfils that role. The dozen or so histories from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are dwarfed in comparison. Novels and histories are few in number, but may have been, if not dominant, influential.

28. M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* ed. M. Holquist tr. C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Austin 1994) 5–6.

29. Ibid. 6–7.

30. A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford 1982) 23; see also Mullett, 'Madness of Genre'.

31. On Skylitzes see C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025).* Oxford Studies in Byzantium I (Oxford 2005) 75–80; on the manuscript tradition of *Synagoge* see E. Skaka, *The Making of the Synagoge of Paul Evergetinos.* BBTT 6.8 (Belfast in press).

Otherwise, Bakhtin's theory looks attractive: as well as the mixing of genres, this is the period of the experiments with the vernacular which produced Glykas's poem from prison,[32] and the *Ptochoprodromika*, with language certainly renewing itself by incorporating extra-literary elements.[33] It is also a period of the revival of satire, the collection of riddles, and parodic works of various kinds.[34] Humour has certainly made an entrance, even if it is an introspective humour, and has been accused of being much concerned with what people eat and drink.[35] It is also the period when 'the author in the text' becomes most visible. I suspect yet again that it is Roger Scott we have to thank for this, noting in his article that 'the significant difference [between Anna Komnene and Thucydides] lies in the intrusion of the author's person into the subject'.[36] This was taken up by Roderick Beaton in the late 1980s as a distinguishing feature of the revival of fiction,[37] by Ljubarskij in the early 1990s as a feature of historiography in the period,[38] studies which made possible Martin Hinterberger's fundamental work on autobiography[39] and Stratis Papaioannou's work on Psellos's writing of the self.[40] What I'd like to do is take forward this cautious recognition of Bakhtin's theory and apply it to each of my three texts. They are not as obvious as candidates for novelisation as the revived satire or the new vernacular texts of the period. All are narratives, of very different kinds: one high-style history, one experimental saint's life-cum-ascetic anthology, one highly inventive epistolary narrative.

32. Recently E.C. Bourbouhakis, '"Political" Personae: The Poem from Prison of Michael Glykas. Byzantine Literature Between Fact and Fiction' *BMGS* (in press).

33. We await the annotated edition and translation of Margaret Alexiou and Michael Hendy, signalled in M. Alexiou, *After Antiquity: Greek Language, Myth, and Metaphor* (Ithaca 2002) 128.

34. For satire see forthcoming work by Przemyslaw Marciniak (including 'Drama, Theatre and Theatricality in Byzantium' *Performing Byzantium* ed. M. Mullett); for parody see M. Alexiou, 'Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: A Stylistic Analysis of the *Timarion* (ch 6–10)' *BMGS* 3 (1977) 23–43 and R. Macrides, 'Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate: Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces' *Cupido Legum* ed. L. Burgmann, M.-T. Fögen & A. Schminck (Frankfurt 1985) 137–68; the riddle collections of the twelfth century deserve urgent attention.

35. On the accusation, see Alexiou, *After Antiquity* 97. See also L. Garland, '"And his bald head shone like a full moon…": An Appreciation of the Byzantine Sense of Humour as Recorded in Historical Sources of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' *Parergon* n.s. 8 (1990) 1–31, and J. Haldon, 'Humour and the Everyday in Byzantium' *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* ed. G. Halsall (Cambridge 2002) 49–51.

36. Scott, 'Classical Tradition' 62.

37. R. Beaton, '*De vulgari eloquentia* in Twelfth-Century Byzantium' *Byzantium and the West: c.850–c.1250* ed. J. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam 1988) 261–8.

38. J. Ljubarskij, '"Writers' intrusion" in Early Byzantine literature' *XVIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Moscow 1991): Major Papers* (Moscow 1991) 433–56.

39. M. Hinterberger, *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz*. WByzSt 22 (Vienna 1999).

40. S. Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos's Autography: A Study of Mimesis in Pre-modern Greek Literature* (provisional title, in preparation).

I hope that it is not necessary to justify the use of Bakhtin in this textual community: the first time I ever saw his name in a Byzantine publication was in a summary of an earlier AABS conference, in a paper by Michael Jeffreys, and Suzanne MacAlister has used his work as effectively for alien speech as Ruth Webb has for the chronotope or Roderick Beaton for adventure time, or I have myself for adventure space.[41] But we should, in the light of recent discussion of research 'from within',[42] perhaps also have to look at what the Byzantines had for theory.

We don't have a handy twelfth-century treatment of narrative, though we do of course have the invaluable Psellos treatment of Heliodoros and Achilles Tatios.[43] What we do have is an insight as to what all literary figures imbibed with their mother's milk. The *progymnasmata*, which were taught as early rhetorical practice, all deal with narrative, *diegema*, and are very aware of the problems of fiction (*plasma*) and truth. Four survive, from Theon (first century AD) through Hermogenes (second century), Aphthonios (second half of the fourth century) to Nikolaos (late fifth century).[44] Commentaries survive, as do middle Byzantine examples, like John Geometres and Nikephoros Basilakes.[45] They are concerned not to do a Genette and systematize a theory of narrative technique,[46] but to define narrative, tease out its elements, determine its virtues and give some practical advice. Sometimes they are concerned to define the difference between fable and narrative, sometimes the difference between narrative and *ekphrasis*, more often to mark the difference between narration and narrative, *diegesis* and *diegema*.

All agree that *diegema* is the exposition of something either which happened, or as if it had happened. That is to say, self-declaring fiction is excluded. The default mode is history, and examples are drawn very often from history (in contrast, the standard definition of fable, *mythos*, is that it is a fiction persuasively composed to image truth). The point, though, is that fiction is not excluded from narrative provided that it behaves like history, rather in the way

41. M. Jeffreys, 'Literary Theory and the Criticism of Byzantine Texts' *Byzantine Studies in Australia Newsletter* 24 (1990) 9; MacAlister, *Dreams and Suicides*; Webb in an unpublished study of the novel; R. Beaton, 'The World of Fiction and the World "Out There": The Case of the Byzantine Novel' *Strangers* 179–88; M. Mullett, 'In Peril on the Sea: Travel Genres and the Unexpected' *Travel in the Byzantine World* ed. R. Macrides. SPBS 10 (Aldershot 2002) 259–84.

42. Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos* 14.

43. Dyck, *Michael Psellus* passim.

44. On the *progymnasmata* see G.A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition* (London 1963) 163–4; G.A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta 2003); G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*. Analekta Blatadon 17 (Thessalonica 1973) 22–3.

45. See for example the commentary by John of Sardis, *Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata* ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1928); the twelfth-century examples by Nikephoros Basilakes, *Niceforo Basilace, Progimnasmi e monodie. Testo critico* ed. E. Pignani. Byzantina et Neo-hellenica Neapolitana. Colana di Studi e Testi 10 (Naples 1983).

46. G. Genette, 'Discours du récit' *Figures III* (Paris 1972) 71–273; tr. J.E. Lewin, *Narrative Discourse* (Ithaca 1980)

that, in Todorov's definition of literature, non-fictional texts may be included if
they are treated in a fictional kind of way.[47] All also agree that the most
important virtue in narrative is credibility or persuasiveness. Clarity comes next,
and helpful hints are given as to how to achieve clarity. But persuasiveness is the
cardinal virtue because the others are applicable to other texts, persuasiveness
only to narrative. Theon lists clarity, conciseness and credibility, Aphthonios
adds Hellenism, Nikolaos adds charm and grandeur to clarity, brevity and
persuasiveness.[48] John of Sardis's ninth-century commentary explores how
credibility may be achieved: through emotion, vividness, and ideally through
telling the truth, though this may not be possible in addressing a wider
audience.[49] It is noticeable that Nikolaos in the late fifth century and John in the
ninth are more concerned than were classical authors with the issue of fiction —
perhaps because by then fiction was minimally represented in the live literature.
And they could not, of course, predict the literature of the future; fictive narrative
for them is to be found in comedy and other dramas. Only Nikolaos suggests that
a *diegesis* is an exposition of true events, *diegema* as though they had happened,
and this only as one of three possible distinctions.[50] The commonest explanation
is one of scale, a single event as against a combination, as in the difference
between a *poiema* and *poiesis*.[51] *Mythos*, fable, on the other hand, according to
Sopatros, in John of Sardis's commentary, was 'a fiction persuasively composed
for an image of things that happen in reality creating some counsel for men or a
sketch of action'.[52] Myth was always expected to be fictional but it was also
expected to be psychophelitic or parainetic. Narrative, as the distinction from
ekphrasis makes clear, gives a plain exposition of actions, while *ekphrasis* tries
to turn the hearers into spectators.

So much for preparation and introduction. Let us now look at our case-
studies.

1. The *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene

And let us return to the passage where Roger Scott had difficulty. In fact, Anna
gives us a rare statement of the process of composing a history:

> The documents that came into my possession were written in
> simple language without embellishment; they adhered closely to
> the truth, were distinguished by no elegance whatsoever, and were
> composed in a negligent way with no attempt at style. The
> accounts given by old veterans were in language and thought

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47. 'Oros diegematos' *Aphthoniou Sophistou Progymnasmata* ed. L. von Spengel,
    Rhetores Graeci (3 vols Leipzig 1853–6, rp. Frankfurt am Main 1966) 2:22; T.
    Todorov, 'The Notion of Literature' *New Literary History* 5 (1973) 7–8.
48. *Theonos Progymnasmata* ed. Spengel, *RhetGr* 2:79; Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata*
    22; *Nikolaou Sophistou Progymnasmata* ed. Spengel, *RhetGr* 3:457.
49. John of Sardis, *Commentarium* 23–4.
50. Nikolaos, *Progymnasmata* 455.
51. Nikolaos, loc.cit; *Hermogenous Progymnasmata* ed. Spengel, *RhetGr* 2:4;
    Aphthonios, *Progymnasmata* 22.
52. John of Sardis, *Commentarium* 6–7.

> similar to these commentaries and I based the truth of my history
> on then by examining their narratives and comparing them with
> my own writings and again with the stories I had often heard
> myself from my father in particular and from my uncles both on
> my father's and on my mother's side. From all these materials the
> whole fabric of my history, my true history, has been woven. [53]

Nothing here about novelisation, simply the combination of documentary research and oral tradition, in a narrative, doubtless of clarity, conciseness and persuasiveness. Sounds very modern, really, as well as very progymnastic. But she is writing less than fifty years after the most outspoken statement in any historical *prooimion*, in the *Synopsis Historion* of John Skylitzes, and she is clearly in transgression of Skylitzes's values. In Skylitzes's prooimion, George *synkellos* and Theophanes[54] are praised, Psellos and the didaskalos Sikeleiotes are given credit for trying but are criticized for leaving things out, while Theodore Daphnopates, Niketas the Paphlagonian, Joseph Genesios, Manuel, Nikephoros deacon of Phrygia, Leo the Asian, archbishop Theodore of Side, Theodore archbishop of Sebasteia, Demetrios of Kyzikos and John the Lydian, all:

> have had their own agenda, the one proclaiming praise of the
> emperor, the other a *psogos* of the patriarch, another an encomium
> of a friend, but while each fulfils his own purpose in the guise of
> history, each has fallen short of the intention of those aforesaid
> men inspired by God. For they wrote histories at length of the
> things which happened during their times and shortly before; one
> sympathetically, another with hostility, another in search of
> approval, another as he had been ordered. Each one composing
> their own history, and differing from one another in their
> narrations, they have filled the listeners with dizziness and
> confusion.[55]

What Skylitzes wanted to see in a history was a summary of previous reliable chronicles (perhaps like the 'documents which came into Anna's possession') equally crafted and worked over as Anna's piece of weaving. She might not have approved of his kind of history: he most certainly would not have approved of her attempt to make a place in history for her adored father. Both surviving works of the husband-and-wife history factory of the mid-twelfth century would have fallen into the individual agenda category. Nikephoros Bryennios's *Material for History*, a detailed account of Alexios's early years, was commissioned by the *augousta*, his widow, and in its treatment of the marriage

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53. *Alexiad* 14.7.7 (Leib 3:175–6, R-K 452, Sewter 461).
54. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813* tr. C. Mango & R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex (Oxford 1997); *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* tr. W. Adler & P. Tuffin (Oxford 2002).
55. John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historion* ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*. CFHB 5 (Berlin 1973) 4; tr. Holmes, *Basil II* 549; cf. the forthcoming translation by John Wortley in the BBTT series.

of the families of Doukas and Komnenos it has been described as novelistic by Kazhdan and Epstein.[56] And in the sense that the homilies of James Kokkinobaphos have also been seen as novelistic,[57] this text is an example of novelisation. Anna herself is very conscious of genre: her title suggests an allusion to her subject's worthiness of another kind of writing, and in Book XV she is very aware of the dangers of falling into a lament instead of a 'plain exposition of actions' (in Nikolaos's characterization).[58] She records popular songs celebrating Alexios's triumphs and tells us about critical broadsheets which circulated.[59] She has an ear for comic mispronunciation and a nose for etymology.[60] Her narrative admits of dreams and visions, oracles and prophecies,[61] though Alexios could be very down-to-earth about portents if they appeared to be pointing in the wrong direction and unscrupulous in using foreknowledge of an eclipse to suggest supernatural assistance.[62] Her descriptions of imperial figures in the early books, of Alexios and Eirene, of the young Constantine her fiancée and his beautiful mother Maria, follow very

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56. Nikephoros Bryennios, *Hyle Historias* ed. P. Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios, histoire: introduction, texte, traduction et notes.* CFHB 9 (Brussels 1975); A.P. Kazhdan & A.W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley 1985) 202.

57. Jeffrey Anderson in a series of Leverhulme lectures given in Belfast in spring 2003.

58. *Alexiad* 15.9.1 (Leib 3:229–30, R-K 493–94, Sewter 565).

59. For the cheese-week couplet, *Alexiad* 2.4.9 (Leib 1:75, R-K 65, Sewter 82); for the Levounion victory taunt, *Alexiad* 8.5.8 (Leib 2:143, R-K 249, Sewter 558); for comic songs at the punishment of the Anemas conspirators ('People of all ages hurried to see the show, and we too, the princesses, came out for the same purpose secretly') *Alexiad* 12.6.6 (Leib 3:73, R-K 375, Sewter 385); for broadsheets, *famosa*, thrown into tents, *Alexiad* 13.1.6–7 (Leib 3:89, R-K 385–6, Sewter 396). She also notes Alexios's annoyance at Kilidj Arslan's burlesques of Alexios and his gout, *Alexiad* 15.1.2 (Leib 3:188, R-K 461–62, Sewter 472).

60. On Bohemond's barbaric pronunciation of Lykostomion, and her wordplay which heightened the joy in his ill-informed boasting, *Alexiad* 5.6.3 (Leib 2:29, R-K 158, Sewter 171); on the etymology of Ozolimne, *Alexiad* 7.5.2 (Leib 2:104–5, R-K 216–17, Sewter 229).

61. For dreams and visions see Alexios's vision of St Demetrios, *Alexiad* 5.5.6 (Leib 2:25–6, R-K 155–6, Sewter 169); George Palaiologos's vision of Leo of Chalcedon offering him a horse, *Alexiad* 7.4.1 (Leib 2:101–2, R-K 215, Sewter 227); the eparch Basil's vision of St John the Evangelist (in which the comet is explained), *Alexiad* 12.4.2 (Leib 3:64–5, R-K 368–9, Sewter 378–9); and Malik Shah's dream *Alexiad* 15.6.8 (Leib 3:210–11, R-K 479, Sewter 489). *Alexiad* 10.2.5 (Leib 2:192, R-K 285–6, Sewter 297) finds Alexios taking lots and *Alexiad* 13.1.2 (Leib 3:88, R-K 384, Sewter 393) anxious about the habitual miracle at the Blachernai. Prophecies include a holy man's to Alexios, 'Be earnest and prosper and govern with an eye to truth and mercy and justice', *Alexiad* 2.7.5 (Leib 1:86, R-K 74, Sewter 91) and the cheating prophecy ('On your way from Ather to Jerusalem, you will obey the claims of necessity') to Guiscard at *Alexiad* 6.6.1–2 (Leib 2:55–6, R-K 179–80, Sewter 192).

62. *Alexiad* 12.4.5 (Leib 3:66–7, R-K 370, Sewter 380) for the statue which did not mean Alexios's fall, and *Alexiad* 7.2.8 (Leib 2:93, R-K 207–8, tr. Sewter 221) for the Pechenegs fooled by the eclipse.

closely descriptions of heroes and heroines in the novels — or rather they both conform to rhetorical prescriptions and practice.[63]

What she is offering is a much more solid structure than her husband's *Bildungsroman.* Fifteen books of the reign of Alexios, never sliding into biography, but having little (except some of Skylitzes' lost histories perhaps) to act as model for such an ambitious task. We know how she organises her material: skilfully, craftily, to highlight the right thing at the right time, rearranging and omitting,[64] culminating in Alexios's greatest achievement, the Treaty of Devol at the end of book XIII.[65] She excels in great set-piece accounts,[66] whether of battles gleaned from uncle George, or memories of events seen over the banisters of the palace staircase. And she has space to delineate her characters and let them develop. She uses the rhetorical device of *synkrisis,* building up Alexios's enemies (Bryennios, Basilakios, Guiscard and above all Bohemond) to make his victory all the more impressive; she presents him as Herakles, as Palamedes, and with his brother as Orestes and Pylades.

But she also allows herself some extended sketches of Alexios: the crafty,[67] the lisping,[68] the generous,[69] the merciful,[70] the patient,[71] the *philomonachos:*

> Alexios's mother had taken pains to insist that on all his expeditions he should have as a tent-companion one of the more highly esteemed monks, and her dutiful son submitted to her wishes, not merely in his baby days but when he was a candidate for admission to the ranks of the young men, and indeed until he married.[72]

The emperor at leisure:

> Only occasionally did he seek physical relaxation in the chase or other amusements; for most of the day he laboured hard but he would relax too, only his relaxation was a second labour — the reading of books and their study, the diligent observation of the command to search the scriptures. Hunting and ball-play were of minor importance, even less, to my father.[73]

63. On Anna's *ekphraseis* of people see M. Mullett, 'Bohemond's Biceps: Male Beauty and the Female Gaze in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene' *Byzantine Masculinities* ed. D.C. Smythe. Studies in Byzantine Cultural History 1 (Aldershot in press).
64. P. Buckley, 'War and Peace in the *Alexiad*' *infra* 90–105.
65. *Alexiad* 13.12 (Leib 3:125–39, R-K 413–23, Sewter 424–34).
66. For an analysis of these, valuable beyond his immediate (and questionable) premiss of authorship, see J. Howard-Johnston, 'Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*' *Alexios I* 260–301.
67. E.g. *Alexiad* 1.3.1–2 (the fake blinding of Roussel) (Leib 1:15, R-K 16–7, Sewter 36).
68. E.g. *Alexiad* 1.8.1 (Leib 1:31, R-K 30, Sewter 49).
69. E.g. *Alexiad* 2.4.8 (Leib 1:74, R-K 64, Sewter 81).
70. E.g. *Alexiad* 1.6.7 (Leib 1:27, R-K 26, Sewter 45).
71. E.g. *Alexiad* 14.4.7 (Leib 3:162–3, R-K 441–2, Sewter 451).
72. E.g. *Alexiad* 1.8.2 (Leib 1:32, R-K 30, Sewter 49).
73. *Alexiad* 14.7.9 (Leib 3:177, R-K 453, Sewter 462).

The emperor possessed of unshakeable *sang froid*:

> A Skyth was sent to bear the news to the emperor. He met him
> returning from the chase. Running in and prostrating himself, with
> his head to the ground, the man cried in a loud clear voice that
> Bohemond had arrived. All the others who were present stood
> rooted to the spot, stupefied at the very mention of the name, but
> Alexios, full of spirit and courage, merely remarked as he
> unloosed the leather strap of his shoe, 'for the moment let us have
> lunch. We will attend to Bohemond's affairs later'.[74]

The diplomat facing a setback with equanimity: when Bohemond had previously
visited on the First Crusade, Alexios put him up in some splendour in the
Kosmidion, forestalling his suspicion that he might be poisoned, and proceeded
to offer him great wealth:

> After the oath was sworn, Alexios set aside a room in the palace
> precincts and had the floor covered with all kinds of wealth:
> clothes, gold and silver coins, objects of lesser value filled the
> place so completely that it was impossible for anyone to walk in it.
> He ordered the man deputed to show Bohemond these riches to
> open the doors suddenly. Bohemond was amazed at the sight. 'If I
> had had such wealth', he said, 'I would long ago have become
> master of many lands'. 'All this', said the man, 'is yours today —
> a present from the emperor'.[75]

When it was delivered, Bohemond had changed his mind:

> 'I never thought I should be so insulted by the emperor, he said.
> 'Take them away. Return to sender.' Alexios, awaiting a further
> change of heart, quoted a popular saying: 'His mischief shall
> return upon his own head'.[76]

Anna's great scope allows space for dialogue and direct speech. As well as the
two major included documents (the chrysobull for Anna Dalassene and the
Treaty of Devol), there are many included letters, some in greater detail than
others, some open, some coded, all pertinent to the plot. Her use of direct speech
goes far beyond her classical models' invention of individual formal speeches
(though Guiscard's speech to his army after the invasion of Lombardy by the
emperor is close to their practice[77]) to pithy sayings which cast light on her
characters.[78] She often reproduces whole conversations: the Komnenoi boys with
Maria of Alania,[79] and Alexios's interchange and advice to the Crusader who sat
on his throne.[80]

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74. *Alexiad* 12.9.7 (Leib 3:85, R-K 383, Sewter 394).
75. *Alexiad* 10.11.5 (Leib 2:233, R-K 319, Sewter 328).
76. *Alexiad* 10.11.6 (Leib 2:233, R-K 319, Sewter 328).
77. *Alexiad* 5.3.4 (Leib 2:15, R-K 147, Sewter 161).
78. For example Gaita shouting (homerically) at deserters, *Alexiad* 4.4.4 (Leib 1:160, R-K 133, Sewter 147).
79. *Alexiad* 2.2.2–3 (Leib 1:67–8, R-K 58–9, Sewter 76).
80. *Alexiad* 10.10.7 (Leib 2:229–30, R-K 316–17, Sewter 325).

There is in fact also a scrupulous regard for body language. In her account, her concern is matched by Bohemond's in the talks about talks before the treaty of Devol in 1108, the culmination of Alexios's achievements in the *Alexiad*. An embassy of four men was sent to Bohemond: Marinos from Naples, the Frank Roger, Constantine Euphorbenos and Adralestos. They were chosen for loyalty and their language skills. They set out to Bohemond and he went to meet them lest they discover the rate of sickness in his camp. We are then treated to the exchanges between the emissaries and Bohemond which ends with Bohemond's second sally:

> 'Now I know in very truth that skilled debaters have been sent to me by Alexios. I ask for a full assurance that my reception by the emperor will be in no way dishonourable; that six stades before I reach him his closest blood relatives will come to meet me; that when I have approached the imperial tent, at the moment when I open its door, the emperor shall rise from his throne to receive me with honour; moreover I ask that the emperor shall take my hand and set me at the place of honour; that I shall after making my entrance with two officers be completely excused from having to bend my knee or bow my head to him as a mark of respect'. The envoys listened. They refused his demand that the emperor should rise from his throne, saying that it was presumptuous. The request that he should not kneel or bow to the emperor was also vetoed. On the other hand they accepted that some of the emperor's distant relatives should go a reasonable distance to meet and escort him when he was about to enter the emperor's presence, as a ceremonial mark of respect; he could moreover, enter with two officers; also (and this was important) the emperor would take his hand and seat him in the place of honour.[81]

All went as planned, and Bohemond ceded Antioch. These vignettes show various sides of Alexios's character, and a certain wit. They are not restricted to Alexios: stories about Anna Dalassene, Eirene, and lowerlifes about court testify to this love of characterisation.

So Anna conforms to Bakhtin's schema, by developing and playing with the concept of genre, by a very high level of characterization and dialogisation, by an interest in different levels of Greek, and a characterized wit in her chosen hero. She also conforms to the progymnastic definitions of narrative in that she is persuasive, clear, and as concise as it is possible to be within the constraints of a thirty-year reign and very high-style objectives. What we forget is that Anna had no model: Nikephoros's *Material* was equally detailed but on a much smaller scale; Skylitzes and Zonaras were straightforward synoptic chronicles, Psellos was concerned to show the influence of Psellos on a series of reigns. In her foregrounding treatment of her beloved father and her characterization of the powerful imperial women she mirrors the gender balance of *Hysmine and Hysminias* where the first person narrator and hero is a much weaker character

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81. *Alexiad* 13.9.4 (Leib 3:118–19, R-K 408–9, Sewter 419).

than the heroine. In her treatment of body language, however, she resembles far more our second text,

2.   The *Life of Cyril Phileotes* by Nicholas Kataskepenos

This saint was an essentially suburban saint, born as Kyriakos in Philea on the Black Sea coast in the early part of the eleventh century. Like many saints he showed early signs of being special, and was ordained reader, but declined to be ordained priest by the bishop of Derkos. He married instead at twenty, though after children (three at least) were born he quickly persuaded his wife that they should live a celibate life. He also felt the need for the discipline of obedience — and so he went to sea for three years. At thirty he began to live the ascetic life, but at home, after discussion with his wife, who agreed to do all the work to allow him to withdraw into a cell within the house. He reserved the right to work on his neighbours' land out of neighbourliness, and to prevent accidie. Not that he was at home very much: every Friday he walked into Constantinople to attend the weekly miracle at the church of the Blachernai, and visited his spiritual father at Neapolis; he also went on pilgrimage to the shrine of St Michael at Chonai, and with his brother to Rome. This brother, Michael, decided to found a monastery around a dilapidated family church in the region and Kyriakos advises him, planning the psalmody, prayer, diet, renunciation (*apotage*) and subjection (*hypotage*). After a Pecheneg invasion when Kyriakos goes off to a marsh on the shores of Lake Derkos in Thrace, he joined his brother, now called Matthew, and he himself took the monastic name of Cyril. He lived the life of a recluse within the monastery for three years, and then after another Pecheneg invasion, during which he took refuge in a monastery on the Propontis, he returned to his brother's monastery of the Saviour and vowed never to leave it. Again he lived as a recluse, though he joined the brothers for Saturday and Sunday offices and for feasts and addressed them on occasion, exercising moral authority even over the abbot. He practised an arduous *askesis*, though he had exchanged cords for the chains he wore when he was younger, ate only dry food and water, quinces his only fruit, and carried out a rigorous regime of vigil and prayer. He was graced with the gift of tears and, after giving away his psalter when he had only learned half of it by heart, with the gift of knowledge of the psalms. He carried out miracles of healing and prophecy. He had a disciple (*mathetes*) living within the monastery, whom he summoned by banging a *simantron* (*xylon*), and Nicholas Kataskepenos appears to have visited him frequently. On occasion he held court as the great of the Komnenian world beat a path to his door.[82]

82.   On this *Life* see R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge 1995) 66–8; P. Karlin-Hayter, 'L'édition de la vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote par E. Sargologos' *Byz* 34 (1964) 607–11; A.-J. Festugière, 'Notes sur la vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote' *REG* 80 (1967) 80–109; M. Mullett, 'Literary Biography and Historical Genre in the *Life* of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas Kataskepenos' *Les vies des saints a Byzance: Genre litteraire ou biographie historique?* ed. P. Odorico & P. Agapitos (Paris 2004) 387–410; M. Mullett, *Death of the Holy Man, Death of a Genre.* The Medieval Mediterranean (Leiden in press).

Generically this looks like a typical middle Byzantine example of a life of a monastic saint, living what has been called hybrid monasticism, like the life of Hosios Loukas for example, or Christodoulos of Patmos.[83] In these lives holy men are formed by living in a community, by living with a holy man, by being recluses within a community before founding their own houses. Cyril, however, was rather short on coenobitic experience, offering instead his withdrawal within the family home and his life in the navy, and he does not appear ever to have lived with his spiritual father. He is also quite atypical in his geographical location: living so close to Constantinople, it seems that the imperial episodes which occur occasionally in most lives were more everyday happenings with Cyril; most monastic saints founded monasteries far removed from the city.[84]

There is more about this life which diverges from the generic norm, some of which relate either to Bakhtin's signifiers of novelisation, and some which relate to the revived twelfth-century novel. The narrative structure is original and remarkable, there are included genres and a high proportion of direct speech. There is humour, irony and self-parody, and the author is very visible in the text. Travel is a feature of the text (though this is not new in the twelfth century[85]), and there is an awareness of physical description of the characters of the story. Finally, much of the first half of the text (chs. 1–22) can be read as a love story, the spiritual marriage of Kyriakos and his wife.

First, structure. The text is clearly not chronologically arranged, and there is clear evidence that its rearrangement is to support the narrative. It falls naturally into two parts, pivoting at ch. 29. The first part, from the beginning to the second barbarian invasion, shows the formation and testing of the saint at home, at sea, on pilgrimage, travelling both locally and as far away as Rome, experimenting with chains and flagellation, becoming known as Kyriakos the Merciful, playing the fool for Christ, and taking advice from the monk Hilarion in Constantinople as well as his own spiritual father at the monastery of St Philip at Neapolis. He is tested by the sailors on the boat, by the *praitor* in prison, by the inn-keeper at Chonai, and his sanctity amazes them all. A section on early life is followed by a section on his life as Kyriakos the Merciful, recluse in his own home, then a section on his travels, and a section on his early years in his brother's monastery. The second major division of the *Life* covers the period from his return to his brother's monastery and tonsure, after which he stays in the monastery and the world comes to him. Here groups of chapters on peaceful life in the monastery are interspersed with chapters where Cyril takes a strong line with representatives of authority who get things wrong, and with the Komnenian world. A final group of chapters shows his increasing debility in his nineties,

83. D. Papachryssanthou, 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes Byzantines du VIIIe au XIe siècles' *REB* 43 (1973) 158–82; Morris, *Monks and Laymen* 2.
84. This is not a complete explanation: even the suburban houses that Michel Kaplan has popularised recently did not draw imperial visits: 'L'hinterland religieux de Constantinople: moines et saints de banlieue d'après l'hagiographie' *Constantinople and its Hinterland* ed. C. Mango & G. Dagron, SPBS 3 (Aldershot 1995) 191–205.
85. From the apocryphal acts, transvestite lives and miracle collections of Late Antiquity, travel was a frequent feature of hagiography. See *Travel in the Byzantine World*.

affecting mind and then body, followed by his death and his posthumous
miracles, a section which balances the early life section at the beginning. Ch. 29
is pivotal and represents a final testing before he returns to the monastery to take
up his stance. The abbot of the monastery where he was staying during the
Pecheneg invasion is infected by *phthonos*, jealousy, and accuses him of excess.
He wins rather by refusing to justify himself, by accepting the abbot's criticism
and the abbot ends by throwing himself at Cyril's feet in repentance and
recognition of his sanctity. The chapter on his visit to Anna Dalassene is
included with other travels to avoid making it obvious that he left his brother's
monastery as late as the 1070s; the chapter on the Bohemond prophecy is
included with two other accounts of the visit of two noblemen to Cyril's cell
rather than in its chronological place which might have come too close to, and
detracted from, the extraordinary account of the devil's mass in ch. 54. Structural
considerations rather than chronological are uppermost in this saint's *Life.*

But it is not just a *Life:* it is also an ascetic florilegium, massing brief
snippets of a range of ascetic authors in a progressive anthology which takes its
shape not from a theoretical progression of achievement in the ascetic life, but
from the events of the life of Cyril as described by Nicholas. Almost every
chapter of the text (except very short ones) has a florilegium section; quotations
elsewhere are more scattered and are largely confined to the bible. The passages
collected are very short compared with florilegia and *gerontika* we are familiar
with. There is no question of the edifying little story of early desert *gerontika*
(collections of stories about holy men): there are edifying stories, but they centre
on Cyril himself. Similarly there are no 'way of life' episodes, but there are
quotations from monastic theology dealing with both virtues and vices and with
techniques (fasting, prayer, labour, chains), some of a length familiar from the
Synagoge, others very much shorter: it is a miniature version of the larger texts
of the period.[86] I use florilegium, therefore, advisedly rather than *gerontikon*: the
only *geron* is Cyril. This florilegium is not, it should be stressed, a free-standing
and detachable entity, which if it were stripped off would then allow the *Life* to
shine out more clearly. Rather the florilegium comments upon, and perhaps
inspires, examples in the *Life,* just as the structure of the *Life,* as we have seen, to
some extent determines the arrangement of the florilegium. The integration of
biographical narrative and reflective florilegium is achieved with great subtlety
and skill.

But this generic sophistication does not stop here: there are several examples
of generic inclusion (where the rules and topoi of another genre prevail over
those of the host genre): the polemic against the Armenian in ch. 28 and the
advice to the emperor, what Prinzing would call 'integrierte Fürstenspiegel', in
ch. 47; there are also essays at homily (ch. 21), *typikon* (ch. 24)[87] and prayer (ch.
45). Parts of ch. 39 look like tryouts for a treatise on the duties of an abbot. And
even *topoi* play their part, pointing by their incongruity to their own resident

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86. M. Richard, 'Florilèges spirituels grecs' *DSp* 5 (Paris 1964) 499–510.
87. See my discussion in 'Constructing Identities in Twelfth-Century Byzantium',
*Byzantium Matures: Choices, Sensitivities and Modes of Expression (Eleventh to
Fifteenth Centuries)* ed. C. Angelidi (Athens 2004) 129–44.

genre, and drawing attention to transitions in progress, and perhaps to Bakhtin's indeterminacy.

I want now to note some of the other remarkable features of Nicholas's text which come under the heading of narrative technique. In each individual chapter there is a masterly integration of different generic forms in different forms of discourse. The florilegium material sometimes functions (especially around the middle) as a concluding moral-drawing to a story. More often it grows naturally out of the narrative occasion, as a speech in the mouth of the saint, his thoughts or a prayer, or a monologue, or an explanation in the middle of the action. Though the narrator Nicholas sometimes allows himself florilegium material, in the dialogues which form a very high proportion of the text only Cyril is allowed to be the mouthpiece of the florilegium. Virtuous interlocutors, like his wife and Anna Dalassene, are allowed to reply using biblical quotation: Constantine Choirosphaktes even questions the accuracy of one of Cyril's quotations, though he has a supernatural excuse. Where the authority of a priest to teach the Scriptures is in question, Cyril pronounces his obituary in biblical quotations.[88] There are two exceptions to Cyril's monopoly of the florilegium material. The first is in ch. 29 where the abbot of the monastery on the Propontis uses florilegium material to accuse Cyril of excess; we have seen that this is a crucial chapter which provides vital testing and ritual humiliation as a rite of passage, and justification of Cyril's new authority as *geron* in the second half of the life. The second is at another liminal stage in Cyril's life, in ch. 54. Cyril, though very seriously ill, here manages his last florilegium homily, to Nicholas and his disciple, on the subject of bodily and spiritual virtues. Later though, in his ninety-fifth year, Nicholas finds him in a very serious condition, feeds him, and upbraids the disciple on his neglect of the sick, himself using florilegium material. He has succeeded in a way to the authority of his master.

I noted that dialogue forms a high proportion of the text. Again almost every chapter has some direct speech, the exceptions being ch. 19, where Cyril visits his spiritual father but learns by watching the vintage workers slacking and reflecting on the message; ch. 23 on stillness *hesychia* (naturally); ch. 30 where the simple miracle story is focused on the narrator Nicholas's personal miracle; ch. 33, the death of a brother of the monastery, where the emphasis is on the other-worldly smells and music which informed Cyril of the event; ch. 45, which gives Cyril's constant prayers; and in the prologue and the epilogue. The dialogues are handled with imagination and considerable characterisation: there is a sense of being a fly on the wall as Cyril persuades his wife to give up sex, accuses Eumathios Philokales of injustice and brutality, or the priest Manos of an irregular love-life. The loving detail of these accounts is seductive: it needs constant recollection that it is an achievement of artifice. The drama of Nicholas's conversation with Cyril after his battle with the demon of *porneia* left him with first-degree burns on his thighs, the ceremony of the imperial audiences, the rambling conversations with Nicholas asking silly questions; each

88. M. Mullett, 'Food for the Spirit and a Light for the Road: Reading the Bible in the *Life* of Cyril Phileotes' *Literacy, Education, and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* ed. J. Waring & C. Holmes (Leiden 2002) 139–64.

is distinctively imagined. The interview with Anna Dalassene, ch. 17, is a classic account of communication between aristocratic lady and *geron,* omitting only her actual imaginings, *logismoi.* There is tremendous joy in the language of these exchanges, often very demotic, sometimes flourishing false etymologies. There is care also with the stage-directions, for Nicholas is careful to record body-language; particularly when dignitaries of the state met the holy man in the court of his cell. The body language of the interview of the saint with Anna Dalassene is keenly observed: it is the model of how a holy man should behave when summoned to a great lady — and how a lady should behave while revealing her *logismoi.* The empress Eirene feeds the failing holy man by hand; Alexios while ill shows holy men respect by the way he handles his body:

> If, during one of his illnesses a monk was sitting near his feet, the emperor avoided moving his foot towards him, as if he was avoiding doing that to a holy icon. And if by accident it happened that his foot touched him, he would withdraw it immediately, as if from fire.[89]

Humour also is there. The exasperation and humour of the exchange in ch. 40 with the stupid and greedy monk, who ate figs because a doctor told him they were good for his digestion, opens out at the end to involve other monks. 'And you, what have you been eating today?' It was a Friday. The brother replied, '*Hagiozoumi,* father, holy soup.' 'And what is that?' 'Well you throw into the pot onions and other vegetables and aromatics, whatever you've got, and it's called holy soup.' At this he sighed deeply. 'Alas, brother, you've got it wrong. That's not holy soup, *hagiozoumion,* that's gluttony soup, *gastrimargozomion!*'[90]

Description, though, is sparse: we cannot reconstruct the monastery or its church or Cyril's cell; after Michael the *protostrator* had been sent to reconnoitre, he reported back to Alexios that 'Cyril is everything we had heard about him. He is white-haired, aged, venerable, a man of peace... for you can tell someone peaceful by his air of calm. He is lacking no virtue, is full of the love of God and is good: he looks rather like the prophet Elijah.'[91] Visual description is spared for where it is necessary — in descriptions, often in the first person, of dreams and visions. Here we see colours as well as smell smells and hear music: the white of most visitors' clothing, the red of the carpets on the couch of the false *sebastos* in the devil's mass, the blood-red eyes of the big black dog of the Bohemond vision. Dreams and visions are scattered quite evenly in the first half and the early chapters of the second: there is a long gap between the Bohemond prophecy and the great set-piece description of the devil's liturgy, after which comes quickly Cyril's death and the vision of his ascension.

We should note too the way Nicholas paces his narrative. After a rich and complex chapter he will often throw in a short simple miracle story like ch. 50, which could have appeared in a thousand saints' lives after the tetrarchs got their comeuppance: the soldier insults Cyril's reputation, the faithful Melimavras

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89. *VCyrilPhil* 47.9 (Sargologos 232).
90. *VCyrilPhil* 40.6 (Sargologos 190).
91. *VCyrilPhil* 46.16 (Sargologos 225).

defends him and rebukes the soldier, the soldier's guts dissolve. Or Nicholas's personal miracle at the spring, which has neither direct speech nor florilegium material. Sometimes, though, an extra twist keeps the reader alert: ch. 32 looks as if it is going to be a simple healing miracle, except that the beneficiary insists on turning up and thanking the saint in person, thus exposing him to the spiritual dangers of flattery. In ch. 28, the conversion of an Armenian turns rather brutally on the convert's disobedience: he ignores the saint's advice to go by sea to ransom his family, travels on foot, meets a couple of soldiers who kill him. The variety of modes of discourse and the way they are combined both within and without the chapters is considerable. Despite the clear structure, there is sometimes a suggestion that one story suggests another, as in frame-story collections; that ch. 41 is a necessary follow-up to ch. 40, and ch. 12 is an illustration of ch. 11.

So the text is unusual in several ways: in its high proportion of direct speech, its masterly handling of florilegium material in narrative, dialogue, prayer and monologue, and in the manipulation of various kinds of material — narrative, florilegic, descriptive, dialogic — in the same chapter. It is also absolutely up-to-date in the mid-twelfth century in the way in which its author Nicholas Kataskepenos[92] intrudes into the text. He introduces himself in the second paragraph of the prologue as the unworthy slave of Christ who is unwilling to allow the achievements of the holy man to pass unrecorded into the forgetfulness of posterity, an unassailably traditional role. But he also appears in the middle of Cyril's discussions with his wife, acts as inscribed narrator to Cyril's account of his life before the mast, elicits a miracle in the form of the Bohemond prophecy, and cares for the saint in his last decrepit years. In one chapter, 49, he is warned not to change monasteries and fails to take the advice; in another, 42, he is dying to tell a story, and does, a long and complicated story about Messalianism. Here he is closer to the ecclesiastical establishment than the rest of the *Life*, in which it is impossible to escape the suspicion that Nicholas is parodying himself.

He is not the only actor in the story where a character is built up. The 'court' figures are presented to contrast with one another (Constantine Choirosphaktes and Eumathios Philokales), the imperial women are clearly differentiated from one another (and from many contemporary representations of them), but the case of the emperor Alexios is remarkable. The account of Alexios's dealings with monks is less like Anna's panegyric and more like a bid for sanctity. In an excursus in the section on the first visit of Alexios, *panoiki*, to Cyril's court, we hear how Alexios behaved with monks:

> I tell you in all truth, the emperor was a great friend of monks.
> Often in fact when he was seated on his throne, if there were
> mention of the subject of a monk in whom he had more confidence

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92. We know little about Nicholas Kataskepenos other than that that he was himself called *hosios*, holy, and that he is named after an experimental monastery called Kataskepe founded by Manuel Komnenos on the Bosporos. Two letters survive, one to the empress Eirene Doukaina, the other to Sabas the *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Anaplous: M. Gedéon, *Archeion ekklesiastikes istorias* I (Constantinople 1911) 60–2, 70–2.

than in others he would ask for his girdle, put it on and give the
order to bring in the monk. And if he didn't manage to persuade
him to sit down he himself would not sit upon his throne. And if
by chance he was in process of eating, he would say, 'take it away,
take it away'. Then he would wash his hands, get up, and embrace
the monk. Once seated he said to him: 'bless this'.[93]

Alexios's reminiscences of the Roussel campaign, a monk's reminiscences of
Alexios, Alexios's policy towards monasteries are all thrown into this section
which looks like the building of an icon-type for sanctification: the saint and
emperor have changed places for this one chapter (47). The courtliness of the
monastic life of this text allows the glimpses of court life to be ascetic: Nicholas
is here playing with a text which conforms neither to secular nor religious
literature.

And it has its own love-story. In the early part of the text, it could be believed
that it was the prelude to the life of one of the virtuous women who star in the
texts Dyan Elliott has made popular.[94] Ch. 3 introduces a wife, whom Kyriakos
took not for sex but for children. She is beautiful in body but more so in spirit,
and so we are not given a physical description of her. The marriage is presented
as a successful and godly one: they are united in thoughts and aspirations. After
they had children Kyriakos proposed giving up sex and after a long discussion
she agrees with biblical authority. She keeps her word, and never makes a move
which might have attracted Kyriakos: she observes his askesis and imitates it. He
constantly thanks God for his wife. But like the couples of the romances, they
are separated by travel: in ch. 5 Kyriakos goes to sea.[95] On his return we are
privileged to observe another marital discussion during which Kyriakos offers
her the choice of losing him to a monastery or keeping him as a recluse in the
house. She instantly chooses the latter, shouldering the work of the household
and farm while he builds a cell and weaves cowls. In chs. 11 and 12 they offer
the hospitality to strangers which allows Kyriakos to be called the Merciful, and
in ch. 13 they survive the trauma of an accident to one of the daughters, in which
the righteous anger of the wife and its calming is brilliantly described. But chs.
14–20 show Kyriakos on his travels again — to Constantinople every week, to a
Bosporan spiritual father, to Chonai, to Rome — travels which again separate the
couple. In ch. 21 he helps his brother found a monastery, drawing up the way of
life, and probably the *typikon*, and then returns to his wife and children — a
phenomenon that the author singles out as particularly remarkable. But here the
resemblances to the revived novels of the twelfth century end: in those terms,
there is to be no happy ending. The couple are finally separated by barbarian
invasion when Kyriakos goes to his brother's monastery to avoid crowding into
the *kastron* with everyone else, and it is then that he takes the *schema* as Cyril
and undertakes the *apotage* and *hypotage* he previously prescribed for others. He
is tempted in ch. 27 when his son follows him to the monastery, asking 'Shall I

93. *VCyrilPhil* 47.9 (Sargologos 232).
94. D. Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton
      1993).
95. Mullett, 'In Peril on the Sea' 259–84.

not see my mother and sister?', but Cyril firmly says not at home, and not in the monastery, possibly outside it if they came to visit. But before they can visit, the son dies. We hear of the wife and remaining daughter only once more, when the *Protostrator* Michael in ch. 46 made a point of discovering whether Cyril had any living dependants, and providing for them. Ironically, of all wives of holy men this is the least needy, and the most independently impressive.

This text in no way conforms slavishly to established norms, though not all of Nicholas's most sophisticated techniques were of his own invention. The combination of a saint's *Life* with ascetic prescriptions goes back to the fourth-century *Life of Synkletike*, but I know of no other saint's life which combines *Life* and ascetic collection so intelligently and with such dramatic effect. Other saints' *Lives* have a flavour of the court about them, but the sense of dual readership in the *Life of Cyril* is quite unusual — not just the adaptation for lay piety of a professional textbook, but the way in which court and monastery interact, in four court sections, firmly structured into the *Life*. The court readership could smile at the way in which George Palaiologos and Michael the *protostrator* bale out the monastery and its dependants; the monastic readership could shudder at the dangers of the proximity of the world and sigh at the hope of another *philomonachos* Alexios. Other saints' *Lives* may, and *gerontika* like the *Pratum spirituale* certainly do, carry the flavour of everyday speech but seldom in such quantity and with such well-judged speeches for all classes of society from empress to peasant.

Kazhdan said in *Change in Byzantine Culture* that in the second half of the eleventh century ossification of hagiography sets in, despite the fact that major literary figures worked in the genre. He suggests that the *Life of Cyril* is typical. 'Every fact in the biography is presented amid numerous patristic quotations: schematization squeezed all the life out of the essay.'[96] I hardly think that what we have seen is ossification, rather an inventive structure, a sophisticated range of narrative techniques, a dazzling array of linguistic features. I cannot believe that any life was squeezed out of this ebullient work. Rather it seems that it reflects Bakhtin's description of texts in the throes of novelisation: it shows fluidity of genre, crosses the boundaries between religious and secular, is highly dialogised, uses different levels of Greek, and has its own joke.

3. The *Diegesis merike*

This text does not usually go out in polite society. It exists in two manuscripts, both Athonite,[97] and has hitherto been discussed purely in a monastic milieu, by Grumel, Dölger, Darrouzès, Papachryssanthou, Morris, Krausmüller and Angold.[98] Its title, 'a partial account', is applied to many different kinds of texts

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96. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 201.
97. Athos, MSS Iviron 382 (J) and Holy Trinity (T): see *Diegesis merike* ed. Meyer 163–84; P. Uspenskij, *Istorija Afona* vol. 2.1 (Kiev 1877) 355–78.
98. V. Grumel, *Les régestes des actes du pariarchat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, *Les actes des patriarches* (3 fascs. Chalcedon, Bucharest, Paris 1932–47) 958, 959, 960, 979, 980, 981, 997; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches* (5 vols Munich & Berlin 1924–65) 1171, 1126–27, 1248–50, 1253, 1265; V. Grumel,

in Byzantium including hagiography (Cyril's *Life* is *Bios kai politeia kai merike thaumaton diegesis*) but also including the innovative free-standing autobiography of Nikephoros Blemmydes in the thirteenth century.[99] It deals with a series of scandals on Mt Athos and how they affect the relations between the monks, the emperor and the patriarch. It has no author in the surviving manuscripts but presents itself as a narrative constructed from the letters of Alexios I Komnenos and the patriarch Nicholas III Grammatikos. What I want to suggest today is that it is the closest we have in Byzantium to an epistolary novel, and that although it operates at a very different discursive level from the revived novels, it has a level of narrative sophistication not unworthy of comparison with them.

Byzantium does not boast an epistolary novel, and this is interesting. Augustan Rome produced the Heroides,[100] and the twelfth-century West produced the letter-collection of Abelard and Heloise,[101] both of which take letters beyond the scope of a collection. Yet although letters are a feature of twelfth-century histories, in texts which clearly understand the *topoi* of letters and the friendship-thinking which underpins them, and included letters are also an important feature of the revived novel, they tend to be very brief and do not reach the length which might be comparable with either the Heroides or the Abelards. I have argued that after the turn of the eleventh century there is a strong sense of autobiography in letters, which can be compared with passages in *typika* and narrative poems on resignation from an Episcopal See, particularly as

'Les protes de la sainte-Montagne Athos sous Alexis I Comnène et le patriarche Nicolas Grammatikos' *REB* 5 (1947) 206–17; M. Gyoni, 'Les vlaques de Mont Athos' *EtSIR* 1 (1948) 30–42; J. Darrouzès, 'Liste des prôtes de l'Athos' *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963. Études et mélanges* (2 vols Chevetogne 1963–4) 1:407–47; *Actes du Prôtaton* ed. D. Papachryssanthou. Archives de l'Athos 7 (Paris 1975) 132–3, 238–42, 266; R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen* 275–80; D. Krausmüller, 'The Athonite Monastic Tradition During the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries' *Mt Athos and Byzantine Monasticism: Papers from the Twenty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994* ed. A. Bryer & M. Cunningham. SPBS 4 (Aldershot 1996) 57–65; M. Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge 1995) 280–83.

99. Nikephoros Blemmydes, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior* ed. J.A. Munitiz. CCSG 13 (Turnhout 1984).

100. Ovid, *Heroides* ed. and tr. G. Showerman (Cambridge Mass. 1914). See H. Jacobson, *Ovid's 'Heroides'* (Princeton 1974) and L.S. Kauffman, *Discourses of Desire: Gender, Genre and Epistolary Fictions* (Ithaca 1986) 29–62.

101. Abelard, *Historia calamitatum* ed. J.T. Muckle, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities: A Translation with Notes of the 'Historia calamitatum'* (Toronto 1954); P. Dronke, *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies* (Glasgow 1976), and D.E. Luscombe, 'From Paris to the Paraclete: The Correspondence of Abelard and Heloise' *ProcBrAc* 74 (1988) 247–83 dispose of the 'forgery theory' of the formation of the collection; M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford 1997) subscribes to this view while accommodating fictionality in autobiography and a thirteenth-century romance-reading reception. See also the current view which not only regards the letters as genuine, but ascribes to Abelard and Heloise another earlier collection. C.J. Mews, *The Lost Love Letters of Heloise and Abelard: Perceptions of Dialogue in Twelfth-Century France* (New York 1999).

authors came to edit their own collections and put together their own Variorum reprints.[102] The preface of Nikephoros Basilakes and the concern of Tzetzes to offer commentary material on his own letters show the direction in which this is going.[103] But very few of the twelfth-century letters show both sides of a correspondence, even in the way that the tenth-century letters of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Theodore Metropolitan of Kyzikos do.[104] The twelfth-century self-consciousness of identity would need to be combined with a double-sided correspondence for this to approach the nature of an epistolary novel.

Our text, however, combines first-person narrative and included letters in a way which balances the rich monastic *dramatis personae* with the official personnel of palace and patriarchate. The story unfolds in three main episodes: 1, The Vlach Shepherdesses; 2, The Boys and Beardless Youths; and 3, The Deathbed of Nicholas III Grammatikos. Through all this runs the thread of the *entole*, a document much resented on Athos, which was said to deny communion to the monks after their first transgression in encouraging the ministrations of the trousered female Vlachs. Who wrote it? Who had read it? Who had ever seen it? Could it's secrets be hidden in the patriarch's register? All becomes clear when on his deathbed Nicholas swears that he had written no such thing–and hears a confession by Joannikios Balmas of the sin of forgery. The story ends here in one manuscript, in the other with a pair of *lyseis* supportive to the monks of Athos. The theme is not unlike that of Nicholas Kataskepenos's attempt to bring emperor and monks together, except that the narrative technique is completely different.

The narrative structure of the text is all the harder to determine since it rests in a nested account of first person narratives, which creates an impression of chattering monks like those in Rosemary Morris's article on monastic embassies.[105] Its beginning suggests what is to come: a mixture of oral and written, a cast of thousands, and an anonymous first narrator, introducing the next narrator, who may have been the *protos* from 1107–8:

> The monk John Trachaniotes said that what happened concerning the Holy Mountain from the outset and beginning, the events before and after the *entole* of the patriarch, were written down not only by the monk and bishop Leontios but also by many of the holy fathers. And they take this form, approximately.[106]

102. M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 2 (Aldershot 1997) 279–88.

103. For the prologue to the collected works of Basilakes, see E. Miller, 'Preface d'un auteur byzantin' *Annuaire de la Association Pour L'Encouragement des Études Grecques en France* 7 (1873) 146–55; A. Garzya, 'Intorno al Prologo di Niceforo Basilace', *Bollettino del comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini* n.s. 19 (1971) 57–71, rp. *Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini: saggi e ricerche* (London 1974) XII; John Tzetzes, *Chiliades* ed. P.A.M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae historiae* (Naples 1968) passim.

104. See J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*. AOC 6 (Paris 1960) 317–41.

105. R. Morris, 'Divine Diplomacy in the Late Eleventh Century' *BMGS* 16 (1992) 147–56.

106. *Diegesis merike* ed. Meyer 163.

No pretentious classicizing *prooimion* here. But this innocent framework may conceal considerable sophistication. We next begin *in medias res:*

> After the expulsion of the animals and the Vlachs from the Holy Mountain, instead of thanking God for removing his great and destructive anger for visiting us with a visitation and for the cleansing of the Holy Mountain, the Mountain which God deigned to dwell in, they rather wept and beat their breasts.[107]

Why so? What happened? John goes on with Leontios's story, in the anonymous's account:

> For the devil entered the hearts of the Vlachs, and they had with them their women, who were wearing men's clothes, just like male believers, and they both pastured their sheep and served the monasteries, bringing cheeses and milk and wool to them, making leavened bread for the comfort of the monasteries, and, in a nutshell, they were like serfs and darlings to the monks. It would be shameful both to tell and to hear what was done by them.[108]

This is not told, but the result is. Some monks told on the Vlachs and the collaborating monks and complained to the patriarch. And then there was a terrible reaction to the *entole* of the patriarch, first mentioned here, and we have a sense of the Holy Mountain paralysed by gossip and shock.

> Accordingly a hesychast went off lamenting to [other] hesychasts, saying to them what he had been told by the demons[109]

Everyone left the Holy Mountain, going off to lobby in Constantinople with the Vlachs: 'And it was possible to see some monasteries founded and protected by God being guarded by lame and blind *gerontes*.'[110] By Christmas there were enough *hegoumenoi* present to meet in synod at Karyes. Three pious men are deputed to take a letter to the emperor: the monk kyr Joannikios (*hegoumenos* of Vatopedi), monk kyr Symeon (*hegoumenos* of Karakallou), the *hegoumenos* of Kastamonitou, a kinsman of the emperor. This is the first letter in the text:

> Ep 1
>
> Our holy Lord, let the power of your majesty know that the *entole* of the patriarch has depopulated the whole Mountain and we beg your powerful and holy majesty to dissolve the *entole* since we are all being ruined. For we also have been living in your peace a still and quiet life, praying also (166) for the power of your majesty, that God will make its years long as for the pious king Hezekiah so that you yourself may be deemed worthy to speak with boldness to God the heavenly king: 'remember, O Lord, that I with truth journeyed before your face with a perfect heart, and did pleasing things before your face.' We in turn, as we are and are disposed, say to you that those who bless you are blessed and those who

107. Loc.cit.
108. Loc. cit.
109. Ibid. 164.
110. Ibid. 165.

> curse you are cursed and may God the Lord deem you worthy of a
> share of the great and holy kings David and Hezekiah, and your
> throne will be found near Constantine, who is among the saints,
> and with the holy angels you will be rejoicing before the face of
> God for ever and ever. And farewell and be strong in the Lord,
> with your whole household. [111]

The emperor took it in his hands and his court (the whole palace and senate) advised him that the patriarch should come and give an explanation. The emperor wrote to the patriarch (letter 2) reproaching him for his action against the Mountain, and the patriarch replied (letter 3), denying it all but inveighing against the wickedness of the monks.

What next happens is that the patriarch sends this message and then the story bursts into the first person:

> The patriarch, having written this, sent it to our powerful and holy
> emperor, and, having blessed us and given beside us a pound of
> coins, dismissed us in peace. The emperor, having read it, gave us
> the same amount and 100 coins, and, turning to right and left, he
> said to those standing by, 'as you have seen me do, do ye likewise.'
> And many of the *sebastoi* contributed to our travelling costs with
> many contributions, and we proceeded on our way. Saying only this
> the emperor sent us off: 'Say to the *protos* and the whole *gerousia* as
> from me: "Pray for the power of my empire"'.[112]

This might be thought to have been narrated by one of the three ambassadors, except that there is some continuity with the next episode: 'We went home and stayed a little, the *protos* died, and then sixty of us went back to the emperor, and he appointed me [probably Hilarion] to be *protos* and Theodore Kephalas to be *hegoumenos* at St Athanasios.' The emperor tells the *hegoumenoi* to write minutes of the meeting, and some of them, including the *protos*, Theodore Kephalas and John Chortaitenos, then call on the patriarch. Here we have an account of an oral exchange about the hearing of *logismoi*: the patriarch comes down on the side of the monks. This looks very like a second embassy but with some overlap in personnel; or else Hilarion is not the narrator of the whole story so far and one of the first embassy (Joannikios of Vatopedi, Symeon of Karakallou, a Komnenos the *hegoumenos* of Kastamonitou) is instead.

The next episode, The Boys and Beardless Youths, begins with 'certain persons' complaining to the emperor about boys and beardless youths. After several exchanges it emerges that these are monks, and hesychasts, and the emperor tells them to go off to their archimandrite or be punished. He confirms the rights of Athos and sends them to the patriarch, with letter 4, asking him to help them, or if not to slit their noses. He also writes letter 5, to the *protos* Hilarion, forbidding monks to come up to Constantinople to make a fuss. The patriarch then bids them farewell, telling them to stop complaining about young monks and to stop complaining about the non-existent *entole*. And having

111. Ibid. 165–6.
112. Ibid. 169.

prayed, he dismissed them. A further, courtly, dimension is added by John Chortaitenos, *hegoumenos*:

> At that time the emperor dispatched the eunuch Mosynopolites, saying, 'Bring me here the *epitropos* of my *gambros* caesar Melissenos', and I was then found in the palace. And if I had not intervened they would have slit the noses of the seven monks. Why? Because of the opposition which they mounted to the emperor, saying 'Master, the prophets and every saying of a righteous man were relaxed about boys and beardless youths.' On account of which he wished to slit their noses and conduct and dispatch them to the Mountain as not being pleased with his words when he said, '*they have Moses and the prophets*'. At any rate, the most humane emperor was angry with them but he did not harm them; instead he dispatched them to the patriarch [174] and they heard his divinely inspired words. And so they withdrew. [113]

The story is now taken up by a pair of *pittakia*, one imperial (Ep. 6), one patriarchal (Ep. 7), asking for better behaviour on the Holy Mountain, begging them to do their duty and pray for the empire and to desist from schisms and factions. And the patriarch also writes (Ep. 8) to the emperor about problems on the Mountain caused by monks from Constantinople who have not adapted to Athonite life.[114]

Next comes an interlude on the theme of the search for the *entole*, narrated by Basil *hegoumenos* of Karakallou, as we are told at the end. This is an oral exchange in which the patriarch is angry at their constant search for the *entole*, some metropolitans also chide them and the monks withdraw. The emperor and the patriarch refer the matter to the *protos*, some *hegoumenoi* raise a matter of chant and the patriarch mentions nose-slitting again, and all are dismissed. In a footnote it is revealed that the *protos* Hilarion reminded Alexios of the Turkish attack on the city and the emperor, apparently in person, blames both the monks for neglect and himself for his sins.[115]

In the next episode, the emperor makes the running. In John Chortaitenos's account, he asks for monks to come from Chortaitou with the privileges and typikon of the monastery. Despite this literate beginning, the story is told in terms of conversation not letters, and it is the story of The Deathbed of Nicholas Grammatikos. Alexios wants John to go to the patriarch, and John is unwilling to tempt the curse of the dying Nicholas. Alexios tries to send his son-in-law and his son, and other courtiers, then agrees to come himself. They go to the patriarch and in a long series of exchanges it is established that the patriarchal register does not include an *entole*, and that Chortaitenos was instrumental in saving the noses of the *hagioreitai*. All thanked God, all were blessed, and John II Komnenos stays behind to do some business. Nicholas predicts that he will be the next emperor and gives him a message to the emperor:

113. Ibid. 173–4.
114. Ibid. 174–5.
115. Ibid. 175–6.

> 'Remember the memorandum which I sent to you, and stop, so
> that God may forgive your past. A John will succeed to his father;
> a John will succeed also to my worthlessness.' [116]

And all went back to the emperor, including the *chartophylax* with another
message exhorting the emperor, however much he loved the Holy Mountain, to
accept the patriarch's assurance at last. And it seems that the emperor and the
patriarch 'were seen to be most blessed in honour towards one another', a
deathbed reconciliation. This, however, was not the end of the matter. John
Chortaitenos's account makes it clear that it was raised again under John II, and
he wrote a *semeioma* for the Mountain. His motives appear to have been to
outstrip his father in concern for the Mountain.

Next comes the denouement of the whodunit: Joannikios Balmas 'dunit'.
Before Nicholas's death in 1111, so long before the death of Alexios in 1118 and
John's succession, it was already known that Joannikios had forged the *entole*, as
a follow-up to his delation to emperor and patriarch of the wicked doings.
Nicholas heard his confession and told him to erase the document — but Balmas
still cannot let it rest and complains that the number of boys on the mountain has
increased to excess. The patriarch gives him short shrift and sends him back to
destroy the document:

> Away then and first erase the false ascription to me, and let
> everyone else do likewise, and I pray that your name be written in
> the kingdom of heaven. [117]

This looks final enough, in narrative terms, though clearly it was not in litigative
terms so, finally, in one of the two manuscripts only, a document of patriarch
Chariton (1177–78), quoting the *lysis* of Alexios I Komnenos, brings the whole
sorry story to a close, while still not exonerating poor patriarch Nicholas.

This is a complex narrative of three (or possibly four) nested first person
accounts, eight letters and two *lyseis*, and five *oratio recta* conversations. It
delights in intimate details of court and patriarchate, and the picture of the
emperor comes over almost as a caricature: he is short-tempered (the nose-
slitting), he quotes scripture ('Ye have Moses and the prophets'), he is
favourably disposed to the Holy Mountain, unwilling to appoint his son and co-
emperor his successor, and he is constitutionally mean (the courtiers have to turn
out their pockets to tip the monks). It leads the reader into a world of its own,
and surprises with the denouement. It is as clear as its complexity allows, it has
utterly compelling conversations, and it is persuasive. It shows perhaps that the
narrative experiments of the twelfth century were not a matter purely for the
learned circles of Constantinople. At a very much lower level of style, though
not quite in the vernacular, novelisation had still had its effect.

And so this third text also shows the richness of a literature in the state of
novelisation. It offers multiple first person authorship, sophistication of narrative
combined with a level of language and style Photios would never have tolerated,
a high level of dialogisation, and a witty Alexios unrecognizable in Cyril's

116. Ibid. 180.
117. Ibid. 182.

hagiography but entirely recognizable from Anna's history yet offered with elements of parody.

So where does this leave us with respect to novelisation, narrative and the revival of fiction? Our chosen narrative texts did not reveal some of the salient features of the indeterminacy which is a close fit for Bakhtin's model — the ambiguity of prose and verse (the novels are in prose, iambic trimeters or *politikos stichos*)[118] and the vogue for satire and riddles. But they do show other features which fit well: the use of the vernacular, the crossing of boundaries between secular and religious, authorial intrusion, generic *mixis* and development, use of dialogue and on occasion a mordant wit. Two are patently experimental, and the third only looks less experimental to us since it is of all Byzantine literary works, thanks to Penguin Books, the most familiar.

But as well as demonstrating Bakhtin's point, our investigation may be able also to explain some of Roger Scott's puzzlement when confronted with middle Byzantine narrative texts. Roger saw a simple contrast between Byzantine and classical history; we can now posit a progressive change. Sixth-century classicizing history reproduces many features of classical histories; history after the Byzantine Dark Age shows Roger's 'puzzling' characteristics *par excellence,* and Skylitzes points them out in his *prooimion.* Like other forms of narrative, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries history shows signs of novelisation, of realignment of genre and discourse in a more exciting literary environment. But it also shows the rhetorical training of which Tzetzes was so proud, and to which Anna was so concerned to lay claim. Tzetzes' advice on how to write history is not transgressive, but it conforms to the progymnasmatists' virtues of narrative: clarity and sweetness were necessary, excursuses were allowed (though not long ones), and persuasiveness or credibility were essential. Anna's identification of truth with *plasma* means that in her terms her history is more true once she has combined the 'bare truth' of her informants with her classical understanding and rhetorical *diegesis.* This shows that she is entirely Byzantine while also being entirely Bakhtinian.

We may have found ways in which Bakhtin's theory could be modified: it is not only in societies where the novel dominates that the effect of novelisation is experienced; other genres are by no means ossified on the eve of novelisation. But in general it has helped us understand the nature of literature and literary society in the twelfth century, and the originality of both obscure and very well known texts.

118. See most recently M. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Vienna 1999).

Roger Scott

Narrating Justinian: From Malalas to Manasses

This paper discusses how chroniclers wrote about Justinian across six centuries. That the Byzantines remembered Justinian, like Constantine, as one of the great emperors, does not really need demonstration. But a conference held in St Andrews in 1992 on the later image of Constantine showed that Byzantine memory of Constantine was by no means straightforward, nor was it consistent.[1] This led me to wonder if the same was true about Justinian. My main points are:

1. That our modern Western picture of Justinian as the great conqueror, based largely on Prokopios' *Wars*, which is still our best source for Justinian, is nevertheless a misleading picture.

2. That Malalas gives a better overall impression of the reign than does Prokopios. This involves seeing Justinian's conquests as just one small element of the reign.

3. That later chroniclers in a way follow this by seeing Justinian above all as the builder of Hagia Sophia and as a religious leader rather than as the great conqueror.

4. That Theophanes in the ninth century revives the Prokopian picture of Justinian as the great conqueror but he does this by rearranging Malalas while still following him verbatim.[2]

5. That Theophanes' recreation of Justinian as the conqueror also involves enlarging the role of Belisarios as the great military hero.

6. That the chronicle of Kedrenos shows signs of independent research and in fact plays a key role in increasing the stature of Belisarios.

7. That the increased role of Belisarios in the chronicles provides a basis for the later Byzantine romance of Belisarios.

I would, however, like first to draw attention to one characteristic of Byzantine chroniclers — their reliance on copying verbatim the work of their predecessors whilst at the same time producing a work which was idiosyncratically their own, something which really does not seem to fit with their being verbatim copyists.

In recent years more attention has been paid to the fact that chroniclers do alter what they have found in their sources. Most attention has been given to the effect of chroniclers linking different episodes, or rather linking episodes that had been given different contexts in their sources, and so enabling them to put their own 'spin' on their narration.[3] This helps restore the virtue of originality

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1. P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* (Aldershot 1994).

2. Points (2) and (4) are treated in more detail in R. Scott, 'Writing the Reign of Justinian: Malalas *versus* Theophanes' *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* ed. P. Allen & E. Jeffreys. ByzAus 10 (Brisbane 1996) 20–34.

3. E.g. R. Maisano, 'Note su Giorgio Cedreno e la tradizione storiografica bizantina' *RSBS* 3 (1983) 227–48; A. Markopoulos, 'Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millennium' *Byzantium in the Year 1000* ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden 2003)

that we moderns demand. What I would prefer to emphasise here is the importance the Byzantines (and particularly chroniclers) placed on sticking to the same material as their sources, and where possible using the same language. It was this that gave credence to their accounts because they were writing for an audience that already knew the outlines of their story. Plagiarism was for them thus a virtue, which our chroniclers often proclaim proudly in their prefaces,[4] and so they deliberately attempt to give the impression of plagiarism especially when they have in fact altered their source significantly. Alteration thus had to be subtle enough to retain the impression of plagiarism.

This was an area where chroniclers differed from historians. Historians justified their work by the need to correct the interpretation of the past provided by their predecessors, often representing a different regime, and so needed to emphasise change even when none existed. This is not something I have room to explore here.[5]

This fondness for the repetition of familiar material among chroniclers can be observed elsewhere in Byzantine culture, perhaps most obviously in hagiography, icons and the depiction of Biblical scenes in church decoration. Alison Elliott commented that for a medieval audience the repetitiveness 'may have constituted part of the enjoyment of the text.'[6] In hagiography there is both the transfer of favourite stories from the Life of one saint to another, such as the removal of a thorn from the lion's foot, and the similarity of treatment of different saints' Lives, particularly, of course, after the metaphrastic revisions but even in the pre-metaphrastic Lives, while the transfer of images apparently independently of any text has been explored by Leslie Brubaker.[7]

It is clear that in Byzantine culture writers felt that credibility relied on, or was acquired by, repeating what was familiar and hence was acceptable and trustworthy. So this repetition was used as a framework on which an independent

188–97; idem, 'Sur les deux versions de la Chronographie de Syméon Logothète' *BZ* 76 (1983) 279–84, rp. *History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th–10th Centuries* (Aldershot 2004); J.N. Ljubarskij, 'Concerning the Literary Technique of Theophanes the Confessor' *BSl* 56 (1995) 305–16; idem, 'Quellenforschung and/or Literary Criticism: Narrative Structures in Byzantine Historical Writings' *SOsl* 73 (1998) 5–22; A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature, 650–850* (Athens 1999) 220–1.

4. E.g. 'I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers.' Theophanes, *Chronographia* preface ed. C. de Boor (2 vols Leipzig 1883–5) 1:4, tr. C. Mango & R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford 1997) 2.

5. R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 61–74.

6. A.G. Elliott, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover N.H. 1987) 7.

7. L. Brubaker, 'Pictures are Good to Think With: Looking At, With and Through Byzantium' *L'écriture de la mémoire: la littérarité de l'historiographie. Actes du IIIe colloque international philologique 'EPMHNEIA', Nicosie, 6-7-8 mai 2004* ed. P. Odorico & P.A. Agapitos. Dossiers Byzantins (in press).

interpretation could be built. It is a process of this sort that forms the basis of the changes made to the narratives of Justinian and Belisarios.

Overall there are two points I want to make. The first is that the later Byzantine tradition does not see Justinian as the great conqueror at all. Rather he is the builder of Hagia Sophia, the emperor who promoted orthodoxy but also the emperor whose envy led him to punish and humiliate Byzantium's real warrior hero Belisarios. The second is that the late and post-Byzantine romances about Belisarios as the blinded victim of a Justinian driven by envy are not simply the result of fiction-writers' imagination but are an almost natural development from the chronicle tradition. Certainly there is a leap at some point across genres from history to romance, almost certainly in the Komnenian literary renaissance and the reinvention of the novel in the twelfth century. But given that Byzantine ideology needed a military hero to show that God favoured the righteous with victory in war, the intriguing feature is the development of different roles for Justinian and Belisarios in the chronicle tradition, with Justinian becoming the theologian rather than the conqueror. That the earliest surviving version of the Belisarios romance in the fourteenth century will have developed from the appearance of aspects of the Belisarios legend in the twelfth century or earlier has often been noted.[8] But I do not think the rise of the Belisarios romance has ever been linked to the changing status of Justinian.

Let me begin with the narrative of Justinian as the great warrior, the restorer of the Empire through military might. This is, of course, the picture we get in our modern texts, where particular emphasis is laid (especially in those emanating from western Europe) on the recovery of the Western Empire, particularly of Italy and the capital Rome but also of Vandal Africa and Carthage. Brian Croke demonstrated the weakness of this at our second-ever meeting of AABS back in 1980.[9] I add just two points. Of the four events for which Justinian's reign is most famous — the codification of the Laws, the building of Hagia Sophia, the reconquest of the West and the closing of the Academy[10] — all but the reconquest of the West have happened or are well under way by 533. The reconquest does not get going until Justinian has completed almost eight years as

8. W.F. Bakker & A.F. van Gemert, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου* (Athens 1988) 29–30; E. Jeffreys, 'The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers Towards Ancient History' *Byz* 49 (1979) 211–2; Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature* 135–6; E. Follieri, 'Il poema bizantino de Belisario' *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione* (Rome 1970) 583–651.

9. B. Croke, 'Justinian and the Ideology of Reconquest' abstract in *Byzantine Studies in Australia Newsletter* 6 (1980) 1–2.

10. For the first three, G. Prinzing, 'Das Bild Justinians I in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7 bis 15 Jahrhundert' *FM* 7 (1986) 1–99 at 2, citing H. Hunger, 'Kaiser Justinian I (527–565)' *AnzWien* 102 (1965) 339–56, here 341–2, rp. *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild* ed. H. Hunger (Darmstadt 1975) 333–52, here 335–7; cf. J. Irmscher, 'Justinianbild und Justiniankritik im frühen Byzanz' *Studien zum 7 Jh. in Byzanz* ed. H. Köpstein & F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1976) 131–42. For the 'Academy', 'even those who know nothing else of Justinian know that he closed the Academy at Athens in AD 529'. A.D.E. Cameron, 'The Last Days of the Academy at Athens' *ProcCPS* 195 (1969) 7.

emperor, a period which in most modern governments would be the equivalent of two complete terms of office, and almost three terms here in Australia. So something that did not happen in this period was scarcely a high priority, especially when set against the things that did happen in those energetic early years of the reign. This is reinforced by the second point: the tiny force sent to recover the West, some 7,000 troops (admittedly reinforced by Belisarios' own *bucellarioi*), again a figure put in perspective by the 6,000 Justinian sent in the same year to install a patriarch in Alexandria — and a Monophysite one at that.[11] If Justinian needed 6,000 troops to install a patriarch but allocated just 7,000 to recapture the West after eight years in office, then recapturing the West was hardly a military priority, let alone the major objective of his reign from its beginning.

My point, however, is that our image of Justinian as the great conqueror, who set the recovery of the West as his immediate and top priority, has occurred mainly through the privileging of sources, so we give priority to a classicising historian Prokopios;[12] and partly through the way Theophanes later rewrote Malalas' narrative of Justinian. If we give proper weight to the original Malalas, that is to the real primary source that owes nothing to the Classical tradition, we get a very different picture of Justinian.

I discussed that picture in Brisbane,[13] so let me just give the main points here. Malalas' book 18 is devoted to Justinian and is by far the longest book in the Chronicle. It seems to contain just odd snippets of information about the reign. What comes out very clearly from these snippets is the importance of Christianity, the Church and the pious Emperor in everyday society, impinging on so many facets of people's lives. This is so despite Malalas' almost complete ignorance of or lack of interest in the big theological issues of the day. Secular topics are made part of Christian life. So for instance earthquakes, the plague and foreign affairs (in the form of the baptism of foreign kings) are given a Christian context. There is space too for the story of Andrew and his dog, even if its function is by no means clear. But that only emphasises the comparative lack of interest in the reconquest of Italy and Vandal Africa, which get less space than Andrew's dog, though they are of course mentioned.[14] Amidst all this is the presence of the Emperor. The activities of the Emperor almost invariably seem to be occasions for showing the Emperor as God's representative on earth (though of course this is never stated precisely), whether by being bountiful or by providing chastisement and creating fear. The effect is that almost everything

11. Prokopios, *Gothic War* 1.5.2, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* ed. J. Haury rev. G. Wirth (4 vols Leipzig 1962–4) 2:25; Michael the Syrian, *La chronique de Michel le Syrien* ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot (3 vols Paris 1899–1904) 2:194.

12. So well discussed in much of A.M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985).

13. Scott, 'Malalas *versus* Theophanes'.

14. He does show much more concern about disputes with Persia, though most emphasis is on negotiations over the Endless Peace rather than with actual war, and (in contrast to modern accounts) with the Huns. Dealings with neither Persia nor the Huns involved reconquest, so further emphasising his lack of interest either in war or in Italy and Vandal Africa. See Scott, 'Malalas *versus* Theophanes' 26–7.

that happens appears to involve the Emperor or to fall within his responsibilities. But he is not a warlike, conquering emperor. The wars certainly are there, but they are just one small part of the reign in which so much else attracts the interest of the Chronicler. It is a very different picture from that in Prokopios. It is also worth noting that by the end of his reign Justinian was probably representing his rule as something much closer to Malalas' version than Prokopios'.[15]

Malalas is often criticised, understandably, for providing just a collection of snippets of information rather than any kind of worthwhile narrative. We need to remember (and my own students have grown tired of this reminder) that Malalas is the only source we have that includes all four of the famous events of Justinian's reign (the building of Hagia Sophia, the recovery of the West, the codification of the laws and the closing of the Academy).[16] It is not unreasonable to suggest that Malalas' collection of facts do have some claim to significance as a way of surveying the reign.

Malalas' version rather than Prokopios' is accepted in the next surviving chronicle, the *Chronicon Paschale*. Written in about 630, its main thrust is on the calculation of the date of Easter, its author probably having been on the staff of Hagia Sophia. It again begins with Creation and in the Bonn edition covers world history from Creation to AD 628 in 737 pages.[17] Seventy-one of these pages are devoted to Justinian, which makes Justinian a very significant figure, scoring 9.6 percent of the space between Creation and the seventh century. (Constantine by contrast scores just seventeen pages for instance, or 2.3 percent). For Justinian the *Chronicon Paschale* draws almost exclusively on Malalas for the first six years from 527 to the earthquake of 533 where the author's text of Malalas may have ended. This includes our most detailed account of the Nika riot of 532, wrongly dated to 531 but also showing that the author was concerned with secular material and not just the date of Easter. All this uses up just twelve of the *Chronicon Paschale's* seventy-one pages on Justinian. For Justinian's remaining thirty-two years, the *Chronicon Paschale* records virtually no events at all, despite expending fifty-nine of its seventy-one pages on this period. There is just a sentence on Justinian's codification in 534; a reference to the Fifth Ecumenical Council; an account of the 532-year Easter cycle and a sentence on the rededication of Hagia Sophia in 563. These events take up something less than a page between them. For the remaining years all we are given is the name of the sole consul and, after 541, the number of years since the last consul. But the *Chronicon Paschale* does make three additions to Malalas, and it is these that use up the space and so, I think, indicate what the author judged to be the

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15. 'By the end of his reign, Justinian was perhaps emphasising a more priestly and liturgical side to his imperial image.' Cameron, *Procopius* 255.

16. Cf. note 11 above and J. Beaucamp, 'Le philosophe et le joueur: la date de la "fermeture" de l'école d'Athènes' *TM* 14 (2002) 21–5. Beaucamp establishes the value of Malalas, taken with two texts from Justinian's code, to provide a precise date of 22 September 529 for the legislation forbidding the teaching of philosophy at Athens.

17. *Chronicon Paschale* ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn 1832).

significance of the reign. The first two of these additions are verbatim citations of two of Justinian's edicts on orthodox belief, firstly the Theopaschite edict of 533, which takes up almost four pages of the Bonn edition and then, following a short account of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553, we get Justinian's edict on the so-called Three Chapters which takes up a massive forty-nine pages of Bonn text; and finally at the year 562, in its account of the Easter cycle, the *Chronicon Paschale* cites a page of Gregory Nazianzen's Easter Oration. There is absolutely nothing on either the reconquest of Vandal Africa or of Italy or indeed on any other military action; instead there are well over fifty pages of documents on theology to the exclusion of all else. (This also accounts for the apparent difference in the treatment of Constantine.) Whatever its purpose we can say that, although the *Chronicon Paschale's* Justinian is not Malalas' Justinian (since Malalas was not interested in theology), nevertheless it is a development from Malalas with the emphasis on religion. It certainly has nothing at all to do with Prokopios' Justinian and war and conquest.

What needs stressing here is that the representation of Justinian as the conqueror has disappeared. But the notion of Justinian as the theologian was to persist. In a way this makes Theophanes' chronicle all the more remarkable.

When Theophanes came to put together his chronicle at the beginning of the ninth century he almost certainly did not have the *Chronicon Paschale* available to him.[18] The sources he had available and used were Malalas plus Prokopios' *Vandal War* and *Persian War* but seemingly not his *Gothic War*. I discussed in Brisbane how Theophanes adapted Malalas, with not a little help from Prokopios, to create a very different Justinian from that of his source while sticking rigorously to Malalas' facts and language.[19]

There are four aspects of how Theophanes altered Malalas that are worth noting:

(a) The inclusion of an account of the Vandal War based exclusively on Prokopios.

(b) The inclusion of Belisarios' theatrical ploy to trick the Persians into avoiding battle, again based on Prokopios.

(c) His rearrangement of Malalas' chronology.

(d) His omission of substantial portions of Malalas' material.

Theophanes uses these four means to establish the picture of Justinian as a successful warrior emperor. He needs to do this since throughout his long chronicle (covering over 500 years in 500 pages) Theophanes manages to align imperial piety with success and impiety with failure as a normal historical phenomenon. The easiest change to spot is his treatment of the Vandal War. For although Theophanes uses Malalas, mainly verbatim, for his basic material for Justinian, he turns to Prokopios for the Vandal War and inserts a thirty-page summary on this topic. That is, almost half of his account of Justinian (thirty out of sixty-eight pages) is given to these wars, so that they dominate the picture of the reign. It is by far the longest treatment of any single episode in the whole

18. Theoph., Mango & Scott liii–liv, lxxx.
19. Scott, 'Malalas *versus* Theophanes' 18–34.

chronicle (and as it is all dealt with under a single year, it is appropriate to think of it as a single episode). It emphasises the notion of Justinian as the conquering emperor. But Theophanes strengthens that picture more subtly by his alterations to Malalas. What he does is rearrange Malalas' chronology drastically, grouping Justinian's military activities in the first years, or rather he transfers (or omits entirely) the non-military activity out of the early years, and then introduces his long précis of Prokopios' *Vandal War*, so that the first forty-two of the sixty-eight pages of his account of Justinian are almost entirely limited to military success. As an example, the non-military story of Andrew and his dog is postponed thirteen years from Malalas' date of 530 to 543.[20] In effect the non-military part of Malalas on Justinian disappears so that, with the help of the thirty-page addition on the Vandal War, we again have Justinian as a military emperor.

The other alteration where Theophanes again exploits Prokopios can now be considered. The years 539 to 542 were disastrous for Byzantium with problems in Alexandria and Egypt in 539, Persian invasions in 540 and 541 resulting in the loss of Antioch and a number of other major cities and culminating symbolically with the Persian king Chosroes bathing in the Mediterranean, all to be followed by the horrendous plague of 542. Theophanes just does not want to know about the military disasters which would have undermined totally his vision of Justinian the God-supported emperor. So he minimizes the disaster to a single line:

> Chosroes, the Persian emperor, captured Antioch the Great and entered Apameia and other cities.[21]

That is all. It is outrageously inadequate as a statement. To compensate he turns to Prokopios' *Persian War* (possibly here alone) and devotes some two and a half pages to an unlikely story of how Belisarios got the better of Chosroes by a kind of theatrical ploy to gain a rather insignificant victory.[22] This involved, at a sticky moment on campaign, selecting his finest-looking troops of various races and getting them to dress up in splendid costumes (including national dress) and then pretending to look utterly relaxed when the Persian ambassador arrived. This supposedly so impressed and frightened the ambassador that he advised Chosroes to withdraw immediately. It is a good story. In effect the narrative turns defeat into victory, at any rate for the reader of history. The real disasters of 540 are forgotten and instead Theophanes can make the extraordinary claim (even if derived from Prokopios) that Belisarios 'gained even greater glory' by this manoeuvre than from his achievements in Vandal Africa. By linking the two

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20. Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.51 ed. I. Thurn. CFHB 35 (Berlin 2000) 381, tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation*. ByzAus 4 (Melbourne 1986) 266, gives the date just as 'in that year' which follows shortly after a precise reference to the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes (530). Theophanes' date is AM 6036 (543/4).

21. Theoph. AM 6031 (de Boor 1:218).

22. Theoph. AM 6033 (de Boor 1:220–2); cf. Prokopios, *Persian War* 2.21.1–29, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* ed. J. Haury rev. G. Wirth (4 vols Leipzig 1962–4) 1:238–48.

campaigns and by this careful editing of material, the image of Justinian the conquering hero is retained.

For Theophanes, this account saved the reputation of his Justinian. But as with his other borrowing from Prokopios, the account of the Vandal War, it gave much attention to Belisarios. We should also note here that Theophanes retains from Malalas the story of the so-called 'bankers' revolt' of 563 and Justinian's suspicion that Belisarios was involved and so placed him temporarily under house arrest. Here Theophanes does not really change Malalas; what is significant is that this story is retained, along with the Vandal War and Belisarios' theatrical ploy, in the Komnenian chroniclers' account of Justinian. But those same chroniclers ignore the picture of Justinian as the great conqueror, the aspect which Theophanes, I suspect, felt was the really important part of his revision, because that was what was needed for his ideological interpretation of the Iconoclastic controversy, with God rewarding proper belief with military victory through the power of the Cross. Instead the later chroniclers revert to the account of Justinian as the theological leader against heresy, and they make the building of Hagia Sophia his number one achievement (perhaps from frequently seeing the mosaic in the narthex of Hagia Sophia), so that accounts of his reign tend to begin 'The next emperor was Justinian, the builder of Hagia Sophia'. What little attention they do give to military exploits is there to draw attention to Belisarios.

That is to leap ahead too far as it does not happen until the twelfth century. After Theophanes our next major chronicle is that of George the Monk, or George the Sinner as he also calls himself, though whether this helped to distinguish him from all the other monks called George must be doubtful. Anyway George in either the late ninth or sometime in the tenth century produced a long-winded chronicle spanning the period from Creation to 842 which takes up 805 pages of Teubner text, twenty-eight of which are devoted to Justinian.[23] Insofar as he uses a chronicle source, that source is Theophanes, but he is not really interested in Theophanes' interpretation at all. He really is only interested in aspects of morality and proper religious practice.

His opening paragraph on Justinian credits him with Hagia Sophia, the *monogenes* hymn, the renaming of Antioch as the city of God and the first celebration of the presentation (of the Virgin), all in half a dozen lines, followed by a page-long quotation from John Chrysostom on the presentation of the Virgin; then another half-dozen lines to cover a flood and the Nika riot (as evidence for God's displeasure) as background to the Fifth Ecumenical Synod, which provides the excuse for twelve pages on Justinian's edicts on Origen and then on Theodore of Mopsuestia and other matters to do with the Synod. We then get three pages of other disasters (all signs of God's displeasure) — the plague (he is more detailed than other chroniclers), followed by thunder, lightning, earthquake, the collapse of buildings and more earthquakes, all taken

23. Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* ed. C. de Boor, rev. P. Wirth (2 vols Stuttgart 1978) 627–54. The most likely date is 871, as argued by A. Markopoulos, 'Συμβολὴ στὴ χρονολόγηση τοῦ Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ' *Σύμμεικτα* 6 (1985) 223–31, rp. *History and Literature* (Aldershot 2004).

from Theophanes, but instead of a victorious Justinian we are told that 'wars, plagues and deaths did not cease among mankind'. Next the story of Andrew (who is not named) and his dog, followed by the mistake on the date of Easter and finally the arrest and conviction of homosexuals, which provides the excuse for a ten-page digression on Sodom and Gomorrah. That is all. There is nothing on any warlike activity by Justinian. So George follows Theophanes for language and much of his information but completely rejects his interpretation or perhaps simply is not interested in it.

So to Kedrenos, who at some point in the twelfth century wrote a huge chronicle from Creation to 1057, entitled *Synopsis Historion*, in 1,548 pages in the Bonn edition. It is a big book. It also presents a problem for any discussion. Kedrenos is regarded as the paramount plagiarizer, having for example lifted his final 500 or so pages from Skylitzes. Unfortunately one of his sources, known as Pseudo-Symeon, has never been edited, though much work has been done on it.[24] It is well beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the problems of this text. For my purposes it is worth noting that Pseudo-Symeon survives in *Parisinus graecus* 1712 fol 18v–272, which is itself a compilation based primarily on Theophanes and Symeon Logothete.[25] In fact Kedrenos seems to use both Pseudo-Symeon and Symeon Logothete separately, the latter known to us under various names, notably Leo Grammaticus and a slightly abbreviated version attributed to Theodosios Melissenos.[26] Symeon Logothete is also based closely on Theophanes but is more abbreviated, though also containing some intriguing additional details which are not in *Parisinus graecus* 1712 but which Kedrenos includes. Pseudo-Symeon and Symeon Logothete certainly lie behind most but not all of Kedrenos' various apparently independent pieces of information.[27] Nevertheless we have already noted that Byzantine plagiarism quite often involves significant alteration, and we also need to remember that Kedrenos is still the author of the final work, even if his role is largely that of a compiler.

Kedrenos' account of Justinian ultimately is drawn almost exclusively from Theophanes (though probably via Pseudo-Symeon), much of it word for word, and with changes often being simply the substitution of synonyms, often the same root word compounded with a different preposition. His version is very much shorter than Theophanes' while still including a wider range of Theophanes' events than other chroniclers had done. His method basically is to

24. Most notably by A. Markopoulos, Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καὶ οἱ πηγές της (PhD thesis, University of Ioannina 1978); K. Praechter, 'Quellenkritische Studien zu Kedrenos (cod. Paris. gr.1712)' SBMünch 2.1 (1897) 1–107. Pseudo-Symeon is preserved in *Paris.gr.1712* so references are given to folio numbers of that manuscript.

25. Markopoulos, Χρονογραφία 17–23. But Markopoulos, 27–30, also notes that, whereas Pseudo-Symeon draws on the 'z' family of Theophanes' mss, Kedrenos follows the 'x' family, which would suggest some intermediate source.

26. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842); Theodosios Melissenos, *Chronographia* ed. T.L.F. Tafel *Monumenta Saecularia* (Munich 1859) 143–238.

27. Markopoulos, Χρονογραφία; idem, 'Kedrenos, Pseudo-Symeon and the Last Oracle at Delphi' *GRBS* 26 (1985) 207–10, rp. *History and Literature*.

delete words, phrases, sentences or whole incidents as he goes along, making the minimal syntactic changes to what is left to retain clarity and grammatical accuracy. He follows Theophanes' chronology absolutely (inaccurate though it was) and uncritically, dating each event to a numbered year of Justinian's reign. So the story of Andrew and his dog is placed in Justinian's seventeenth year. His plagiarism of Theophanes is so persistent that I have now convinced myself that Kedrenos had an electronic copy of Theophanes' text and produced his own chronicle on computer by highlighting and deleting with the occasional cut and paste. As proof I found that the quickest way for me to translate Kedrenos was to use precisely this technique on the electronic version of my translation of Theophanes. Just occasionally this method has led me astray but I have been disturbed to find that it worked so well.

I do have a serious point in making this claim.[28] We need to be very much aware of Kedrenos' absolute reliance on Theophanes to appreciate fully how energetically he in fact rejects Theophanes' Justinian. What is not entirely clear at this stage is whether Kedrenos himself is responsible for the rejection of Theophanes' Justinian through his own adaptation of Pseudo-Symeon's material or whether that adaptation and rejection had already been made by Pseudo-Symeon. But a preliminary examination of Kedrenos' differences from Pseudo-Symeon does suggest that it was mainly Kedrenos' own initiative. Most notably Pseudo-Symeon retains Theophanes' very lengthy account of the Vandal War in full, which Kedrenos reduces to a little over a page together with a significant variation to be discussed a little later.[29] It is also clear that Kedrenos' account of the Vandal War is not based on a similarly brief version in Symeon Logothete, though Kedrenos appears to be aware of that account.

From the outset Kedrenos seems determined to show that his interpretation of Justinian will be quite different from that of Theophanes, the source from which he has plagiarised his facts, his language, his structure and his dates. His opening paragraph stresses Justinian's attack on heresy and then refers to his building of the churches of Sts Sergios and Bakchos and the Holy Apostles and monasteries, none of which is in Theophanes or Malalas, though it is in Pseudo-Symeon. The paragraph seems to be intended to provide a summary of the significance of the

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28. I also have a serious point in using this method of translating as being the best way of revealing Kedrenos' method to a reader who may have access to our translation of Theophanes. The translation (currently at a very early stage) is being prepared together with John Burke and Paul Tuffin with Australian Research Grant support. We also happily acknowledge the co-operation of Riccardo Maisano and Luigi Tartaglia who are editing Kedrenos for *CFHB*, and also of Athanasios Markopoulos, whose work on Pseudo-Symeon is crucial for the study of Kedrenos.

29. Georgius Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum* ed. I. Bekker (2 vols Bonn 1838–9) 1:649–50; Pseudo-Symeon fol. 130v.6–141v, after which a folio is missing which corresponds with Theoph. AM 6031 (de Boor 1:213.29–216.18). This amounts to some 82 lines in de Boor. As the line length in de Boor is slightly longer than that in *Paris.gr.1712* which has 39 lines per page, it seems unlikely that there would have been space in the ms for the variation included in Kedrenos. Kedrenos does thus appear to be responsible for the variation. (The surviving portion on the Vandal War occupies 871 lines in *Paris.gr.1712* as against 793 in de Boor). Cf. n. 40 below.

reign, before he gets down to the year-by-year treatment. Later he does also include Justinian's edict on Origen which is not in Pseudo-Symeon and which he may have taken from George the Monk. Whatever the source, it is Kedrenos' own addition. The effect is to give prominence to the Fifth Ecumenical Synod in contrast to the short shrift it receives in Malalas' and Theophanes' confused accounts. In Kedrenos the Synod receives twelve pages and so becomes the major item of his Justinian,[30] even though he has no extra information to report. It certainly provides the flavour of his account, with Justinian again being seen as a theologian rather than a conqueror. What then becomes intriguing is that Kedrenos is also able to make various additions, for which he is the only known source but which have generally convinced modern scholars of their accuracy.

Most famously Kedrenos is the only source we have for the date when work began on the rebuilding of Hagia Sophia after the Nika riots:

> For Justinian began the work on the rebuilding of the Great Church in the 6008th year of the world in the fifteenth indiction on 23 February at the first hour of the day.[31]

That is, of course, an amazingly short five weeks from the end of the Nika riot and so is a key piece of evidence for the suggestion that Justinian had planned Hagia Sophia before the riot.[32]

Most notable among his additions are, however, descriptions of various works of art, which are unique and which he seems to use to diffuse or alter the political interpretation of certain events and which are also strikingly original inclusions in the narrative of a chronicle.[33] Only a few of these have come from Pseudo-Symeon or Symeon Logothete, so the credit for their inclusion should be attributed to Kedrenos.[34] What is intriguing is the effect of this on Kedrenos'

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30. Kedr. 1:659–71.
31. Kedr. 1:651. This is not in Pseudo-Symeon or Symeon Logothete.
32. R.M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium* (Austin 1989) 40; cf idem, 'Anicia Juliana's Church of St Polyeuctos' *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 436–7.
33. Certainly earlier chroniclers did include accounts of works of art and architecture, most notably Malalas. See A. Moffatt, 'A Record of Public Buildings and Monuments' *Studies in John Malalas* ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke & R. Scott. ByzAus 6 (Sydney 1990) 87–110; E. Jeffreys, 'Malalas, Procopius and Justinian's Buildings' *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000) 73–9; G. Downey, 'Imperial Building Records in Malalas' *BZ* 38 (1938) 1–15, 299–311. What is original about Kedrenos is the incorporation of this material not simply as an item of information but as an affective element in the narration. It also helps demonstrate Kedrenos as a proper Komnenian author.
34. The most likely contender is Constantine of Rhodes, perhaps an older contemporary of Pseudo-Symeon, whose *ekphrasis* describes the Seven Wonders of Constantinople (five columns, the Anemodoulion and the senate with its surroundings) and the Church of the Holy Apostles. The last six of Constantine's seven wonders are described in the same order by Kedrenos in a topographical excursus under Theodosios I, with two additional monuments described between nos. 6–7 (Kedr. 1:564–7). For these Kedrenos either used a more detailed version of Constantine than now survives or they shared a common source. See G. Downey, 'Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings' *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton 1955) 212–21; L. James,

portrayal of Justinian and Belisarios. So after the Nika riots there is a long description of a statue of Homer which had stood in the Baths of Zeuxippos which had been destroyed in the riot. The description of the statue is roughly twice the length of his account of the riot.[35] This certainly alters the tone of Theophanes' account of the riot which had reinforced his stress on Justinian's military activity. There is no mention of Homer's statue in Pseudo-Symeon or Symeon Logothete. Then there is a description of Justinian's equestrian statue in the Augustaion, similar to but distinct from the description given by Prokopios of this statue in *Buildings*.[36] Here both Kedrenos and Pseudo-Symeon are much more detailed than Theophanes who simply records its existence. There are also fifteen extra lines of description of Justinian's second rebuilding of Hagia Sophia after the collapse of the dome[37] and a one-sentence addition recording Justinian's building of a church in connexion with the bridge over the Sangarios.[38] These, like his opening paragraph, reinforce the picture of Justinian not just as a builder but specifically as a builder of churches.[39] Likewise for Justinian's foreign policy it is notable that Kedrenos retains Theophanes' accounts of the various conversions to Christianity by foreign kings though he is hazy about Justinian's wars.

The range of his material on art is certainly remarkable as is the way he has incorporated it into his chronicle. His use of the material does challenge the notion of his being an unthinking plagiarizer. Yet the really intriguing description is of the medallion that Justinian issued to commemorate victory over Vandal Africa.[40] It is intriguing for three reasons. First, only one copy of

'Constantine's Constantinople' *Metaphrastes or Gained in Translation: Essays and Translations in honour of Robert H. Jordan* ed. M. Mullett. BBTT 9 (Belfast 2004) 62–5. A new edition by I. Vassis is forthcoming, including a translation by V. Dimitropulou, L. James & R. Jordan (BBTT). It is a reasonable hypothesis that Kedrenos' other descriptions of art come from the same source. What is remarkable is the incorporation of this material into a chronicle.

35. Kedr. 1:648.
36. Kedr. 1:656–7; Pseudo-Symeon fol. 144v, Leo Gramm. 129, cf. Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.2.5–12, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* ed. J. Haury rev. G. Wirth (4 vols Leipzig 1962–4) 4:17–8. Kedrenos' description is not sufficiently detailed to determine if it could have been taken from Constantine of Rhodes. *Ekphrasis* 36–54, 364–72 ed. É. Legrand *REG* 9 (1896) 36–65.
37. Kedr. 1:677, also in Pseudo-Symeon fol. 147.24–40 with textual variants.
38. Kedr. 1:678, but not added to the description in Pseudo-Symeon fol. 147v.33–5.
39. Kedrenos' only other notable addition to Theophanes is a final sentence on Theodora having died before Justinian but this has been taken from Pseudo-Symeon fol. 150.
40. Kedr. 1:649. The description does not survive in *Paris.gr.1712* but there is a large lacuna, probably a complete folio, between folios 141v and 142 which would have covered the end of the Vandal War (i.e. Theoph., de Boor 1:213.29–216.18), which would have been the appropriate place to include the description. But since Pseudo-Symeon, unlike Kedrenos, follows Theophanes closely in retaining the long account of the war (*Paris.gr.1712* fol. 130.6–141v plus the missing folio), it is unlikely that he would have added this description of the medallion, which thus may well be Kedrenos' addition. It is also doubtful if there would have been space in the missing folio for a description of the medallion. Cf. n. 29 above.

this medallion survived to modern times and that copy was stolen from the Louvre in 1831, though fortunately the British Museum had previously acquired a cast of it from which electrotypes have also been made. Second, there is no other known description of the medallion by any earlier writer other than Symeon Logothete.[41] One wonders where Symeon Logothete either saw the medallion or found a description 400–500 years later. It is worth noting that, despite his use of Symeon Logothete, Pseudo-Symeon does not mention the medallion, so that Kedrenos' inclusion of it has involved a deliberate decision rather than mindless following of a source. Third but of particular interest for this paper, Symeon Logothete, followed by Kedrenos, claims that the mounted figure of Justinian is in fact Belisarios. Coming immediately after Kedrenos' description of the Vandal War, what this does is to give far greater prominence to Belisarios and emphasise that it was Belisarios who led the Roman Byzantine army to victory in Vandal Africa. So it seems that it was Kedrenos who decided that Belisarios rather than Justinian deserved credit for winning the Vandal War and set about demonstrating this. Because of Theophanes, it is the Vandal War and Belisarios' success that looms largest in Kedrenos' understanding of Justinian's wars. In fact, though he knows that Prokopios wrote eight books on Justinian's wars, he seems to think that all eight are devoted to the Vandal War[42] (so presumably he had not read any of them):

> In the sixth and seventh years occurred the campaigns of Belisarios in Libya, which Prokopios of Caesarea has recorded in eight books.[43]

Given that Kedrenos also retains prominently the story of Belisarios' theatrical ploy against Chosroes[44] plus too his defence of the Long Wall[45] and the account of his house arrest and the confiscation of all his property, his subsequent acquittal and finally his death,[46] there is quite a concentration on Belisarios in the narrative, despite Kedrenos' virtual ignorance of the Gothic War. This is worth

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There is a useful brief account and bibliography of the medallion in J.W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison 1966) 286–7. He is, however, misleading in stating that Kedrenos is the only Byzantine writer to refer to the medallion. In addition to the various versions of Symeon Logothete, there are at least allusions to it in the chronicles of Manasses and Glykas, probably derived from Kedrenos. See Follieri, 'Belisario' 598.

41. Leo Gramm. 129; Theod.Mel. 90.
42. Kedr. 1:649. His 'knowledge' of Prokopios also appears to be derived from Symeon Logothete. Leo Gramm. 130 reports that Prokopios wrote eight books but implies they are devoted to Justinian's buildings. This is, however, not mentioned in Pseudo-Symeon but perhaps was included in the folio missing from *Paris.gr.1712* between 141v and 142.
43. His and Pseudo-Symeon's desultory references to the Gothic war at first give more attention to Gothic victories (Kedr. 1:658 and 659) and then to Narses' victories (Kedr. 1:659, 679).
44. Kedr. 1:652–5, a remarkably long account, also in Pseudo-Symeon fol. 142v.34–143v.37.
45. Kedr. 1:678; Pseudo-Symeon fol. 147v.
46. Kedr. 1:679; Pseudo-Symeon fol. 148v–150, through being more detailed and following Theophanes more closely, in fact gives less emphasis to Belisarios.

noting, since another of Kedrenos' characteristics, as part of his simplification of the narrative, is to delete the names of most characters mentioned by his source Theophanes and attribute all their actions to Justinian. So we have here the elements that can develop into the romantic tragedy of Belisarios. It is only now, I suggest, that the Belisarios legend begins.[47] I am of course not saying that Kedrenos' Belisarios has a direct link to the legend but rather that the prominence now given to Belisarios and his quarrel with an unmilitary Justinian provides the impetus. Certainly there have been those who claim a much earlier date for the origins of the Belisarios romance. But the great Alexander Kazhdan, who was intrigued by the possibility of the legend being earlier and who really hoped that he could show that it was parallel to the eighth-century development of legends about Constantine, always admitted sadly that those who claim the early date have no evidence.[48] If Alexander Kazhdan could find no evidence for something when he was really eager to find it, it is reasonable to assume that there is no evidence. It appears instead that it was this later development in the chronicle tradition that was responsible.

To make the point, we need to mention two more chronicles. Kedrenos' version leads to Zonaras, the most sober and respectable of Byzantine chroniclers and about the only one ever read by classicists because he actually knew about Roman history and preserves so much of the lost books of Cassius Dio. He died after 1159, held high office under Alexios I, and wrote much on all sorts of topics including an enormous chronicle from Creation to 1118, in some 1,960 pages in the Bonn edition. In many ways the latter part of his chronicle was a polemic against Anna's eulogy of Alexios. His account of Justinian is the most complex of all the chroniclers, particularly in the range of his sources, which include both chronicles and the historians Agathias and Prokopios, possibly even the *Secret History*. He does actually reflect his sources rather than just copy or adapt them, so he presents quite a different phenomenon as well as making source-spotting rather more difficult. I am not even going to try to do justice to him. I just mention in passing that, despite being so very sober in his selection of material, he still retains the story of Andrew and his dog.

I mention Zonaras only to introduce my final chronicle, that of Constantine Manasses from a little later in the twelfth century.[49] Manasses is by far the

47. See Bakker-van Gemert, Βελισάριος 23–46 for the various elements and their origins.
48. Kazhdan, *Byzantine Literature* 136.
49. Manasses, *Breviarium Historiae Metricum* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1837). A little longer (358 pages but with a fairly large apparatus) is the standard edition of Constantine Manasses, *Breviarium Chronicum* ed. O. Lampsidis. CFHB 36 (Athens 1996). On Manasses see especially E. Jeffreys, 'The Judgement of Paris in Later Byzantine Literature' *Byz* 48 (1978) 112–31; eadem, 'Chroniclers' 199–238; D. Reinsch, '*Historia ancilla litterarum?* Zum literarischen Geschmack in der Komnenenzeit: Das Beispiel der Σύνοψις Χρονική des Konstantinos Manasses' *Pour une 'nouvelle' histoire de la littérature byzantine: Problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du colloque international philologique, Nicosie-Chypre 25–28 Mai 2000* ed. P. Odorico & P.A. Agapitos. Dossiers Byzantins (Paris 2002) 81–94; I. Nilsson, 'From Homer to Hermoniakos: Some Considerations of Troy Matter in Byzantine

briefest of the chronicles we have looked at, a mere 286 pages in the Bonn edition, and sensibly he used Zonaras as his source.[50] His innovation was to write his chronicle in verse, covering the period from Creation to 1081 (deliberately avoiding the Komnenoi) in 6,733 lines of fifteen-syllable political verse which also allowed for a playful and creative handling of the material. For the most part he keeps his narrative extremely sparse except where he sees the opportunity for a good story. This he finds in the fate of Belisarios. Perhaps it is the fact that he is writing verse that allows him to pour out a moving lamentation on the fate of Byzantium's great general, the victim of the Emperor's envy and jealousy, a theme which suited Manasses' focus.[51] The same theme of Belisarios as the emblematic victim of envy is also picked up in the 1140s in the *Chiliades* of his contemporary, John Tzetzes, with the two poets arguably reacting to each other,[52] and by another twelfth-century chronicler, Michael Glykas.[53] Certainly it is political verse that allows Manasses, and likewise Tzetzes, to write about emotions in a way that would be out of character for more traditional historiographical works in prose. Combine this emotional treatment with the new emphasis on Belisarios found in Kedrenos and also with the contemporary twelfth-century re-invention of the novel, and I think we have got the seeds of the later romance of Belisarios.

I am conscious of simply having described the changes made to portraying Justinian in various chronicles rather than having explained them. What stands out is that in the chronicle tradition it is only in Theophanes that Justinian is linked with military success. Elsewhere he is the theologian emperor. So it is Theophanes' exceptional account that needs explaining. There it looks as if contemporary belief that military failure was linked to a theological issue — icon-worship — may have brought about Theophanes' interpretation.[54] Later the rise of Belisarios' importance perhaps reflects a continuing need for a military

Literature' *Troianalexandrina* 4 (2004) 9–34, espec.18–34; eadem, 'Discovering Literariness in the Past: Literature vs History in the *Synopsis Chronike* by Konstantinos Manasses' *Littérarité de l'historiographie*; eadem, 'Narrating Images in Byzantine Literature: The Ekphraseis of Konstantinos Manasses' *JÖB* 55 (2005) 121–46.

50. A. Kazhdan, 'Manasses, Constantine' *ODB* 1280, though both may have been using the same source independently of each other.

51. Justinian's reign is covered by Manasses, vv 3119–296. Belisarios is included most notably at vv 3185–259.

52. Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 3.342–51, cf. 4.750–8, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1968); Follieri, 'Belisario' 598–601.

53. Michael Glykas, *Biblos Chronike* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836) 495. Space prevents a proper discussion of Glykas' version of Justinian but it fits the same pattern, with an initial emphasis on Belisarios' Vandal campaign and just a single line on the recapture of 'Old Rome'. He also devotes several lines to Belisarios' pitiable fall as the victim of envy. His account of Justinian is particularly remarkable for including an excursus on all seven Ecumenical Synods, so again giving a theological rather than a military focus to his presentation. He also includes the story of Andrew (not named) and his dog.

54. Cf. R. Scott, 'The Image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes' *New Constantines* 57–71.

hero, perhaps parallelled in the increasing devotion given to military saints,[55] but also in the rise of the Digenis Akritas cycle and the Armenian David of Sassoun. That must remain simply as a suggestion. But I trust I have shown that what we would call plagiarism is in fact a positive attribute in chroniclers and (I believe) in Byzantine culture. It was needed to authenticate a story and so win acceptance among the audience. At the same time 'plagiarism' of words still allowed for plenty of scope in interpretation.

The *Chronicon Paschale* of the seventh century and Theophanes' chronicle of the early ninth are both based on the wording of Malalas but they have diametrically opposed interpretations. Theophanes' version was in line with the Prokopian and modern interpretation of Justinian as a great conqueror but the *Chronicon Paschale* was closer to Malalas' interpretation, with military victory played down and religion and subsequently theology becoming the dominant theme. What then becomes intriguing is that later Byzantine chroniclers base their language, chronology and arrangement of material often verbatim on Theophanes but their interpretation of the reign of Justinian follows instead the tradition of Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*.

Then in the literary excitement and inventiveness of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though still following this pattern, we have the development of Belisarios' role while a downplayed Justinian still takes over the roles of all the minor characters mentioned by Theophanes as well as being the builder of Hagia Sophia. Zonaras' sober and more carefully researched chronicle then provides the narrative basis for Constantine Manasses' invention of the verse chronicle. It is verse that allows for the literary development of Belisarios' exploits and more particularly his suffering and unjust treatment and the unfairness of human fate. It is this and not some vague and unsubstantiated folk memory that provides the basis for the romance and tragedy of Belisarios of the fourteenth century.[56]

So it is the chronicle that influences if not creates the novel in this instance and not the other way round. Admittedly the Byzantines had always had the classical Greek novels of the Second Sophistic available to them and they continued to read them. Ingela Nilsson has recently shown how readers of Macrembolites' novel *Hysmine and Hysminias* will have derived extra enjoyment from their knowledge of Achilles Tatios' novel *Leukippe and Kleitophon* written a millennium earlier.[57] Glen Bowersock has further stated rather than suggested that the Byzantine Saint's Life was in fact a continuation of the novel and so in effect kept the genre alive after its apparent demise in the

55. See C.P. Charalampidis, 'The Iconography of Military Saints in Middle and Late Byzantine Macedonia' *Byzantine Macedonia: Art, Architecture, Music and Hagiography* ed. J. Burke & R. Scott (Melbourne 2001) 80–7.

56. It should perhaps be noted that the Belisarios story is retained in later chronicles (e.g. Theodore Skoutariotes), closer in time to the likely first creation of the surviving Belisarios romance. My aim is simply to suggest how the elements of the story came into being.

57. I. Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' 'Hysmine & Hysminias'*. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 7 (Uppsala 2001).

fifth century.[58] With this awareness of the novel in one form or another throughout their literary history, perhaps Bakhtin was right after all.[59] But I prefer to see the Byzantine chroniclers as being inventive enough on their own in their creation of narrative without needing to resort to the novel.[60] Narrating the events of the past remained the Byzantines' literary forte throughout their long history. Certainly they copied from one another. Yet they also not only knew how to adapt material to suit their own purposes but had an eye too for a good story and how to tell it, whether or not this influenced or was influenced by their appreciation of narrative in the Novel and the Saint's Life.

One last point. Apart from the building of Hagia Sophia, the event which is mentioned in more chronicles dealing with Justinian than any other is the story of Andrew and his dog. After Hagia Sophia it must thus rank in Byzantine eyes as the next most significant event of the reign. In a paper on 'Narrating Justinian' it would be remiss of me not to narrate it.

> There turned up a man called Andrew who travelled from village to village. He had with him a light-coloured dog of medium size, with cropped ears and tail. This dog, when ordered by his trainer, would do some amazing things. Unbeknown to the dog, the man would take from bystanders gold and silver rings and coins of different emperors. He would place them on the ground and cover them with dung. He would then command the dog to come and pick up from the earth each man's ring and give it to him. Everyone was astonished. Then he would say to the same dog, 'Bring me the coin of the emperor Leo.' After a search the dog would pick it up in his mouth and give it. Then he would say, 'Give me Zeno's,' and he gave it; likewise he brought the coin of any other emperor when so instructed. Furthermore, in the presence of a crowd of men and women, he would point out women who were pregnant, fornicators, adulterers, the generous and the misers, all quite accurately. In the case of pregnant women he would guess whether they carried a male or a female child and they gave birth [as predicted]. So everyone was amazed and many

58. G. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley 1994) 142.
59. Cf. the discussion by Margaret Mullett elsewhere in this volume. I am not, of course, suggesting that a chronicler invented some now lost twelfth-century Belisarios novel.
60. Enjoyment of a good story does seem to be a factor in the Byzantine sense of narrativity, as Jeffreys, Reinsch and Nilsson all acknowledge in their work on Manasses (see above n. 49). There is still much to explore here. As Ingela Nilsson has pointed out to me, there are also romantic (or novelistic) elements already present in the ancient historians and important elements of history in the ancient novels, and furthermore there are the 'historical novels' such as Dictys and Dares. The connection is thus a very old, intimate and complex one, which in Byzantium is picked up and further developed, in line with the Byzantines' fascination with creative imitation of texts and genres.

people said that the dog had the spirit of Python. He was also
defective in his eyes.[61]

I cannot attempt here to give an explanation of why so many chronicles retain
this story. But perhaps Andrew's dog holds the key to Byzantine Narrative.[62]

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61. Cod. Paris. gr. 1710 which provides the most detailed version of the story. Text in
    Theoph. (de Boor 2:370–1, Mango & Scott 325). Cf. Theoph. AM 6036 (de Boor
    1:224). The dog's powers become even more remarkable, as Dean Sakel points out in
    this volume: in *Cod. Londiniensis Harleianus 5632* of Manuel Malaxos' *Chronicle of
    1570*, the dog, still in the time of Justinian, picks out coins of the Ottoman Sultans
    Mehmet II and Bayezit II!
62. I acknowledge gratefully the constructive criticism of earlier drafts by Elizabeth
    Jeffreys, Athanasios Markopoulos and Ingela Nilsson.

Ingela Nilsson

To Narrate the Events of the Past:
On Byzantine Historians, and Historians on Byzantium

> 'The luckless historian can only weigh the probabilities and tell his
> story as best he can.'[*]

The impulse to narrate, the desire to share stories, is a human inclination shared by most people, regardless of geographical, cultural, or religious background. The aims of the story-teller are as many as the story-tellers themselves: they may entertain, provide a moment of escape or comfort, or they may instruct, assist others in their understanding. An essential part of the latter, of teaching by means of narrative, is that the listeners' resistance to heeding the words of another is generally low, and they are not always aware that they are being taught. Narrative is consequently a discourse with multiple functions, effective not least for our recording of historical memory. No wonder, then, that as a vital part of human life narrative has also become an important field of research; in the words of Roland Barthes, 'narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself'.[1] It should accordingly not surprise us that besides denoting a spoken or written account of connected events, the concept of 'narrative' is now being used in a wide range of areas. Apart from the constantly growing interest in narratological aspects of film and literature, manifested in, for example, several new journals of narrative and narrative theory, we also hear of narrative archaeology, narrative therapy, and even narrative medicine.

Narrative approaches have proven highly fruitful in the study of both ancient and modern literature and culture. Quite recently, they have also, following the growing interest in literary analysis, been introduced to the field of Byzantine studies. Two important conferences held in 2004 bear witness to this new tendency: in May, the Troisième colloque international sur la littérature byzantine was held in Nicosia, Cyprus, this time devoted to Byzantine historiography ('L'écriture de la mémoire: la littérarité de l'historiographie');[2] and in August, the XIVth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies was organised in Melbourne, with the concise title 'Byzantine

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[*]   J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium*, vol. 1, *The Early Centuries* (London 1988) 28.

[1]   R. Barthes, 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives' *Image, Music, Text* tr. S. Heath (New York 1977) 79; first published as 'Introduction à l'analyse structurale des récits' *Communications* 8 (1966) 6–33.

[2]   The proceedings will be published in the Paris series 'Dossiers byzantins', as were the proceedings of the previous conferences organised by Panagiotis Agapitos and Paolo Odorico: *Pour une 'nouvelle' histoire de la littérature byzantine: Problèmes, méthodes, approches, propositions. Actes du colloque international philologique. Nicosie-Chypre 25-28 Mai 2000.* Dossiers Byzantins (Paris 2002); *Les 'Vies des saints' à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du IIe colloque international philologique 'EPMHNEIA'. Paris, 6–7-8 juin 2002.* Dossiers Byzantins (Paris 2004); *L'écriture de la mémoire: la littérarité de l'historiographie. Actes du IIIe colloque international philologique 'EPMHNEIA', Nicosie, 6–7-8 mai 2004.* Dossiers Byzantins is expected to appear in 2006.

Narrative'.[3] The Melbourne conference was fittingly held in honour of Roger Scott, a scholar who has studied ancient and Byzantine historiography extensively and who early on acknowledged and then never lost sight of narrative aspects of historical texts.[4] Scott's interest in literary structure and expression may not have been so conspicuous; he has, however, rather aptly articulated it in the present volume: 'Narrating the events of the past remained the Byzantines' literary forte throughout their long history'.[5] This assertion indicates the important connection between history and narrative that was repeatedly stressed at last year's conference in Nicosia, and it may also be seen as a turning-point in our attitude towards Byzantine historiography: most of us no longer read Byzantine chronicles and histories as an endless series of unoriginal compilations which either 'lie' or tell the 'truth'. We view them, rather, as consciously devised compositions that may be read both as sources of historical information and as textual products of their time.

I shall take Scott's statement as a point of departure and discuss some aspects of narrative and history which may seem general, indeed even self-evident, but which are rarely voiced in our field. The variety of form that can be observed in Byzantine historiography, in spite of its reputation as cumulative and static, will be considered from a narratological and diachronic angle, where the historians themselves, whether ancient, Byzantine, or modern, are seen as active participants in the process of history writing. That is to say, our focus will be on the writers of history rather than on history itself, and on how to write it rather than what to write. Even though this paper will concentrate on historiography, it is worth noting that the Byzantine strength in narrating events of the past is also manifest in other genres. Some of them are easily linked to history, such as hagiographical texts, but narrative aspects are essential also in homiletic literature, hymnography (where *kontakia* often retell a biblical story), and travel literature (such as Kosmas Indikopleustes' *Christian Topography* or Konstantinos Manasses' *Hodoiporikon*). It is probably no coincidence that the ancient novel, another genre that relies upon relating past events, remained a favoured genre among the Byzantines, both in their continuing reading of the ancient novels and in the revival of the genre in the Komnenian period. Narrative plays an important role also in the composition of Byzantine art (such as the narrative cycles of Hosios Loukas, to mention but one example), although collaborative studies between Byzantinists concentrating on the relation between texts and images unfortunately remain a desideratum. Given the importance of

3. Unfortunately I could not attend the Melbourne conference myself, and I am therefore particularly grateful to the editors for publishing this paper in the proceedings. I should like to thank Roger Scott for stimulating discussions in Nicosia, to be continued in the future, we hope. Thanks are due also to Dimitrios Iordanoglou, whose criticism and encouragement have been vital to the ideas presented here. Emmanuel Bourbouhakis has, as always, contributed with sharp and valuable observations: I am, as always, thankful.

4. For an early example, see R. Scott, 'The Death of Nero's Mother (Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV, 1–13)' *Latomus* 33.1 (January–March 1974) 105–15.

5. R. Scott, 'Narrating Justinian: From Malalas to Manasses' *supra* 29–45.

narrative in this wide range of artistic expression, one could well claim that it played a major role in Byzantine culture.

Narrative and History

As a mode of expository writing, narrative offers writers a chance to think and write not only about external things and events, but also about themselves. We all have experiences lodged in our memories, and some of them we deem worthy of sharing with others, but a good narrative involves not only telling something but also showing it, and so the narrator has to select an incident, find relevance in it, and help the reader visualise it. That entails describing not only the event itself, but everything that goes with it: the time at which it happened, the geographical and cultural surroundings, the people who were involved, the feelings and reactions the event stirred in them, and the atmosphere that was created. Even if the event described is external and factual, the selection and description of the event depend on the narrator who thus inevitably plays a crucial part in the story. If we put it this way, it is easy to see that narrative is not just a matter of telling a story, or rather that 'telling a story' is a fairly complex business. The tools that narratology offers may help us discern and describe that complexity, to come closer to an understanding of how a narrative and its narrator function, instead of simply stating that one or both of them are either insincere or reliable, either good or bad. This is something we certainly need in the case of Byzantine literature.

So what about history? Is an historical narrative more than a story, and is History more than an historical narrative? A problem here is that 'narrative' is traditionally associated with fiction (novel, short stories, narrative poems) and that history, in so far as the current discipline defines it, is supposed to remain as far from fiction as possible. The only way to stop the implications of narrative from intruding into the 'truthfulness' of history is to avoid any kind of narrative strategy in the shaping of historical writings, that is, to keep to a strictly annalistic representation of events and avoid any kind of authorial intrusion or vivid description. For a history to be totally void of meaning — not to *signify*, as Barthes would put it — its discourse must be nothing but a pure, unstructured catalogue of notations.[6] Even that, however, would include certain narrative devices on the part of the compiler-author, such as his choice of material and the order in which he sees fit to present it.[7] And most histories, from Antiquity on, are presented in a narrative form, for the obvious reasons already touched upon above: in order for a representation of experiences to be both reasonably

6. R. Barthes, 'Historical Discourse' tr. P. Wexler, *Structuralism. A Reader* ed. M. Lane (London 1970) 152–3; first published as 'Le discours de l'histoire' *Social Science Information* 6.4 (1967) 65–75.

7. According to Hayden White, whose work has been crucial to the development of narrative approaches to history, even the briefest annotation (a 'narreme') has aspirations to narrativity and is never included without a purpose. See his 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality' *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore 1987) 1–25; first published in *Critical Inquiry* 7.1 (1980) 5–28.

appealing *and* fulfil its instructive purpose, it has to 'talk to us', to *show* something; it has to *narrate* the events of the past. In such a fully formed historical discourse, the facts related, as well as the order in which they are presented, inevitably signify.

To view history as narrative does not mean that we see the related 'facts' as fiction, or that the 'true' historical content is affected on a deeper level. On the contrary, narrative approaches help us locate and understand literary devices and thus find another way of looking at history, one that reveals significant aspects of the society in which it was produced. Without going into the complexities of historical 'truth' and the relation between text and 'facts', it may be useful to avoid thinking of history in terms of 'truth' and, instead, at least temporarily, accept the pronouncement that history is the sum of stories we tell about the past. Though that definition may seem naive, it is, in fact, more naive to argue that any discourse could literally map the reality. The only thing an historical narration can do is represent, to repeat that something happened; 'reality' is but an unformulated meaning 'sheltering behind the apparent omnipotence of the referent'.[8]

The truly intriguing aspect of history writing appears, however, when we consider not only the form and content, but the different ways in which an historian reads and understands previous history. If, for example, a Byzantinist wishes to study Byzantine history by examining Theophanes Confessor, he is dealing with the *Chronicle* and its author on at least three levels: he reads Theophanes as an historian writing the past; he reads the *Chronicle* as a textual product of the past; and he uses the *Chronicle* as a text whereby he himself tries to write the past.[9] In short, our Byzantinist works with both Theophanes' conception of history and his *History*, and in doing so he inevitably needs to acknowledge his own location in history too. My point here is that not only does the way in which we tend to present history as narrative provide us with a fruitful approach to both historical and literary studies, but the way in which we study and write history may also tell us as much about ourselves as about the historians whose works we quarry for the facts.

I should like to bring to the fore three different aspects of history writing which have often been considered problematic in Byzantine historiography, but which in fact may be seen as features common to historical narration in general, both ancient and modern. First, we will look at the charge repeatedly levelled against Byzantine historians and chroniclers, namely 'plagiarism'. Second and third, we will consider two ways of writing history which seem to appeal to modern readers as much as they did to the ancients, but which have been viewed with suspicion by many Byzantinists: the 'personal-biographical history' (for

8.   Barthes, 'Historical Discourse' 154. See also his 'The Reality Effect' *French Literary Theory Today: A Reader* ed. T. Todorov tr. R. Carter (Cambridge 1982) 11–17; first published as 'L'effet de réel' *Communications* 11 (1968) 84–9.
9.   On the complex issue of historicism(s), see the brief but useful survey with a comprehensive bibliography by J. Moles, 'A False Dilemma: Thucydides' *History* and Historicism' *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory, and Classical Literature* ed. S.J. Harrison (Oxford 2001) 195–219.

example the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos) and the 'popular history' (such as the *Synopsis Chronike* of Konstantinos Manasses). By elucidating and examining the narrative strategies of different historiographical modes we may, I think, better understand and appreciate the Byzantine historian-writers, but also acknowledge that we ourselves take part in the construction of history as we, in turn, choose our own modes of expression.

Plagiarism and the Making of History

Byzantine literature in general, and Byzantine chronography in particular, have repeatedly been charged with plagiarism. Because of the genre's practice of copying older works, Byzantine chronicles look very similar; they seem rarely to add anything of historical value, and some of them tend to twist the events so that we have difficulties locating the 'truth'. It is by now more or less accepted that plagiarism, in the case of Byzantine historiography, should be understood as a technique by which the writer reworks the historical material. Working within this tradition still leaves room for a certain adaptation of sources, creation of personal bias, and (to varying degrees) personal interpretation of history. The chronicler moulds his source material in order to fit a particular interpretation of history, and at the same time his repetition of previous chronicles demonstrates the reliability of the material.[10] In addition to these insights, Byzantine plagiarism needs to be reconsidered within the framework of both historiographical practice and literary mimesis. The intense recycling of sources is not a weakness, but a prominent part of the creative and political principles of writing chronography. Of particular interest to us here is how the charge levelled against the Byzantine chronographers seems, in a broader perspective, to concern more or less inevitable aspects of history writing, and how, accordingly, the same techniques appear in our own writing of Byzantine history, or indeed in any history writing.

The 'making of history' refers both to the events as they happened and to how we interpret them. The events as they happened, we have already stated, can only be represented (signified) by historiography, so that historical 'facts' are determined by historiography's explanatory and narrative structures of the past. Since each generation has its own need for revising the past, the making of history is an ongoing process, and each generation, in practice, recreates the past.[11] In the process, sources are being read, excluded or included: a modern historian relies, in general, on both ancient and modern historians, so that the new work in the end is both inclusive and cumulative. It is true that modern historians rarely include as such long verbatim passages of a previous work as the Byzantines did, but that depends on our ideas of literary composition being different from theirs: our sense of literary aesthetics is based on originality and

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10. See, e.g., R. Scott, '"The events of every year, arranged without confusion": Justinian and Others in the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor', *La littérarité de l'historiographie*, with references to previous work on the subject.

11. On such issues in a Byzantine context see R. Beaton & C. Roueché, eds, *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot 1993). See also the section on historiography in *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics*.

independence, whereas the Byzantines strove for imitation and variation. It may be that we rewrite and reword more than they did, so that on a textual level we distance ourselves from the sources, but we still rely on and include material from the sources we choose to use. This is simply what an historian does.

In other words, there are also modern historians who copy previous historians and, not the least, those who add nothing or little new to what we already know. And in modern history writing, too, the sheer habit of repetition makes certain things come 'true', so that the historian no longer has to prove them but can simply report them. Thus the otherwise austere George Ostrogorsky tells us that under Manuel I Komnenos 'a spirit of gaiety and *joie de vivre* reigned supreme in the Comnenian palace of the Blachernae', relying on the prevalent image basically originating in Manuel's biographer John Kinnamos, rather than on the more critical history of Niketas Choniates.[12] This *joie de vivre* — or, to put it bluntly, Manuel's predilection for celebration and women — is, of course, perfect story stuff for an author-historian like John Julius Norwich, whose three volume history of Byzantium irritates a number of scholars, but enchants most of its readers.[13] Norwich reads both the Byzantine sources and the modern historians very literally, and in his account of Manuel he manages both to quote Edward Gibbon (*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776–88) and to enhance the persistent image of Manuel as a great lover by quoting the fairly acid comments of Niketas Choniates on Manuel's first wife Bertha von Sulzbach.[14] It is no wonder, concludes Norwich, that Bertha never gained the liking of either her husband or the Byzantines in general, she was 'frankly, as they put it, too German'; a kill-joy, we readers must assume, who refused to wear make-up.[15] Norwich is admittedly a skilful story-teller, even if one does not always agree with his version of the stories. In this particular passage, he swiftly draws an efficient portrait of both Manuel and Bertha, but at the same time (probably unintentionally) one of himself. This is what we will consider next: the important art of portrayal; portrayal of historical character as well as of historian.

The Historian's Character and His Characters

Time and space are the most basic elements of historical study, because they are the most basic elements of historical existence, but one more thing is crucial to historical representation: people, or in narratological terms characters. Even in the strictly annalistic chronicle, composed with a minimum of narrativity, the basic units are often determined by persons (kings or emperors). But this is only one aspect of personal-biographical history writing; the other is related to the

12. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* tr. J. Hussey (3rd rev. ed. New Brunswick N.J. 1969) 380. Ostrogorsky's history was first published in German in 1940. It is not until Paul Magdalino's extensive study of Manuel, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge 1993), that we get a nuanced image of the emperor and his times, taking into consideration all kinds of sources, both negative and positive ones.

13. Norwich, *Byzantium* (3 vols London 1988–95).

14. Norwich, *Byzantium*, vol. 3, *The Decline and Fall* (London 1995) 88–91.

15. Ibid. 90.

author-historian himself, the degree to which he interferes with, or even performs in, his own history. Both aspects recur frequently in both ancient and modern times.

If we turn to Byzantium, the most striking example of history as a series of portraits or character studies is the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos. Even though Psellos has been thoroughly praised for being a brilliant writer and intellectual, the prominent position of his ego in the text has been censured, and only in recent years reappraised and analysed from new perspectives.[16] In the case of Psellos' *Chronographia*, the narrative technique of describing history by describing historical characters may be seen in light of the time's renewed interest in literary portrayal, in turn related to the revival of classical learning. An obvious ancient model was found in Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* indeed may be said to belong to the genre of biography rather than to history, but which certainly displays history by means of portrayal.[17] A similar technique was later employed by one of Psellos' literary adherents, Anna Komnene in her *Alexiad*, but focusing on one main character (her father, Alexios I Komnenos) described mainly from one person's very intimate perspective (herself, his daughter) and provided with lively portrayals of other people appearing in their lives.

This seems to stand in stark contrast to the task of the modern historian: to produce a calm, impartial survey, untouched by predilection, intellectual antipathy or sympathy. The historical text should contain as few traces as possible of the historian, no portrait whatsoever of the narrator; personal reflection must be abandoned for the 'objective' patterns of history. And yet a number of historians, whether ancient or modern, choose their subject because it *does* concern them personally, and their aim is mainly to ensure that their viewpoint is properly represented.[18] This is true not only of those who write modern history, but also of historians dealing with ancient or Byzantine times: they certainly cannot claim to have been eye witnesses or personally involved, but in spite of all efforts to stay 'objective', they still leave traces of themselves in the text. A case in point is, of course, Gibbon, who is held as the first genuine historian, but who also allowed personal bias to colour his account, sometimes to the extent of being both inadequate and misleading. History writing has indeed come a long way since Gibbon, but this aspect remains: we make choices, based

16. See A. Kaldellis, *The Argument of Psellos' 'Chronographia'* (Leiden 1999) and E. Pietsch, *Die 'Chronographia' des Michael Psellos: Kaisergeschichte, Autobiographie und Apologie*. Serta Graeca 20 (Wiesbaden 2005). By Pietsch see also 'Αυτοβιογραφικά και απολογητικά στοιχεία στην ιστοριογραφία· Η Χρονογραφία του Μιχαήλ Ψελλού' *La littérarité de l'historiographie*.

17. Cf. the distinction that Plutarch made, quite intriguing for us, not between history and fiction, but between history and biography. See G. W. Bowersock, *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley 1994) 7.

18. On this in Byzantine historiographers, see R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 64.

on who we are and what cultural and intellectual context we belong to, and we accordingly make history that reflects both our predecessors and ourselves.[19]

So why do we still feel this need to censure both authorial intrusion and lively portrayal of character in historical discourse? One reason may be the fear of having fascinating characters overshadowing the historical events themselves. People who merit elaborate description are often people whose characters have a narrative potential: they tend to be decadent, evil or beautiful — or all three —, and accordingly produce a keen interest in readers, who may turn their minds away from the historical 'facts'. A similar fear may be provoked by pronounced personal-authorial intrusion in political histories. Polybios and Psellos, for instance, make history in which the actions of mighty individuals (themselves included) influence and alter the world; such histories not only enlighten, but also cast a shadow upon, world history. At the same time, we tend to pardon personal bias if the author-historian played a prominent role in the events, or had a direct relationship with the persons described (such as Psellos), while we find it much harder to sympathise with personal accounts delivered by anonymous or insignificant historians.

It is, however, often his description of characters that brings out the personality of the author-historian (whether intentionally or not), which in turn affects, I think, our own awareness as readers. This is one of the reasons why we feel Psellos and his history are somehow modern and relevant: his portraits *and* his self-portrait convey a sense of his being there, an immediate presence. In Byzantium, such a self-consciousness is sometimes taken to almost absurd lengths, as in the *Chiliades* of John Tzetzes, which as a commentary to his own letters ultimately seems to function as a huge character study of the author himself.[20] Such an extreme case may disturb us, but the thing is that most of us *like* descriptions of characters, which is why history in this form is still so popular. Accordingly, description of characters has been employed also by Byzantinists, not only frequently inserted in histories of Byzantium, but also in its pure form in Charles Diehl's *Figures byzantines* (Paris, 1908), a by now slightly out-of-date, but still compelling, collection of portraits of Byzantine historical characters. Readers' unrelenting fondness for historical portraits, old or new, is made apparent both by the current popularity of translations of ancient and medieval historians and by the constantly growing interest in popular

19. Gibbon, for instance, worked within the conceptual framework of eighteenth-century French historians like Montesquieu and Voltaire, who detested Byzantium. On Gibbon as an historian, see A. Momigliano, 'Gibbon's Contribution to Historical Method' *Historia* 2 (1954) 450–63; rp. *Studies in Historiography* (London 1966) 40–55. Note also Gibbon's subsequent influence on Adamantios Koraes: see S. Fassoulakis, 'Gibbon's Influence on Koraes' *Making of Byzantine History* 169–73.

20. Cf. texts such as Michael Glykas' *Prison Poem*, which has been read as an historical self-portrait, but which at closer examination may well describe a literary persona instead, a device rather than a documentary record, perhaps a partial reflexion of Glykas but not on a factual level. See E.C. Bourbouhakis, ' 'Political' Personae: The Poem from Prison of Michael Glykas: Byzantine Literature Between Fact and Fiction' *BMGS* (in press).

history. The latter tends to be viewed by academics as either problematic or irrelevant, which is how it qualifies for the present discussion.

Popular Truths and Lies

That narrative has become the dominant form of history writing seems only logical in light of the flexibility and general appeal of the narrative mode: we can use narrative to record our collective memory and similarly to create instructive entertainment, to tell a good and, at the same time, educating story. This is an old and well known strategy of the historian, beginning with ancient historians like Herodotus. To us modern readers, the history of Herodotus seems closer to fabulous narration than a proper history. And yet, this over-creative approach to history (as moderns judge it) remained dominant for a very long time: historiography was until the French revolution considered a literary art, depending on rhetorical techniques to present its content in a lively and entertaining manner. Only in the nineteenth century did truth begin to be identifiable with verifiable fact, and fiction accordingly regarded as the opposite of truth.[21] The consequence of such an attitude is that proper history must not read too much like fiction, because then it lacks the seriousness of truthful historiography. To be brief, proper history should not entertain, at least not too much. Or, to turn it the other way around, entertaining history is probably not proper history.

Our perception of proper (dry) history as opposed to fabulous (entertaining) fiction becomes obvious in our estimation of older literature. Herodotus may escape our criticism — he is, after all, the Father of History — but in the discussion of Byzantine and medieval writers 'popular' or 'novelistic' tend to be used demeaningly, even though quite a few of these writers may indeed have taken pride in writing in an entertaining manner.[22] A case in point is the *Synopsis Chronike* of Konstantinos Manasses, a chronicle which because of its 'simple' style and pleasant narrative flow has been dismissed as some sort of 'historical novel', providing no new historical information and thus not worthy of our scholarly attention. An analysis of the author's structuring of his work and his use of literary techniques shows, however, that Manasses consciously chose specific narrative forms in order to rediscover and bring forth the inherent narrative potential of history. Considering Manasses' position as a teacher and intellectual at the centre of Komnenian court circles, we must assume that his

21. On these issues in Western historiography, see N. Partner, *Serious Entertainments. The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago 1977).
22. Cf. the opposite problem, to read fiction as history; see Bowersock, *Fiction.* Interesting from our modern perspective, with an emphasis on the opposition between fact and fiction, is the situation where Herodotus was seen by the ancients both as the father of history and as a compulsive liar. See A. Momigliano, 'The Place of Herodotus in the History of Historiography' *History* 43 (1958) 1–13; rp. Momigliano, *Historiography* 127–42.

attempt to represent history in a 'popular' manner was expected to be appreciated by his learned audience.[23]

Some seven hundred years later, a similar way of exploring forms of history appears in the *Lays of Ancient Rome* by Thomas Babington Macaulay (London 1842). Macaulay was a scholar with a flair for lively narrative and portrayal, which resulted in a posthumous reputation as a fairly shallow and uncritical historian, but his fabulous and poetic restoration of early Roman history has been read for its similarly edifying and charming delivery. Macaulay himself, long before Barthes had pronounced his famous words on narrative's transcultural and transhistorical force, was highly aware of the attraction of historical narrative: 'All human beings,' he writes in his preface, 'not utterly savage, long for some information about past times, and are delighted by narratives which present pictures to the eye of the mind'[24]. Not unlike the Byzantine Manasses, Macaulay wanted to provide historical matter with its proper form, he wanted to restore (in the vein of Walter Scott) the poetry and narrativity of lost ballads that had been transformed into dull chronicles: 'to reverse that process, to transform some portions of early Roman history back into poetry out of which they were made'.[25] Neither Macaulay nor Manasses, we may note, could have made their literary histories without a well defined approach to both history writing and poetry, and they were both, although disdained by some scholars, appreciated by generations of happily entertained readers.

Even if these kinds of texts dwell somewhere between history and novel, and thus may seem useless as sources of historical information, and even if their authors are not reliable reporters of facts, literary or poetic chronicles reveal other important aspects of the society in which they were written. They not only display literary and rhetorical preferences of the time, but also both the author's own perception of history writing and the audience's expectations, both of which are significant for our understanding of history. The same goes, of course, for any literary or popular history. The reactions of the audience and the critics depend on the prevailing attitude towards facts and fiction at the time. In Western society there reigns a strong belief in, as well as need for, 'facts', as contrasted with the immense readership of both popular history and historical fiction. But let us turn back to the history of Norwich.

Norwich explicitly presents his history of Byzantium with no claim to academic scholarship. His aim is not to cast new light on history but, as he puts it, 'simply to tell a good story, as interestingly and as accurately as I can, to the non-specialised reader'.[26] Norwich is, however, still an historian and a scholar, and he fills his volumes with references and quotations both to Byzantine

23. I. Nilsson, 'Discovering Literariness in the Past: Literature vs. History in the *Synopsis Chronike* of Konstantinos Manasses' *La littérarité de l'historiographie* and 'Narrating Images in Byzantine Literature: The Ekphraseis of Konstantinos Manasses' *JÖB* 55 (2005) 121–46.

24. T. Macauley, Introduction to *Lays of Ancient Rome* ed. T.F. Ellis, *Miscellaneous Essays and the Lays of Ancient Rome* (London 1910) 407.

25. Ibid. 416.

26. Norwich, *Byzantium*, vol. 3, *The Decline and Fall* (London 1995) xxxv–xxxvi.

historians and to his literary predecessor Gibbon, placing his own work at the end of a long succession of historical works. And perhaps this is the problem with Norwich, namely, that his narrative is so fluent and accessible, dramatic and entertaining, like a popularising history, but also filled with all this information, information that sometimes seems irritatingly capricious, even to a non-specialist. I mentioned above Norwich's account of Manuel I Komnenos and his wife Bertha, and we may use the same passage as our example here. Norwich, as we saw, takes the Byzantine sources containing information about Bertha at face value (she is a boring German woman, graceless, even mean), without reflecting on the Byzantine perspective of these sources, the view of Bertha as an incorrigible foreigner, and the general Byzantine suspicion of anyone or anything foreign. Norwich also sides with Manuel and his infidelity, implying that with such a wife, it is no wonder that the emperor strayed.[27] In this respect Norwich seems to have a not only rather Byzantine, but also very male, approach to his sources and characters.[28] But in spite of the low status of popularising history and its related genre, the historical novel, both are immensely popular in our time, not least those dealing with ancient and medieval material. And many of us, even those who silently (or openly) grumble about the unhistorical or chauvinistic aspects of Norwich's history of Byzantium, nevertheless let ourselves be entertained by this huge supply of narratives.

The Luckless Historian and His Tale

To determine the historical content and find a suitable form for it — a form that suits both the content, the writer and the presumed audience — is an essential task of the historian. We should therefore not see, as I hope to have shown here, the relation between history and narrative as one of conflict, but as one of intimate collaboration. History is so important to humankind that an attempt to live without it seems close to losing our humanity, and since our memories fail us, we must continually work to recover and test our collective memory. But as we have already seen, writing history has as much to do with interpreting — or even constructing — the past as with gathering 'the facts'. Our interpretations and constructions inevitably mirror ourselves, our attitudes and our intentions, whether as writers, as scholars, or simply as human beings. The Byzantine historians certainly introduced personal bias, but so do we, no matter which form we choose for the historical matter we wish to set forth. Thus Edward Gibbon not only gave us the history of Byzantium, but at the same time provided us with a self-portrait of the eighteenth-century mind.[29] Likewise, Byzantine chronicles and histories provide us with portraits not only of Byzantine personae, but also of their own intellectual preferences and approaches to history.

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27. Ibid. 89–91.
28. Cf. Charlotte Roueché's sensitive and sympathising account of Georgina Buckler's study of Anna Komnene (likewise sensitive and sympathising), three women who provide a fascinating example of how female scholars relate to one another in male-dominated academia: C. Roueché, 'Georgina Buckler: The Making of a British Byzantinist' *Making of Byzantine History* 174–96.
29. Momigliano, 'Gibbon's Contribution' 49.

Byzantine historiography belonged, as Roger Scott pointed out in Nicosia, in a culture of rewriting history for one's own current purposes, but the rewriting was done 'by exploiting society's 'memory' of the past, and so necessarily working within a tradition of what society accepted as being the truth, the facts of their past'.[30] The aims of the Byzantine historian — to summarise and reinterpret the works of former historians, to breathe life into the dead, to narrate the events of the past — are indeed our aims too. We rewrite history, rewrite the past, invent it over and over again, employing different narrative modes and strategies, simply because some of them appeal to us more than others at any given moment in history. We hope, just like Norwich, that our narrative was 'a tale worth telling',[31] but we rarely realise how important our own role has been. By acknowledging both the past and the present, the role of the historian as well as that of his audience, to say nothing of our own, the tale becomes, in fact, even better. The study of history becomes a study of ourselves.

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30. Scott, 'The events of every year'.
31. Norwich, *Byzantium*, 3:xxxvi.

Brian Croke

Tradition and Originality in Photius' Historical Reading

1. Approaching Byzantine Historiography

Byzantine historiography remains an under-developed field. There is no
dedicated and comprehensive modern study, certainly nothing to match the
several substantial surveys of western medieval historiography. What we do
have, however, is the two-volume compilation by Karpozilos[1] (a pioneering
work in itself) and an assortment of instructive articles by Jacob Ljubarskij,
Riccardo Maisano, Athanasios Markopoulos, Ruth Macrides and others.[2] The
task is by no means as difficult as it was twenty-five to thirty years ago. In the
interim, there have appeared editions and/or English translations of a raft of
crucial texts: Malalas, Agathias, Menander, Evagrius, Chronicon Paschale,
Theophylact, Nicephorus, Synkellos, Theophanes, Genesios, Kinnamos,
Eustathius and Niketas Choniates. Others are pending, notably Skylitzes, Leo the
Deacon, Acropolites, Nikephoros Bryennios (the Younger) and Kedrenos, while
several others have appeared in other languages: Pachymeres, Skylitzes and
Nikephoros Bryennios in French, with Nikephoros Gregoras, Acropolites,
Skylitzes (but incomplete) and Genesios in German. In addition, recent
translations of several Armenian and Syriac histories and chronicles will also be
important in improving understanding of the nature and role of historiography in
the Byzantine world, particularly their connection with the writing of histories

1. A. Karpozilos. Βυζαντινοί Ίστορικοί καί Χρονογράφοι (2 vols Athens 1997–
    2002).
2. J.N. Ljubarskij. 'Neue Tendenzen in der Erforschung der byzantinischen
    Historiographie' *Klio* 69 (1987) 560–6; J.N. Ljubarskij. 'Man in Byzantine
    Historiography from John Malalas to Michael Psellus' *DOP* 46 (1992) 177–86; J.N.
    Ljubarskij, 'New Trends in the Study of Byzantine Historiography' *DOP* 47 (1993)
    131–8; R. Maisano. 'Il problema della forma letteraria nei proemi storiografici
    bizantini' *BZ* 78 (1985) 329–43, cf. L.R. Cresci. 'Ποικιλία nei proemi storiografici
    bizantini' *Byz* 74 (2004) 330–47; L.R. Cresci. 'La cronaca di Malala nella tradizione
    storiografica bizantina' *Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, Classe di
    Filosofia e Belle Arti* 68 (Messina 1994) 23–40; L.R. Cresci. 'Il rinnovamento della
    tradizione storiografica bizantina nel XII secolo' *Storia e tradizione culturale a
    Bisanzio fra XI e XII secolo* ed. R. Maisano (Naples 1993) 119–34, plus numerous
    articles on the works of Niketas Choniates, Kedrenos and Sphrantzes. Various studies
    by A. Markopoulos are collected in *History and Literature of Byzantium in the 9th–
    10th centuries* (Aldershot 2004) with important prefatory remarks (xi–xv), to which
    should be added 'Byzantine History Writing at the End of the First Millennium'
    Byzantium in the Year 1000 ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden 2003) 188–197; R. Macrides.
    'The Historian in the History' *ΦΙΛΑΕΛΛΗΝ: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*
    ed. C. Constantinides. N. Panagiotakes. E. Jeffreys et al. (Venice 1996) 205–24; R.
    Macrides. 'The Thirteenth Century in Byzantine Historical Writing' *Porphyrogenita:
    Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of
    Julian Chrysostomides* ed. C. Dendrinos. J. Harris. E. Harvalla-Crook et al.
    (Aldershot 2003) 63–76; R. Macrides. 'George Akropolites' *Rhetoric in Byzantium*
    ed. E. Jeffreys (Aldershot 2003) 201–11.

and chronicles in Greek.[3] Attention also needs to be paid to the relationship of Byzantine records and histories to those of Slavonic and Arabic cultures.

Over that same period, there has also been a wider historiographical revolution which has hardly touched Byzantine history writing as yet. Historians are now much more sensitized to the significance of history as text and as narrative. The so-called 'linguistic turn' in historiography has focused attention on questions of author, genre, audience and literary technique.[4] In addition, there are issues involving translation across cultures within the Byzantine Commonwealth and the relationship between oral and written traditions and sources. One of the first challenges confronting the author of a study of Byzantine historiography is how to deal with the several outmoded presuppositions that continue to pervade it. Chief among these is the strict and deep dichotomy between 'history' and 'chronicle' from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries, which was constructed by Krumbacher, then reinforced more recently by Hunger. The limitations of this rigid framework are now recognized with chronicles no longer relegated to an inferior historiographical status on the basis of style and content but evaluated in terms of their specific cultural and literary contexts and purposes.[5]

The particular challenges involved in writing a history of Byzantine historiography include evaluating the influence of literary tradition and defining

3.   Armenian: above all, the translations of Robert W. Thomson: *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany 1976), *Moses Khorenats'i: History of the Armenians* (Cambridge Mass. 1978), *Elishe: History of Vardan and the Armenian War* (Cambridge Mass. 1982), *The History of Lazar P'arpec'i* (Atlanta 1991) and (with J. Howard-Johnston) *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos* (Liverpool 1999); Syriac: W. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre. Chronicle Part III* (Liverpool 1996) and F.R. Trombley & J.W. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (Liverpool 2000). A new and annotated translation of the *Church History of Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene* by Geoffrey and Marina Greatrex is in preparation.

4.   Not much progress seems to have been made, at least in historiography, in the two decades since the issues were opened up by John Haldon, '"Jargon" vs. "the Facts"? Byzantine History-Writing and Contemporary Debates' *BMGS* 9 (1984/5) 95–132. Different possibilities are suggested by works of western medievalists, such as C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London 2004) and G. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore 1999), as well as some of the chapters in N. Partner, ed., *Writing Medieval History* (New York 2005), for example: R.M. Stein, 'Literary Criticism and the Evidence for History' 67–87 and S. Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles' 88–108.

5.   K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Munich 1896); H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. I (Munich 1978); H.-G. Beck, 'Zur byzantinischen "Mönchschronik"' *Speculum Historiale* ed. C. Bauer, J. Spörl, L. Boehm et al. (Freiburg 1965) 188–97; C. Mango, 'The Tradition of Byzantine Chronography' *HUkSt* 22/3 (1988/9) 360–72; A. Afinogenov, 'Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine History' *Byz* 62 (1992) 13–33. Interestingly, in the diverse and comprehensive three volumes published to date of the international conferences on the medieval chronicle there is not a single paper on a Byzantine chronicle: E. Kooper, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle* (3 vols Amsterdam 1999–2004).

what constituted originality within that tradition. Classicism is certainly an important dimension but for too long it was considered an almost exclusive one. Byzantine historiographers inherited, imitated and absorbed certain features of Greek historiography originating with Herodotus and Thucydides. The deployment of speeches and digressions, for instance, remained integral to history writing right down to Chalkokondyles who described the fall of the Greeks and the rise of the Turks (1298–1463) in strictly classical terms. However, there was much development of the tradition and a striking out in new directions. The way out of this conventional classicist paradigm was shown by Roger Scott in a seminal paper published in 1981. He highlighted the contrast between history and encomium, then posited a transition from the classical, with a self-effacing author, to the Byzantine with an engaged and activist author, and illustrated how a distinctive providential Byzantine mode of historiography emerged.[6]

Many of these themes have never been pursued further. Instead, the nineteenth-century preoccupation with source criticism has been revived without appreciating the structure of the historiographical narrative and the influence of tradition on the quest to imitate classical models.[7] Certainly there is scope for a broad treatment of history and historiography in the Byzantine world which would include the role and nature of history, how history was viewed and constructed and how the past was presented and transmitted. Part of that treatment would include discussion of the historiographical perspectives underpinning three Byzantine compilations which are traditionally used for disinterring what remains of lost historians: the *Bibliotheca* of Photius in the ninth century, the categorical *Excerpta* compiled for Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth and the slightly later lexicon known as the *Souda*.[8]

2. Photius and his *Bibliotheca*

Scott never mentioned the ninth-century patriarch of Constantinople, Photius, in his 1981 article, presumably because in the context of a study of historiography no-one else had done so either. Photius wrote no historical work himself but he was a voracious reader of historical texts. Historians formed a considerable part of his literary education. All his work — sermons, letters and treatises — was informed by an historical perspective. Photius was always using the past to

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6. R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 61–74, building on aspects of R.J.H. Jenkins, 'The Classical Background of the Scriptores post Theophanem' *DOP* 8 (1954) 11–30.

7. J. Ljubarski, 'Quellenforschung and/or Literary Criticism: Narrative Structures in Byzantine Historical Writings' *SOsl* 73 (1998) 5–73 (fundamental).

8. The historical texts used for the Souda's entries have recently been studied in a series of papers, divided separately into Greek and Roman sections for both history and historians, edited by G. Zecchini, *Il Lessico Suda e la memoria del passato a Bisanzio* (Bari 1999).

validate and interpret the present.[9] The summaries of historians contained in his *Bibliotheca* have proved invaluable to modern scholars, particularly where he provided details of author and work. More importantly, sometimes Photius' summary constitutes the only extant extracts from an historian now lost, Ctesias and Olympiodorus for example. Typically, however, the *Bibliotheca* is treated by historians as no more than a repository of biographical detail and stylistic comment to be consulted piecemeal for whichever historian is currently of interest. The value of his information tends to be judged according to whether — and how much of — the historian is otherwise preserved. Where the full original survives, as in the case of Procopius, Theophylact and the church historians (Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret), what Photius has to say about the historian is generally considered superfluous.[10]

The result of this essentially antiquarian approach to the *Bibliotheca* is that Photius' historical reading is never treated as a whole. At the very least, Photius' summaries, particularly their literary and historiographical judgments, reflect the taste and perspective of their author's era. The *Bibliotheca*'s entries on historical texts provide a snapshot of Byzantine historiographical views, approaches and priorities in the ninth century. They demonstrate how an educated Byzantine reader treated the full range of classical and earlier Byzantine histories. By exploring and explaining the frame of reference Photius brings to history writing as a whole, this paper attempts to focus on what may be learnt from the *Bibliotheca* about ninth-century Byzantine historiographical narrative and its audience.

As someone with imperial connections, Photius found himself invited to participate in an embassy probably to the Arab court at Baghdad in 845.[11] He was a scholarly man then in his early thirties. Before setting off on the embassy Photius had limited time to prepare. He used part of that time to compile a sort of annotated catalogue of all the books he had read, that is, all in Greek. It was a labour of love on behalf of his younger brother Tarasius, who wanted to have the benefit of Photius' reading while he was away. The resulting work, known as the *Bibliotheca,* was inevitably rushed. It was never polished or revised; nor was it designed for a public audience. Part of it was compiled from notes he had kept on books which he had read, part was dictated by Photius himself. These notes were copied by his secretary into the *Bibliotheca.* Consequently, much of the *Bibliotheca* was dependent on a mere memory of something read last year, the year before, or several years ago. Sometimes Photius had notes to assist his

9.   G. Kustas, 'History and Theology in Photius' *GOTR* 10 (1964) 37–64.
10.   T. Hägg, *Photius als Vermittler antiker Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke* (Uppsala 1975); P. Schreiner, 'Photios und Theophylaktos Simokates: Das Problem des "Inhaltsverzeichnisses" im Geschichtswerk' *ΦΙΛΛΕΛΛΗΝ* 377–90.
11.   W.T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the 'Bibliotheca' of Photius* (Washington 1980) 22 ff and 'Photius Before his Patriarchate' *JEH* 53 (2002) 1–17. Treadgold's chronology is preferred here, although a case has been made for a much later date by A. Markopoulos, 'New Evidence on the Date of Photios' *Bibliotheca' Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 165–81, rp. Markopoulos, *History and Literature.*

recall.[12] The *Bibliotheca* was variously imperfect and cannot be read, as it often is, like a modern encyclopaedia or compendium of writers by a seasoned scholar. It is a record of the maturing and expanding intellect of a conscientious young man in his twenties and early thirties.

The *Bibliotheca* includes records of a wide range of historians and orators, poets and philosophers, rhetoricians, medical writers and theologians. Many of the standards of classical Greek literature, so well known to all educated officials still in the ninth century, did not need to be included. Photius does not have room for Homer and Thucydides, for instance, because Tarasius had doubtless read them himself in the course of his education and did not need reminding. It is clear that Photius had always taken notes and excerpts as he read and had filed these away. The second part of the *Bibliotheca*, numbers 234 to 280, consists of nothing more than a series of extracts from each work which Photius had made and which his secretary collected.

Photius sets out his method and scope in a preface which constitutes the introductory paragraph of what is, in effect, a gigantic letter:[13]

> When we were chosen by the members of the embassy and by imperial appointment to go on an embassy to the Assyrians, you asked us to write down for you summaries of those books that had been read when you were not present, my dearest brother Tarasius, so that you might have some consolation for the separation that you bear unwillingly, and also the knowledge, even if somewhat impressionistic and rather general, of those books that you have not yet read in our hearing.

He goes on to explain to Tarasius that in the haste to get the text prepared he found a secretary to take down summaries from memory, explaining that:

> The summaries will be treated in whatever order my memory presents each of them, though it would not be difficult either, if someone should wish [to arrange all of them according to] their kind, with as many of them as are of history in their own place and as many of them as relate to various other subjects in their own places, and [to mention them in that order]; but [that would show] excessive pedantry.

Photius is conscious of the deficiencies of his rapidly compiled catalogue, aware too that there would be no point in trying to create a more logical and structured layout by grouping together different works in the same genre or the same historical period. The preface continues:

> But if it seems to you, whenever you come upon [the] volumes themselves one by one and study them, that some of the

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12. W. Treadgold, 'The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius: Text, Translation, and Commentary' *DOP* 31 (1977) 342–9; N.G. Wilson, 'The Composition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*' *GRBS* 9 (1968) 451–5; T. Hägg, 'Photius at Work: Evidence from the Text of the *Bibliotheca*' *GRBS* 14 (1973) 213–22.

13. Translation of Treadgold, 'Preface' 345–6, as modified in T. Hägg & W. Treadgold, 'The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius Once More' *SOsl* 61 (1986) 137.

summaries have been recorded inadequately and inexactly, do not be surprised. For it is no trouble for a man who reads through one book by itself to compose its summary and to commit it to memory and writing if he wishes; but for a man who reads many books together to come to an exact recollection of them, especially when some time passes in interval, is not I think an easy thing.

In particular he is quick to remind his brother that memory is fallible and imperfect, pointing out that he has found it difficult to recall with full accuracy works read long ago. Although Photius does not provide any examples, it is clear that the deficiencies of some entries may be attributable to exactly this problem.

While Photius' summaries of writers and/or particular works vary considerably in detail and depth, there is a standard pattern to them. In most cases he includes some biographical information which he gleaned from either direct knowledge of the author's works, an earlier biographical dictionary by Hesychius in the early sixth century, or a more recent condensed version of Hesychius.[14] Often the only information he has is that contained in the title of the manuscript he used. As well as biographical information Photius generally provides his own first-hand comments on an author's style and related literary issues. The preoccupation with style, especially a style appropriate to a particular genre, betrays a strong literary sensibility and an educated awareness of literary tradition, as research on Photius' literary judgments has shown.[15]

3.   Historians in the Bibliotheca

Historians comprise a large part of the *Bibliotheca*. Photius was familiar with almost the whole repertoire of works by ancient historians, most of which are now lost or only partially preserved. While specific attention has been paid to the several major historians not covered in the *Bibliotheca*,[16] it is curious that there has been no systematic treatment of those which are. Individual entries enable instructive comparison of Photius' ninth-century Byzantine perspective with that of modern scholarship. Together they provide at least an overview of how he selected and assessed historical works, just as focusing on Photius' selection and use of hagiographical texts has demonstrated his preference for sifting out the facts of saints' lives.[17] The historians included in the *Bibliotheca* cover all

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14.   Treadgold, *Nature* 58; P. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: La 'Bibliothèque' et ses notices biographiques* (Paris 1987) 53–68.
15.   G. Kustas, 'The Literary Criticism of Photius: A Christian Definition of Style' *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 132–69; D.E. Afinogenov, 'Patriarch Photius as Literary Theorist: Aspects of Innovation' *BSl* 56 (1995) 339–45.
16.   P. Schamp, 'La réception de l'histoire chez Photios: Sous bénéfice d'inventaire' *L'image de l'Antiquité chez les auteurs postérieurs* ed. I. Lewandowski & L. Mrozewicz (Poznan 1996) 9–26.
17.   T. Hägg, 'Photius as Reader of Hagiography: Selection and Criticism' *DOP* 53 (1999) 43–58.

periods before Photius' lifetime and his entries on them are generally lengthier than his entries on other writers.[18]

(a) Ecclesiastical Historians

Photius knew intimately the full range of ecclesiastical historians beginning with Eusebius, then the continuators of Eusebius in the fifth century and beyond. They appear close together early in the *Bibliotheca*. The surprising omission is Theodore Anagnostes, whose history from Marcian to Justin I may have escaped notice or was otherwise inaccessible. As for the histories of Gelasius of Caesarea, a fourth-century continuator of Eusebius, and Gelasius of Cyzicus a century later, Photius found himself confused about the manuscripts he encountered. Only now are we getting beyond Photius' point in unraveling and defining these works separately.[19] Some of the church historians read by Photius are now lost so his information on them is especially valuable: John of Aegae (*Bibl.*, cod. 41), an anti-Chalcedonian whose history focused on the fifth-century councils, was a flowery writer to judge from the five books (out of ten) which Photius had read; Basil the Cilician (42) covered the period from Marcian to the death of Justin in 527 in three books but Photius had only read the middle book covering the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; Sergius' detailed history (67) went from Constantine V to Michael II and was clearly written.[20]

Photius begins with Eusebius (27) as the first church historian and provides the simplest possible summary: 'read the ten books of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*. Beginning from the birth of Christ, our true God, it carefully describes the period of the tyrants, and ends with the reign of Constantine the Great. A more detailed account is given of the Church institutions established by him during his reign'. Photius makes no comment on Eusebius's originality or style, although the key feature emerging from his comment on the church historians is that ecclesiastical history is seen to have an appropriate style of its own. Part of that style involved ensuring that a history contained not too many documents, which was an issue encountered by all ecclesiastical historians. Basil the Cilician (42), for instance, is criticized for introducing too many bishops' letters to verify what he writes. For Photius this simply increases the length of the book without adding much of what he would define as 'history' (ἱστορία). So too, the subject matter must be relevant, not like the discursive bulk of Philip of Side (35), where most of what he writes has nothing to do with history so that his work 'might be

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18. Treadgold, *Nature* 100. Although Schamp, *Photios* has detailed individual discussion of most of the historians in the *Bibliotheca*, for present purposes his presentation adds little, as does D. Mendels, 'Greek and Roman History in the Bibliotheca of Photius — A Note' *Byz* 56 (1986) 196–206.

19. P. van Deun, 'The Church Historians after Eusebius' *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity: Fourth to Sixth Century AD* ed. G. Marasco (Boston 2003) 152 ff; G. Marasco, 'The Church Historians (II): Philostorgius and Gelasius of Cyzicus' *Greek and Roman Historiography* 284–7; Schamp, *Photios* 395–412, plus the radical thesis of P. van Nuffelen, 'Gélase de Césarée, Un compilateur du cinquième siècle' *BZ* 95 (2002) 621–39.

20. Treadgold, 'Patriarchate' 6–7 proposes that parts of Sergius' history may survive in the work of the so-called *Scriptor Incertus* (covering the years 811–16).

called a treatise on all kinds of subjects rather than a history' (ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἱστορίαν εἶναι ἢ πραγμάτων ἑτέρων τὴν πραγματείαν διάληψιν).

Ecclesiastical history, indeed any history, had to steer clear of panegyric so that the work of Philostorgius (40), despite its admirable style, could be described as 'not so much a history as a panegyric' (μὴ ἱστορίαν μᾶλλον ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον), that is, an encomium of the heretics and 'nothing but a barefaced attack upon the orthodox'. At the same time the ecclesiastical historian should evince a clear and orthodox doctrinal position. Evagrius (29) is lauded for being more doctrinally accurate (ἀκριβὴς) than the other church historians, especially Socrates (30) who was quite 'inaccurate' in doctrine (οὐ λίαν ἐστὶν ἀκριβής). In the final analysis, Photius considered that the ideal style for a church history was to be found in those of Theodoret (67) and Sergius (31), who was possibly his own father. He considers Theodoret the best stylist of all the church historians (πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων κατάλληλον φράσιν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μᾶλλον οὗτος ἐπέθηκε), while Sergius (67) possessed, more narrowly, 'the style best adapted for ecclesiastical history' (Διὸ καὶ πρέπων ὁ λόγος ἐκκλησιαστικῇ μάλιστα ἱστορίᾳ).

Modern expectations and standards do not allow such a kind judgment of Theodoret (Sergius is lost). The contemporary priority for accuracy, completeness and critical approach to sources and issues prefers Sozomen over Theodoret, although the latter's clarity of style is appreciated.[21] For a ninth-century audience, however, Sozomen (30) was marginally superior to Socrates (28) but otherwise unremarkable. Theodoret's plain and succinct style, not to mention his clear statement of doctrine and minimal documents, was the preferred ideal. Theodoret was certainly conscious of not being too prolix (*HE* 2.7.17; 4.18.22; 5.21.34) and only including sufficient detail as he deemed relevant, as well as documents to verify his version of the facts (*HE* 1.2.9, 11; 2.14).

(b) Greek and Roman Historians

Photius was a keen reader of historians of antiquity. In particular he read the whole of the large multi-volume works of Theopompus (176), Diodorus (70), Dionysius (83), Appian (57) and Cassius Dio (71), which provided a special challenge to any summarizer of their work. Despite his assiduous reading there are also obvious gaps — Ephorus, Polybius and Poseidonios, for instance. There are also some surprising inclusions, namely Cephalion (68), Julius Africanus (34), who was 'concise' (σύντομος), and Justus of Tiberias (33), who was 'extremely concise' (συντομώτατος). In passing judgment on the historians he read, Photius provides a clear assessment of their strengths and shortcomings. History's 'correct and proper character' (τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς καὶ κατάλληλον τύπον) should not be obscured by digressions, as did Herodotus (60), Ctesias (72) and Theopompus (176). In other words, too much digression is unhealthy and inappropriate. It should be kept in balance, as did Dionysius (83). Similarly,

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21. H. Leppin, 'The Church Historians (I): Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoretus' *Greek and Roman Historiography* 233 (reliability), 251–2 (style).

speeches, which are another feature of ancient history writing, should be appropriate and have an impact, citing the exemplary practice of Josephus (76), Appian (57) and Dio (71).

Overall, in Photius' view, the best style for writing a history was that to be found in historians such as Diodorus (70). His style is 'clear, unadorned, and admirably adapted for history (κέχρηται δὲ φράσει σαφεῖ τε καὶ ἀκόμψῳ καὶ ἱστορίᾳ μάλιστα πρεπούσῃ). Histories must always be relevant (Phlegon, 97) and not too brief such as those of Cephalion (68) and Justus (33). Innovation in a history was considered a risk and a distraction (Dionysius, 83). In the final analysis, the ideal historians among the ancients were Appian (57) and Herodian (99).

Appian possesses a dry style but one which is free of redundancies (ἀπέριττος). As an historian, according to Photius, he is reliable, excellent on military narrative and deploys carefully framed speeches. Herodian's style is clear, brilliant and charming. His work is finely balanced so that, in a word, he is inferior to few in all the good qualities of an historian (καὶ ἁπλῶς ἱστορικῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρεταῖς οὐ πολλῶν ἐστι δεύτερος). As with Theodoret, this is an evaluation which is scarcely comprehensible to modern scholars. Nowadays, Appian and Herodian are seen as far inferior historians whereas Thucydides, along with his followers and imitators, are the premier historians because they are patently critical, clear and conscious of verifying their information. A standard modern evaluation of Appian claims that it is 'in his style that Appian disappoints most... [his] continuous bare narrative, which is rarely relieved by ratiocination, causes us to welcome the few passages of live speech which he includes'.[22] Herodian has always been considered as unscholarly and uncritical as an historian but in recent times his literary and narrative qualities have come to be better appreciated and understood.[23]

(c) Early Byzantine Historians

Photius pays most attention to the early Byzantine historians. They formed the essential narrative of the Byzantine world and its development from the foundation of Constantinople in 330. They also raised the question of the relationship between the classical tradition and the emergent Christian culture and literature. He had read almost all of them, although the fifth-century history

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22. S. Usher, *The Historians of Greece and Rome* (London 1969) 245. More recently, summations of Appian are moving closer to that of Photius, e.g. K. Brodersen, 'Appian und sein Werk' *ANRW* 2.34.1 (1993) 339–63.

23. A rehabilitation of Herodian, stressing his literary and narrative qualities, has been achieved by M. Zimmermann, 'Enkomion und Historiographie: Entwicklungslinien kaiserzeitlicher Geschichtsschreibung vom 1. bis zum frühen 3. Jh. n. Chr.' *Geschichtsschreibung und politischer Wandel im 3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Stuttgart 1999) 17–57, together with his 'Herodians Konstruktion der Geschichte und sein Blick auf das stadtrömische Volk' *Geschichtsschreibung* 119–43. See also H. Siderbottom, 'Herodian's Historical Methods and Understanding of History' *ANRW* 2.34.4 (1998) 2775–836.

of Priscus is a curious omission, as are the sixth-century works of Agathias, John of Epiphaneia and Menander.

For Photius, the historian must be concise, as were Zosimus (98) and Hesychius (69), but one could be too brief, such as Nicephorus (66). Brevity may explain the absence of virtually all the chroniclers from Photius's notices: Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*, Annianos and Panodorus, Synkellos and Theophanes, as well as Eusebius' chronicle. Maybe Photius is suggesting that they were indeed fundamentally different and did not belong there. As with the church historians, the historian's matter must be relevant. Olympiodorus' history (80), which Photius summarized at considerable length, was clearly guilty of too much extraneous material. Just as Dio (71) and Herodian (99) were seen to meet the preferred style for a historian, so too did Eunapius (77) and Malchus (78). Photius and his contemporaries obviously found Eunapius' style less ornate than moderns tend to do, although what Photius calls the 'rule of historical writing' (ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας... νόμος) forbids the sort of capricious figures of speech to be found in Eunapius. Eunapius, Olympiodorus and Malchus all represented the definable style for historiography. Some styles, however, were inappropriate, with Candidus (79, τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐκ ἔχει πρέπουσαν λόγῳ ἱστορικῷ) and Theophylact (65) singled out for mention. Photius found Theophylact too over-wrought, as he is still judged.[24]

While not devoting an entry to Thucydides, as explained above, he does note the significant influence of Thucydides on all these historians, especially Dexippus (82) writing in the late third century. When forced to compare and evaluate all the historians from the third century to his own day Photius singles out the *Breviarium* of Nicephorus (66), covering the period from 602 to 769:

> His style is clear (σαφής) and free from redundancies (ἀπέριττος), his choice of words excellent; and the composition neither too loose nor too compressed, but such as the real and perfect orator would employ. He avoids innovations, but at the same time is too fond of employing what is old-fashioned and affectedly elaborate. His language is pleasant and not without charm. Speaking generally, he throws into the shade all historians who have preceded him (καὶ ὅλως πολλοὺς ἐστι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυπτόμενος τῇδε τῆς ἱστορίας τῇ συγγραφῇ); his only fault is excessive brevity, which may appear, to some, to prevent his work being completely agreeable.

As with his supreme verdicts on both ecclesiastical and ancient historians, this is a curious evaluation for the modern scholar who tends to find Nicephorus more limited and in some ways inexplicable.[25] What it says about the framework for evaluating historians in Photius' era is another question.

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24. M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford 1988) 337.
25. Mango's judgment might be taken as typical: 'Another historian, in going over his first draft, might have wished to make substantive alterations by correcting any errors he may have committed or introducing evidence he had overlooked. Not so Nikephoros: his concern was merely with the literary presentation of his work'

4. Reflections

In contemporary western culture, where originality and innovation are prized, it is increasingly difficult to appreciate those cultures with a preponderant emphasis on imitation and tradition. The *Bibliotheca* of Photius highlights the creative tension between tradition and originality in mid ninth-century Byzantine historiographical judgment and taste. In Photius' perspective each historian he read was rated in terms of a range of criteria but most notably their literary style and narrative effectiveness. A detailed analysis of Photius' evaluations of historians from Herodotus to his own day demonstrates the extent to which narrative considerations shaped the viewpoint of Photius and Byzantine historical taste. For Photius and his contemporaries, factual accuracy, diligent and systematic research and critical use of sources were not the most valued aspects of an historian's work.

Photius and his immediate audience in ninth-century Constantinople, beginning with his brother, were schooled in particular books of Thucydides. They understood the necessity to operate within the constraints of the genre and the rhetorical tradition. The historiographical conventions based on the practice of Herodotus and Thucydides meant that every new history must be readable above all. The history will also include reconstructed speeches and learned digressions. An historian's status and quality derived from the extent to which he recognizably demonstrated a mastery of the tradition. Photius was suspicious of innovation in history writing (83) but originality did emerge more subtly from creating new ways of extending or attenuating the tradition. Procopius, for example, extended the mode of explanation from fate and chance to incorporate a Christian model based on providence. This aspect has generated much of the uncertainty over the nature and genuineness of his religious belief.[26] Photius provided no evaluative comment on Procopius (63) but categorised him as a 'rhetorician', then summarised the first two books of the *Wars*.

The historiographical lens of Photius focuses attention on the fact that Byzantine history writing has to be understood and evaluated in its own terms, not measured artificially against a classical or modern ideal. Photius considered Nicephorus' *Breviarium* as the gold standard for history writing and he rated Diodorus, Herodian and Appian, for instance, far above others more highly regarded by modern standards because his priority criteria were literary and

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(*Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History* ed. and tr. C. Mango. DOT 10 (Washington 1990) 5).

26. Most recently: M. Meier, 'Prokop. Agathias, die Pest und das 'Ende' der antiken Historiographie: Naturkatastrophen und Geschichtsschreibung in der ausgehenden Spätantike' *HZ* 278 (2004) 281–310 (arguing that the plague and other natural disasters in the 530s and 540s focused Procopius' attention on God's role in historical events); A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea* (Philadelphia 2004) 165–73 (explaining Procopius as primarily a Platonist for whom *tyche*, rather than God, inspired events) and D. Brodka, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der spätantiken Historiographie: Studien zu Prokop von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes* (Bern 2004) 40–56, cf. A.M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985) 29–32 and Scott, 'Classical Tradition' 73–4.

structural. The narrative impulse also encouraged a selective process of continuity from one historian to another. From the sixth century, Agathias continued Procopius, Menander continued Agathias, Theophylact continued Menander and (much later) Nicephorus continued Theophylact; just as Leo the Deacon modelled his history on the overtly classical Agathias and was later continued by Psellos, while Anna Comnena then continued Psellos (as well as her husband Nikephoros Bryennios), with Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates taking up the story where Anna left off. Despite their significant stylistic and structural differences and peculiarities, this succession of historians created a relatively seamless and continuous narrative. Something similar occurred in Byzantine chronicle writing. Eusebius' chronicle was continued progressively from the fourth century, but there is also the example of Synkellos (creation to AD 284), Theophanes (284 to 813), followed by Skylitzes (811–1057) and the so-called Theophanes Continuatus (813 to 961).

In the ninth century, as reflected in the *Bibliotheca*, the traditional dichotomies of secular/ecclesiastical, chronicle/history, divine/human causation still prevailed. However, there were signs of the developments which emerged soon after and became more prevalent in the tenth century. The absence of early Byzantine chronicles from the *Bibliotheca* — works such as that of John Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale*, Panodorus, Annianos, and Synkellos/Theophanes most recently — may well indicate that Photius was saving them for later or did not consider them worth reading or including at all, although he did include earlier works such as Justus and Cephalion. Another explanation may be that they were so popular he could take them for granted as read, as he was able to do for Thucydides; another is that some of them were possibly difficult to find in Constantinople by Photius' time. By now, however, the earlier division between history and chronicle seems to have disappeared in the sense that, notwithstanding precise nomenclature, historical works combined and coalesced into a single common historiographical form with identifiable classical features.[27]

By the end of the ninth century the new biographical and individual emphasis had become just as evident in chronicles such as that of Theophanes, which was to exert such a wide influence,[28] and it became entrenched in historiographical practice during the tenth century.[29] Yet other features remained more stable. The division between history and encomium, for example, which is clear and sustained in Photius, consciously impacted on Anna Comnena (*Alexiad*, praef.) as she embarked on her history in the twelfth century. The *Bibliotheca* of Photius, however, reflects an historiographical culture and approach which are still permeated by the classical imperative. Photius' treatment of history and historians provides a valuable insight into the nature of Byzantine historiography in his day.

27. Ljubarskij, 'Trends' 133–4.
28. Ljubarskij, 'Historiography' 184–6.
29. Markopoulos, 'Writing' 183–97.

Bronwen Neil

Narrating the Trials and Death in Exile of
Pope Martin I and Maximus the Confessor

I. Introduction

In the 650s and 660s, the Greek monk Maximus the Confessor (580–662) and his ally Martin, bishop of Rome (649–53) were both found guilty of opposition to Constantinople's doctrinal policy of monothelitism — the teaching that Christ had only one will, which subsumed the human and divine wills. Both Maximus and Martin were condemned to exile, and Maximus also had his tongue and hand amputated. A sympathetic presentation of the events of their trials and exiles can be found in three texts. The first is the *Narrationes de exilio sancti papae Martini* commemorating Pope Martin.[1] The second text, entitled *Relatio Motionis*, is presented as a 'transcript' by an eye-witness of Maximus' trial along side his disciple Anastasius the Monk in 655.[2] Third is the *Hypomnesticon* of Theodore Spoudaeus, describing Martin's and Maximus' exiles in Cherson and Lazica respectively, and also the exile of several of their dyothelite supporters.[3] Maximus, Anastasius the Monk, and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius[4] entered their

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1. This text has been recently edited and translated by B. Neil: see B. Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius the Librarian*. Studia Antiqua Australiensia (in press). Elements of this paper will appear in a modified form in that volume. This research was funded by an Australian Research Council Postdoctoral Fellowship undertaken at Australian Catholic University.

2. The Greek and Latin texts of the *Relatio Motionis* have been edited, and the Greek text translated, by P. Allen and B. Neil: see *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia* Greek and Latin text ed. P. Allen & B. Neil. CCSG 39 (Turnhout 1999) 12–51; *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions: Documents from Exile* Greek ed. and tr. P. Allen & B. Neil (Oxford 2002) 49–73.

3. Their supporters included Theodore and Euprepius, Anastasius the Apocrisiarius, Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra, and a certain Stephan (probably Stephan of Dora, the associate of Sophronius of Jerusalem). The Greek *Hypomnesticon*, written in late 668 or early 669, an English translation and the Latin version have been published by P. Allen and B. Neil: see *Theodori Spudaei Hypomnesticon*; Greek and Latin text *Scripta* 196–227; Greek ed. and tr. *Maximus* 148–71.

4. While the second recension of the *Vita Maximi Confessoris* claims that Anastasius the Apocrisiarius was also present at the first trial in 655, it has been demonstrated that the Apocrisiarius was in exile himself in Mesembria at this stage (*Scripta* xv–xvi, where the events of the *Relatio Motionis* in 655 and the *Disputatio Bizyae* in the following year are discussed). The chronology of the *Vita Maximi* is notoriously contorted, and varies between the three recensions whose authors have reworked the source texts of the *Relatio Motionis* and *Disputatio Bizyae* in different ways. None of the three recensions can be relied upon to provide accurate dating of events. For further information, see my introduction in *Life of Maximus the Confessor (Recension 3)* ed. and tr. B. Neil & P. Allen. Early Christian Studies 6 (Sydney 2003) 15–20. The Greek title of the *Relatio Motionis*, which reads 'An account of the process which took place between lord Father Maximus and his companions'

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final exile to Lazica after a second trial in Constantinople in 662. The doctrine of two wills in Christ (dyothelitism) was finally upheld as the orthodox position at the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680/1).

A fourth sub-text, the *Commemoratio* of Pope Martin, is incorporated in the larger *Narrationes de exilio sancti papae Martini*, and makes up just over half of that larger text. It purports to be a verbatim account of the trial which took place before the senate in Constantinople in 653/4. The *Commemoratio* was written by an anonymous supporter of Martin and the dyothelite cause. The commemorative pamphlet is described as 'a simple letter of a certain most Christian person sent to those orthodox fathers who are in the West, or in Rome and Africa'.[5] While the author of the *Commemoratio* clearly has a western audience in mind, the *Narrationes* has a broader target, that of all dyothelites in East and West.

The trial of Maximus Confessor has rightly been called 'one of the most significant single events of the seventh century.'[6] The similarities between the trials of Martin and Maximus the Confessor indicate that in both cases the process was conducted by a small number of imperial delegates whose intention was to give a semblance of legal process to what was essentially an ecclesiastical matter. Thus the real reasons for their arrest and trial — their challenging of the imperial right to determine doctrinal matters — were disguised as civil offences, namely high treason or conspiracy against the emperor. Troianos notes that high treason was the one exception to the general rule that crimes of clerics and monks came under the jurisdiction of the church.[7] The charges against Maximus and Martin were deemed sufficiently serious to warrant being tried by the senate and presided over by the *sacellarius*. Allegations of heresy or blasphemy, which were properly ecclesiastical offences, normally fell under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople and a local synod of bishops.[8] In this respect the

(Μαξίμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ), suggests that more than one companion was tried with Maximus in 655. The Latin translation by Anastasius Bibliothecarius however, which was based on a very early Greek tradition (ninth century or earlier), mentions only one companion: *Relatio factae motionis inter domnum Maximum monachum et socium eius...*

5.   *Narrationes de exilio sancti papae Martini* ed. and tr. B. Neil 10. All references to chapters in the *Narrationes* follow the division of the text in my recent edition (see note 1).

6.   J. Haldon, 'Ideology and the Byzantine State in the Seventh Century: The "Trial" of Maximus the Confessor' *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium: Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference* ed. V. Vavřinek (Prague 1985) 90.

7.   S. Troianos, 'Die Strafen im byzantinischen Recht: Eine Übersicht' *JÖB* 42 (1992) 63 and n. 49, citing *Eisagoge* 11.14, ed. J. & P. Zepi, *Jus graecoromanum* 2: *Leges imperatorum Isaurorum et Macedonum* (Athens 1931, rp. Aalen 1962). See also G. Thür & P.E. Pieler, 'Gerichtsbarkeit', *RAC* 10:479–83.

8.   For example, the local synod convened in November 448 at Constantinople by Patriarch Flavian. The original cause was a dispute at Sardis, but Eusebius of Dorylaeum used the occasion to challenge the doctrinal teachings of Eutyches on the one nature of Christ. See *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* ed J. Bidez & C. Parmentier (London 1898, rp. Amsterdam 1964) 1.9, tr. M.

local synods differed from the ecumenical councils, such as the Sixth Ecumenical Council which condemned the monothelite patriarchs of Constantinople Sergius, Paul, and Pyrrhus, as well as Cyrus of Alexandria and Honorius, bishop of Rome, and was convened by the patriarch of Constantinople in conjunction with the emperor, Constantine IV.[9] Of course Byzantine emperors claimed jurisdiction over both civil and ecclesiastical courts of law, and thus Constans II would have overseen the trials in any case. The monothelite controversy was significant in that it entailed a clear-cut challenge to imperial authority by the head of the church of Rome, in the persons of Pope John IV (640–2), Theodore (642–9) and Martin. What is of even greater interest is that these bishops were encouraged in their opposition by eastern monks, led by Maximus the Confessor and Sophronius of Jerusalem (634–8).

It could be objected that any differentiation between judicial and ecclesiastical processes is anachronistic for a period when the emperor was head of both church and state. Indeed the boundaries between church and state powers in regard to doctrinal matters were somewhat fluid,[10] as evidenced by the argument between Maximus and Bishop Theodosius of Caesarea in the *Disputatio Bizyae*[11] about whether a synod had to be convened by order of the emperor in order to be ratified. On that occasion, Maximus insisted, and Theodosius is reported as agreeing, that the correctness of their teachings led to the approval of synods by the church, regardless of whether they had been convened by the order of the emperor. Moreover, Maximus reminded Theodosius, 'the canon declares that synods be held twice each year in every province, making no mention of imperial order, with the purpose of...correcting all points which do not conform to the divine law of the church'.[12] That Maximus himself maintained such a distinction in relation to imperial decrees on doctrinal matters is clear from the *Relatio Motionis* when he distinguishes between those who caused 'the master' Constans to issue the *Typus* (sc. the ecclesiastical officials) and those who allowed it (the state officials).[13]

I hope to demonstrate that all the charges brought against Martin and Maximus aimed to protect imperial authority in a time of great insecurity,[14]

Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool 2000) 26–7 and n. 81.

9. The proceedings of this council, the third Council of Constantinople, are edited by R. Riedinger, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium. ACO* Ser. 2 Vol. 2 (2 vols Berlin 1990–2).

10. As observed in Troianos, 'Strafen' 64.

11. *Disputatio Bizyae cum Theodosio*: Greek and Latin text *Scripta* 72–151; Greek ed. and tr. *Maximus* 76–119.

12. *Disputatio Bizyae* 4 (*Maximus* 89–91). The debate was held at Bizyae, in Thrace, in 656, in the presence of 'rulers of the palace'.

13. 'The ecclesiastical officials caused [him to issue it] and the state officials allowed it.' *RM* 9 (*Maximus* 67).

14. Haldon, 'Ideology' 88, makes a similar case, referring to two poles of authority in the Byzantine world, the imperial and the heavenly, and suggesting that: '...The Monothelite controversy reflects the struggle between these two poles of authority at a 'public' level, and that the trial of Maximus (as well as the treatment meted out to

especially in the western reaches of the empire. Thus it was crucial that their cases be tried by civil rather than ecclesiastical courts of law. Emperor Constans II's power was being undermined from without by Arab conquests and from within by the military rebellions of Valentinian,[15] Olympius the exarch of Italy,[16] and George *magister*,[17] among others. Martin and Maximus were made examples to other dyothelites of the consequences of disobeying imperial authority, especially since the imperially-sponsored 'heresies' of monoenergism and monothelitism might easily be blamed for the military failures of Heraclius and Constans against the Arab threat.[18] The murder of Constans Pogonatus in Sicily

Pope Martin after his arrest) was designed to illustrate the absolute nature of imperial authority and to challenge and to block any attempt to locate authority through alternative channels.'

15. Valentinian (or Valentine) belonged to the Armenian Arsacid house, and was a commander of the eastern forces, according to the Armenian historiographer Sebeos, in his *History of Heraclius* ed. and tr. F. Macler (Paris 1904). He seems to have assisted Martina's son Heraklonas in his accession to the throne in 641. He rebelled against Constans in 643/4, and 'the emperor gave orders for him to be killed and transferred his army to his own allegiance,' according to Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6136 ed. C. de Boor (2 vols Leipzig 1883–5, rp. New York 1980) 1:343 3–6, tr. C. Mango & R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford 1997) 476; see also 477 n. 1: 'Presumably the same Valentinus mentioned under AM 6133.') Sebeos, on the other hand, writes that after a failed expedition against the Arabs in Syria, Valentinian revolted in 644 or 645 and was crowned co-ruler with Constans II but was killed in the same year 'when the populace rioted against his use of soldiers brought into the city from the field army': J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1990) 306. See also W. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest 471–843* (Amsterdam 1981) 157–8, and 'Valentinos Aršakuni' *ODB* 2151.

16. Olympius, like Valentinian, was killed before he could be brought to justice. *Narrationes* 17 is the only source to claim that Olympius organised a rebellion in Italy and declared himself emperor. How far Martin was implicated in this conspiracy, if it occurred, remains open to question. The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions nothing of it, saying merely that Olympius collected his army after making peace with Martin and set off to Sicily against the Saracens dwelling there, that his army was devastated and Olympius himself died of disease: *Le Liber Pontificalis* ed. L. Duchesne (3 vols Paris 1886–1957) 1:338. It has been suggested that Olympius reached an accord with the Lombard king Rothari in 651: L. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* vol. 2 pt. 1 (Gotha 1900) 244.

17. George Magister of Constantinople was accused of conspiring against Constans II in 651–2. He was recalled from Thrace and killed, according to Sebeos, *Heraclius* 130–1. Kaegi, *Unrest* 160–1, discusses the affair in more detail. On the identification of the George Magister of this text with that mentioned by Sebeos, see B. Neil, 'The Trial of Pope Martin I in Constantinople' *StP* (in press).

18. As suggested in the trial of Maximus by the accuser John who claimed that Maximus had written that 'God did not approve of lending aid to the Roman empire during the reign of Heraclius and his kin', in relation to defending Egypt against the Saracens (*RM* 1, *Maximus* 49). This accusation is dealt with more fully below.

in 668 was interpreted as a just penalty for his ratification of the 'blasphemous heresy' of the monothelites.[19]

II. The Prisoners' Arrival in Constantinople

Both Martin's and Maximus' trial narratives place particular importance on the arrival of the prisoners under armed guard at the harbour of Constantinople. The *excubitores*, a select corps of imperial guards created under Leo I, were responsible for meeting Pope Martin at the harbour on his arrival from Rome, and holding him under guard at the Prandiaria prison for ninety-three days before his trial began.[20] If he arrived on 17 September 653, as the author of *Narrationes* claims,[21] his trial should have begun around 20 December. He was met at the harbour by Theodore Spoudaeus and Theodosius of Gangra, who were to remain loyal supporters throughout his ordeal, and who later attempted to visit him in exile in Cherson.[22]

Maximus and his disciple Anastasius were arrested close to the time of Martin's arrest in June 653,[23] and were escorted to Constantinople for trial in 655. When they arrived by boat, the prisoners were met by two commissioners (*mandatores*) and ten *excubitores*. Like Martin, Maximus was separated from his companion and imprisoned for a brief time.[24] They were then led into the imperial palace, where the senate was gathered and a crowd of onlookers. The trial of the old man and his disciple became a public event. The trial was held in

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19. *Hypomnesticon* 2, *Maximus* 151. The vitriolic pamphlet *Against the People of Constantinople* also calls down God's 'inevitable judgement' on the people of Constantinople, 'the seven-hilled Babylon' (*Contra Constantinopolitanos*, CPG 7740; *Against the People of Constantinople* 4, see *Maximus* 175).

20. *Narrationes* 14.

21. 'Finally when that blessed man arrived in Byzantium on the seventeenth day of the month of September...' (*Narrationes* 14). This is confirmed by Martin's own statements that he set sail from Rome on 17 June, after his arrest two days earlier, and that his journey took three months (*Narrationes* 9).

22. As Theodore Spoudaeus relates in the *Hypomnesticon* 7 (*Maximus* 159).

23. The place and date of their arrest are not clear from the sources. According to Recension 2 of the *Vita Maximi Confessoris* (PG 90, 85D–88A), their arrest took place in Rome. This was quite possibly the case, if they remained in Rome after the Lateran Synod of 649, which they almost certainly attended. Recension 3 (ch. 22) adds a date: 'when Constans the descendant of Heraclius was exercising imperial power, and finishing his ninth year', i.e. 650, three years *before* the arrest of Martin in June 653 (*Vita Maximi 3* 79). According to the prologue to the *Hypomnesticon* (ch. 3) too, Constans II ordered the arrest of Maximus and Anastasius the Monk after the Lateran Synod. They were imprisoned in a camp before 'many inquiries' were made into their orthodoxy, after which they were banished to Bizya and Perberis in Thrace. Then they were banished to Lazica, after which Martin was taken captive and transported to Constantinople. The chronology of the prologue-writer is hopelessly confused, given that their exile to Lazica did not take place until 662, and the trial of 655 has been left out altogether.

24. 'After some days they brought them (sc. Maximus and Anastasius the Monk) up to the palace and led in the old man to the place where the senate had assembled and a great crowd besides.' (*RM* 1, *Maximus* 49).

the privy chamber, probably the domed hall where the Council *in Trullo* was later to be held in 691/2.[25]

The three narratives, while exemplifying different genres — the *Narrationes* and *Hypomnesticon* are commemorations while the *Relatio Motionis* is presented as a court record — endeavour to portray their subjects as unmoved in the face of death, and utterly committed to suffering patiently for the sake of dyothelitism, which they identify with 'the true faith'. Such a capacity to rise above the passions of the flesh (*apatheia*) is characteristic of most saints' lives as they are preserved in Byzantine hagiography.[26]

III. The Trials of Martin and Maximus

A close analysis of these texts reveals that many of the *dramatis personae* of Martin's *Narrationes* reappear in similar or identical roles in the *Relatio Motionis* and *Hypomnesticon*. The trials of both Martin and Maximus were presided over by the *sacellarius* whose duties had by the mid-seventh century expanded from the earlier brief of finance minister to general control over imperial affairs. The *sacellarius* who presided over the process against Martin is identified as Boukkoleon. Among the other officials who were present at Martin's trial were Demosthenes the edict-writer and the prefect Troilus. Present at Maximus' trial were the *sacellarius*, unnamed but probably to be identified with Boukkoleon; a certain Menas, described as 'monk' and 'father', who seems to have been a consultant to the senate on theological matters; the exarch — which term here refers to the patriarch of Constantinople, rather than the secular exarchs of either Ravenna or Carthage — and the exarch's men; the patrician Epiphanius; and Demosthenes. Demosthenes, who as edict-writer was permitted to act as the emperor's deputy, was later sent to interview Martin in the Diomedes prison after the trial, announcing:

> 'Our distinguished ruler, the emperor, sent us to say to you: Look
> at the great glory you enjoyed before, and to what rank you have
> reduced yourself. No one did this to you, but you did it to
> yourself.' But [Martin] himself did not answer at all except only
> for this: 'Glory and thanksgiving in everything to the one immortal
> king.'[27]

This is a clear statement of defiance against imperial authority and Martin's unwillingness to recognise the imperial claim to regulate doctrinal matters for the church.

25. W. Brandes, '"Juristiche" Krisenbewältigung im 7. Jahrhundert? Die Prozesse gegen Papst Martin I. und Maximos Homologetes' *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*. FM 10 (Frankfurt am Main 1998) 180.

26. As the author of the third recension of the *Vita Maximi Confessoris* put it: 'I will demonstrate rather the noble man's superior endurance and his utmost distinction in suffering.' (*Vita Maximi 3* 21.77.)

27. *Narrationes* 24.

Four people were introduced to bring accusations against Maximus and Anastasius. All four charges were 'strictly political',[28] concerning real or perceived threats to the status and authority of the emperor, first Heraclius and then his grandson Constans II. These four witnesses will now be considered in turn, and their accusations compared with those made against Martin.

1. John the former *sacellarius* of Peter the former general of Numidia,[29] accused Maximus of betraying 'Egypt, Alexandria, Pentapolis, Tripolis and Africa to the Saracens'.[30] John alleged that Maximus had advised Peter not to follow Emperor Heraclius' command to lead an army against the Saracens in Egypt in 633, 'because God did not approve lending aid to the Roman empire during the reign of Heraclius and his kin'.[31] Maximus denied having given any such advice, and there is no other evidence for these events apart from this unproven allegation. This charge suggests that at least some suspected a connection between Heraclius' losses and imperial support for monothelitism. The Byzantine concern with the Saracen threat echoes several charges brought against Martin, namely that he had supplied money and a *Tome* to the Saracens, and had written letters to the enemy in an attempt to conspire against the emperor.[32]

2. Sergius Magoudas[33] reported that Pope Theodore (642–9) had encouraged the patrician Gregory, exarch of North Africa, in his attempted revolt against Constans in 646. Pope Theodore had allegedly reported to Gregory a vision seen by Maximus, portraying his future victory:

    > The holy servant of God, Father Maximus, had a vision in his
    > sleep that in the heavens to the East and West there were crowds
    > of angels. And the angels in the East shouted 'Constantine
    > Augustus, you shall conquer,' whereas the angels in the West
    > exclaimed: 'Gregory Augustus, you shall conquer.' And the voices
    > of those in the West prevailed over those in the East.[34]

    The exarch Gregory was killed in Arab incursions into North Africa in the following year (647), and so his rebellion came to nothing. The charge of conspiracy is similar to that levelled against Pope Martin, Theodore's successor, namely that he had conspired with Olympius, exarch of Ravenna, against the emperor when the exarch was dispatched to Rome by Constans in 651, to bring the Roman clergy over to the monothelite side by force.[35]

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28. Haldon, 'Ideology' 89.
29. *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. 1, *641–867* [CD-Rom] ed. J.R. Martindale (Aldershot 2001) s.v. Iohannes 488.
30. *RM* 1 (*Maximus* 49).
31. *RM* 1 (*Maximus* 51).
32. *Narrationes* 3.
33. We know nothing more about this Sergius, although Brandes, 'Prozesse' 185 n. 21, speculated that his surname Magoudas was perhaps related to the Mesopotamian city Magouda on the Euphrates. See *PBEI* s.v. Sergios 112.
34. *RM* 2 (*Maximus* 51).
35. For more detail on this charge of conspiracy, see note 15 above and also Neil, 'Trial'.

Both these charges may not have been completely unfounded, but were never proven.

3. Theodore Chila, son of John the former subaltern,[36] was then brought forward, saying that in a conversation that took place between him and Maximus in Rome on the subject of the emperor, 'he ridiculed what was said, making sounds of contempt and derision'.[37] This accusation, perhaps the least concrete, nevertheless constituted a grave insult against the authority of the emperor. Maximus did not deny it, in fact, but retorted that he had only met with Theodore Chila once, and that was in the presence of the presbyter Theocaristos, 'brother of the exarch'. This exarch may have been Plato the Patrician, who was Theodore Chila's father-in-law,[38] and who had been exarch of Ravenna in 645/6 when Pyrrhus, the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, travelled to Rome to make his submission to Pope Theodore. Pope Martin had named the exarch Plato as a surviving witness who could testify that Patriarch Pyrrhus had made his retraction freely and without being forced.[39]

4. Gregory the secretary (*asecretis*), son of Photinus,[40] who also came to visit Maximus in Rome, claimed that Maximus' disciple of thirty-seven years, Anastasius, had denied that the emperor should be considered a priest.[41] The alleged questioning of the emperor's status had a direct bearing on imperial authority to make pronouncements about doctrine. Maximus met the accusation against Anastasius with several proofs that the emperor was to be regarded as a layperson rather than a member of the clergy. The monk Menas responded: 'By making these statements you have split the church.'[42] This was too much for the *sacellarius*, who appealed to the exarch, Patriarch Peter of Constantinople, to put Maximus to death. The accuser Gregory the secretary was probably the one responsible for bringing the *Typus* to Rome.[43] The *Typus*, an imperial edict enjoining silence on the subject of the number of wills and operations in Christ, had been issued in 648 by Constans with the aid of Patriarch Paul. Martin, while still a deacon, had been one of Pope Theodore's emissaries (*apocrisiarii*) to Constantinople in the early 640s. When the papal *apocrisiarii* were expelled from Constantinople for their refusal to accept the *Typus*, Martin returned to Rome to take over the bishopric upon the death of Pope Theodore in 649. Gregory's charge

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36. *PBE1* s.v. Theodoros 346, Ioannes 489.
37. *RM* 3 (*Maximus* 53).
38. *RM* 2 (*Maximus* 51). See *PBE1* s.v. Platon 24. The term 'exarch' could, however, also refer to the patriarch of Constantinople, as noted by Allen & Neil in *RM* (*Maximus* 177 n. 15).
39. *Narrationes* 24.
40. *PBE1* s.v. Gregorios 150.
41. *RM* 4 (*Maximus* 55): '...they brought in a fourth person, Gregory the son of Photinus, who said: "I went to Father Maximus' cell in Rome, and, when I said that the emperor was a priest too, Father Anastasius, his disciple, said: "He shouldn't be considered a priest."'
42. *RM* 4 (*Maximus* 59).
43. Brandes, 'Prozesse' 194 n. 329.

therefore located Maximus in Rome when Martin was pope, in the year of the Lateran Synod (649).[44]

The scene of action then shifts from the senate chamber to Maximus' prison cell. On the evening of the same day, the patrician Troilus and the imperial steward Sergius Eucratas made a private visit to Maximus in his cell[45] and interrogated him about why he had put himself outside communion with the church of Constantinople. By the time their discussion drew to a close, both Sergius and Troilus revealed themselves as not unsympathetic to Maximus' plight. Troilus had shown no such sympathy for Martin during his trial, when he specifically refused to let Martin raise the subject of the *Typus*.[46]

On the following Saturday, Troilus took up the interrogation of Maximus in the privy chamber, asking him to speak the truth 'because if we go through a legal enquiry and if even one of the accusations against you is true, the law will take your life'.[47] This suggests that Troilus himself saw the preceding trial as something other than a 'legal enquiry' (*nomimou zetêseôs*). Troilus claimed that by anathematising the *Typus* Maximus had anathematised the emperor. This was not a formal charge, but rather an attempt to get to the theological heart of the matter outside the public forum of a 'show trial'. Maximus, however, steadfastly resisted all pressure to return to communion with the church of Constantinople, even when the emperor later offered to welcome him in person at the entrance of the Great Palace and to celebrate the liturgy by his side in Hagia Sophia.[48]

Throughout the trial the two patriarchs — Peter of Constantinople, and another, probably Macedonius the non-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch[49] — remained silent, offering mute support to the senate's decisions. Demosthenes, who was in all likelihood the same edict-writer (*rescriptor*) and assistant to the *sacellarius* as appeared in the trial of Martin,[50] was a more vocal presence. When the subject of the Lateran Synod, convened by Martin in 649, came up, Demosthenes protested that the synod had not been ratified, because the person who convened it (sc. Martin) had been deposed. 'Not deposed but banished,'

44. While Maximus and Anastasius are not mentioned by name in the proceedings of the Lateran Synod, their signatures are appended to a document adduced at the synod: *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum* ed. R. Riedinger. *ACO* Ser. 2 Pt. 1 (Berlin 1984) 57.
45. The office of imperial steward, like that of the *sacellarius*, had far exceeded its original limits. Sergius is the earliest-known person to hold the office, which was reserved for eunuchs: Brandes, 'Prozesse' 201 n. 386. See *PBE1* s.v. Sergios 113.
46. *Narrationes* 17.
47. *RM* 11 (*Maximus* 69).
48. *Disputatio Bizyae* 10 (*Maximus* 109 and n. 40). Haldon, 'Ideology' 89, calls this offer 'a startlingly clear indication of the importance of the whole affair to imperial authorities'.
49. Macedonius had been in permanent residence in Constantinople from after 639 until after 662: J.L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI (610–715)*. Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel 4 (Amsterdam 1972) 108 and n. 8.
50. *Narrationes* 24; see Brandes, 'Prozesse' 175 and 181 n. 251.

Maximus replied,[51] drawing attention to the ambiguous status of the new bishop of Rome, Eugenius (654–7), who had been elected while Martin was still alive in exile in Cherson. Martin had been accused of taking the pontifical throne without seeking or obtaining the approval of the emperor, another insult to the authority of Constantinople.

IV. Corporal Punishment and Sentencing of the Condemned

Maximus and Anastasius were sentenced to exile in Bizya and Perberis, repectively, after the ecclesiastical officials persuaded the emperor to spare them the death sentence (*RM* 13). The fact that they were sentenced on a Sunday is a further indication that the normal legal penalties were not applied in this case. The *Third Sentence* against Maximus (*DB* 17),[52] written in the first person in the imperial voice, purports to relate the sentences brought down against Maximus, Anastasius the Monk and Anastasius the Apocrisiarius. Anastasius the Apocrisiarius does not appear in the *Relatio Motionis*, indicating that the trial to which the *Third Sentence* refers is not that of 655 but the later one of 662. Brandes and others have pointed out that the author of the *Third Sentence* shows remarkably little knowledge of the earlier trials of Martin, and that the document must stem from shortly after the events described took place in 662.[53] Their lives were to be spared but, on account of their impiety,

> We have passed sentence that the all-praiseworthy eparch who is with you is to take you immediately to the *praetorium* where he rules over many. And when he has flogged Anastasius and Anastasius he is to cut out from inside your mouth the organ of your licentiousness, Maximus and Anastasius [the Apocrisiarius], that is your blaspheming tongue. Then he is to sever your right hand because it ministered to your blasphemous argument.[54]

After the amputations the eparch was to parade them on foot through the twelve sections of the city, and afterwards hand them over to lifelong exile under permanent guard in Lazica.

Martin too was handed over to the executioners at the command of the *sacellarius*, and paraded through the city in chains as far the headquarters of the prefect of the city with a sword carried in front of him, as a signal of his impending execution. The prefect of the city is identified as 'Gregory the prefect, a eunuch from the bedchamber'.[55] Brandes suggests that the offices of 'eparch of the city' and 'prefect' were not the same in this period, and that Troilus was

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51. *RM* 12 (*Maximus* 71).
52. *Maximus* 118–19. The document is a later addition to the *Disputatio Bizyae*, and did not appear in Anastasius Bibliothecarius's Latin translation of that document.
53. Brandes, 'Prozesse' 156; and *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit.* Erste Abteilung (641–867), *Prolegomena* nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns, ed. R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig, T. Pratsch et al. (Berlin 1998) 176.
54. *Maximus* 119. See Troianos, 'Strafen' 66–70 on the use of amputation as a form of corporal punishment in the Byzantine empire.
55. *Narrationes* 22.

probably the eparch of the city.[56] However, the Greek version of the *Hypomnesticon* allows us to identify 'Gregory the eunuch and eparch of the city' and Gregory the prefect (*Gregorius praefectus*) as one and the same person.[57] Martin was expecting to be executed, as the *sacellarius* had instructed, but Emperor Constans intervened at the request of the dying Patriarch Paul. The death sentence was commuted to lifelong exile in Cherson. Martin is reported to have been very disappointed 'that he would not undergo what he was expecting',[58] thus characterising him as a martyr who welcomed death for the sake of the faith.

The account of Martin's trial and punishment has strong echoes of the Passion of Christ, which are absent from the trial of Maximus and his companions. The first explicit comparison between Martin and Christ appears in *Narrationes* 12:

> But truly he (sc. Martin) did not consider his own life more precious than himself, but laid it down even to the point of death, in imitation, as it is said, of his Lord who said: *The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep* (Jn 10:11) in order to save the lost flock, wandering everywhere, from the attacks of heretics in our day.

The bishop as the good shepherd was a powerful metaphor in the early Christian church; here, the flock's predators are monothelite heretics.

V. Aftermath: Death in Exile

Arriving in Cherson in May 654, Martin died there on 16 September 655, the same day as the feast of Euphemia 'most happy martyr and guardian of the correct faith'.[59] Euphemia was considered the guardian of Chalcedonian orthodoxy since the Council of Chalcedon (451) had been held in the church which housed her tomb.[60] According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, two creeds — one orthodox, one monophysite — were interred with the body of the saint during the Council. When the coffin was later opened the bishops apparently found Euphemia's corpse holding the orthodox creed in her hands. The comparison the author wished to draw with Martin as the preserver of orthodoxy against the monothelites is clear.

Maximus did not last as long as Martin in exile, having been transferred from fort to fort in Lazica by stretcher since he was too weak to walk. He died within months at the fort of Schemaris, at the age of eighty-two. Two miracles confirmed his sanctity, according to his biographers. Maximus accurately

56. Brandes, 'Prozesse' 162 n. 130.
57. *Hypomnesticon* (*Scripta* 211. 202): Γρηγορίῳ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς... πόλεως.
58. *Narrationes* 23.
59. *Narrationes* 28.
60. On this sanctuary, now vanished. see A.-M. Schneider. 'Sankt Euphemia und das Konzil von Chalkedon' *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*. vol. I ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg 1951) 291–302.

foretold his own death on 13 August 662. The appearance of three miraculous lights — one for each person of the Trinity he defended — shining on his tomb at night proved his orthodoxy to the local inhabitants, who established a dyothelite church there.[61] His disciple Anastasius, who had been imprisoned separately from Maximus upon their arrival in Lazica, had died a month earlier at, or in transit to, the fort of Suania, on 22 or 24 July.

After Constans' death in 668, the monothelite party quickly lost imperial favour, and his successor Constantine IV convened the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680/1, which restored dyothelitism to the status of orthodoxy. Although Maximus was not mentioned by name at that council, his cause at least was vindicated.

VI. Conclusion

The *Narrationes, Relatio Motionis* and *Hypomnesticon* should be read as propaganda pamphlets for the supporters of the losing side, written close to the events they describe. The end result of the conflict for Martin and Maximus — their ignominious death in exile — casts a grim light on the authors' claims for the inevitable victory of orthodoxy. That victory was only assured after the Sixth Ecumenical Council, and the subsequent use of the *Narrationes* in the Greek *Vita Martini*[62] paints a very different picture, with the benefit of hindsight: that of a triumphant pope who is ultimately victorious over his enemies. Likewise, the author of the Life of Martin in the *Liber Pontificalis*, written several decades after his death, can afford to play down the violations and defeats suffered by the pope before 'this confessor ended his life in peace' in Cherson.[63] The *Narrationes* by contrast present a less rosy picture of a pope abandoned by his church, undergoing physical injury and severe deprivation at the hands of Byzantine officials who had the support of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This picture is backed up by the *Hypomnesticon*, written at the end of the decade in which Maximus died.

Martin was the last bishop of Rome to incur such punishment for opposing the imperial will. In the mid-seventh century the exarch of Ravenna and his army were still instruments of imperial power. By the end of the seventh century, however, the army of Ravenna was no longer under the full control of the emperor, and so Pope Sergius was spared Martin's fate when he refused to accept the canons of the Quinisext Council of 691/2. When the Ravennan forces refused to carry out Justinian II's orders to arrest the pope,[64] and revolted against

61. *Hypomnesticon* 5 (*Maximus* 137). Bishop Theodore of Phasis, in Lazica, was one of the signatories to the statement of faith of the Sixth Ecumenical Council condemning monothelitism in 681: 'Theodorus indignus episcopus Phasidis Lazicae provinciae' (*Conc.univ.CP.III* 2:749 l.13). See *PBEI* s.v. Theodoros 46.

62. P. Peeters, 'Une vie grecque du pape S. Martin I' *AB* 51 (1933) 225–62.

63. *Lib.pont.* 1:338 17–18: *Deinde directus est sepiusdictus sanctissimus vir in exilio, in loco qui dicitur Cersona, et ibidem, ut Deo placuit, vitam finivit in pace, Christi confessor.*

64. Life of Sergius, *Lib.pont.* 1:372–4.

the swordsman Zacharius, the terrified *spatharius* was forced to take refuge from the fury of his soldiers under the pontiff's bed!

The different fates met by Pope Martin and his Greek supporters Maximus and Anastasius on the one hand, and Pope Sergius on the other, demonstrate the extent to which the relationship between Byzantium and the papacy had changed over a period of forty years. Within that time, with the loss of most of the western territories reconquered by Belisarius for Justinian, the Byzantine administration had ceased to see Rome as part of the empire, at least in the sense that it had been until then. Rome, under the leadership of the papacy, began to see that it would have to look to its own future. Thus the death of Martin marks a decisive break in the ideological boundaries that formed the webs of belonging in late antiquity. The stage was set for the transition to a new sense of Roman identity in the early medieval world.

Elizabeth McCartney

The Use of Metaphor in Michael Psellos' *Chronographia*

Ever since I first came across the *Chronographia*, I have been captivated by the vivid and engaging nature of Psellos' narrative. As many have said before, the *Chronographia* ushered in a new approach to history. It presents a much more personal history than that which had come before, personal both in the nature and treatment of its subject matter and in its narrative style. For unlike the dry, annalistic recording of events found in world chronicles, where the figures mentioned are one-dimensional stereotypes, the *Chronographia* presents an exploration of the complex individual in which both the author and the audience play a much more central role. One way in which Psellos achieved this was through metaphor. Psellos' use of metaphor not only adds to the vividness of the narrative, but within this new focus on the personal it helps the audience to a greater understanding of the persons and the events presented to them. There are many metaphors to be found throughout the text, and not the space to discuss them all. I will focus, therefore, on two of the main sets of metaphorical imagery employed by Psellos: those related to the sea and to the chariot.[1]

The very fact that Psellos organises the *Chronographia* using the reign of a monarch as a unit of time can be seen as one indication of this new personal focus on the subject matter. Another can be seen in the fact that the narrative concentrates on the palace rather than the empire. With such a structure and focus to the text, the *Chronographia* presents a discussion of the person and how he conducts himself and deals with his situation rather than, for example, the details of a campaign.[2] Psellos tells us, 'With regard to his public acts, I will leave the recording of them to many other writers who like to chronicle those things'.[3] For, as Plutarch explained in the introduction to his Life of Alexander, 'the most outstanding exploits do not always have the property of revealing the goodness or the badness of the agent; often, in fact, a casual action, the odd phrase, or a jest reveals character better than battles involving the loss of thousands upon thousands of lives, huge troop movements, and whole cities

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1. All references are to Renauld's second edition: Michael Psellos, *Chronographie: ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)* ed. and tr. É. Renauld (2 vols Paris 1926–8, rp. Paris 1967); tr. E.R.A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The 'Chronographia' of Michael Psellus* (London 1966). Unless otherwise specified, all translations quoted are from Sewter. I think that he captures the spirit of Psellos' text wonderfully.

2. See, for example, Psellos, *Chron.* 1.32–4 (Renauld 2:20–2, Sewter 46–7). Psellos' account of Basil II's expedition against the barbarians is an example of the way in which he concentrates on how the battle was fought rather than the individual skirmishes.

3. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.167.1–2 (Renauld 2:53, Sewter 243). As Books Six and Seven contain the account of more than one emperor, clarification appears in the footnote, for example (Romanos) 7.6. Unless otherwise specified, however, references from Book Six refer to the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus.

besieged'.[4] With an influence, therefore, that seems to come more from classical biography than classical history,[5] the human individual has come to the foreground in the *Chronographia*, recognised in all his complexity for both his strengths and his weaknesses. Psellos saw the truth to be that 'the actions of emperors are a conglomerate patchwork of bad and good'.[6]

Along with this conception of, and focus on, the emperor as an individual, another more personal development can be seen in the author's intrusion into the text.[7] Psellos was an official, an active member of, and sometimes friend to, the court he was describing, and often displays an emotional involvement in the events he is discussing. The distance kept between the classical historian and his material has disappeared, and with it, the distance between the author and his audience.[8]

A result of this is that the audience comes to know not just the royal subjects of the narrative, but Psellos himself. Psellos achieves this through frequent digressions on subjects such as the nature of rhetoric and the role of the historian, as well as his own fame, influence and the depth of his learning, but also through the interests, priorities and beliefs to be found underlying the focus of his material and the information he chooses to include. Psellos' presence, both as a character in the story and as its author, is not denied. He tells us, for example, that 'I shall state and interpret';[9] however the influence he thus wields over the audience and the way they interpret the material is not always acknowledged. For while Psellos tells us that a historian should not judge, and frequently reaffirms his assertion that his 'is a true record, not a rhetorical exercise',[10] his personality does seem to intrude into the *Chronographia* markedly more than such statements would seem to allow.

His own thoughts and views, for example, are obvious in the almost continuous commentary that accompanies the narrative. Aware of the power of words, Psellos sees rhetoric as a tool that can be used to clarify information, while also pointing out the potential dangers — it is a tool that can 'convince any intelligent audience of anything'.[11] Although Psellos explains his own skill in rhetoric,[12] examples of this skill in the text often remain unannounced. For while

4. Plutarch, *Greek Lives* tr. R. Waterfield (Oxford 1998) 312.
5. See, for example, R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 61–74.
6. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.25.10–12 (Renauld 1:129, Sewter 167).
7. A.P. Kazhdan & A.W. Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley 1985) 220.
8. Scott, 'Classical Tradition' 63–4.
9. ἐρῶ καὶ ἑρμηνεύσω Psellos, *Chron.* (Constantine X) 7.1.3 (Renauld 2:138). My translation.
10. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.203.9 (Renauld 2:71, Sewter 260).
11. See, for example, Psellos, *Chron.* 6.197 (bis) (Renauld 2:68, Sewter 257) for the benevolent applications of rhetoric, and 6.176 (Renauld 2:58, Sewter 247) for warnings concerning its misuse.
12. Psellos *Chron.* 6.36, 44–5, 197.

Psellos believed that a historian should remain impartial, it does not seem likely that he replaced Michael V's name with 'tyrant'[13] without being aware of the emotional response this would elicit from his hearers and how this could influence their reaction to the text, especially if they did not realise that they were being manipulated. Psellos' skill as a writer, seen in his vivid descriptions, his ability to build suspense and his inclusion of the audience in the narrative,[14] creates an engaging text, and this, combined with his first-hand accounts and his emotional involvement in the events he describes, helps to bring the characters to life.

The personal focus of the *Chronographia* aims to present the Emperors as the complex individuals Psellos saw them to be — flawed and human. Psellos has, however, a somewhat idealised conception of the imperial role and a great respect for the position, believing it to be anointed by God. He has a clear idea of what he expects of a monarch, seeing the position, for example, to come with much responsibility. The focus of the *Chronographia*, however, allows him to break down some of the myth and mystery of monarchy, to show that whatever ideals he may have for the role, the people who hold it are fallible human beings. While he may occasionally wish that they fulfilled their duties with a little more respect for the position, he is not surprised when they are unable to do so, and so he encourages the audience to explore the humanity of the emperors and to try to understand the motivation behind their actions as well as pointing out the consequences.[15]

Even if his protestations as to the truthfulness of his account often appear perfunctory, and one can see that quite often Psellos' own thoughts and feelings pervade his narrative, the personal focus given to the treatment of the subject matter as well as the closeness of the narrator to his audience allow Psellos to encourage his audience to consider the information they are being given and the situations being described to them in a thoughtful, and sometimes balanced manner.

One way Psellos did this was through the use of metaphor. Aware of the power of images and associations, he uses this to create a fluidity within his narrative that helps his audience to follow his thoughts and ideas. While the *Chronographia* contains many metaphors such as comparing the empire to a

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13. τυραννεύσας Psellos, *Chron.* 5.43.2 (Renauld 1:111, Sewter 147).
14. Psellos often, for example, treats the audience like an old friend for whom he was describing action which was taking place in front of their eyes. In one particularly whimsical comment he suggests, referring to Constantine and the Augusta, 'Perhaps it may be the reader's wish that we rouse them from their slumbers, and separate them'. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.68.3 (Renauld 1:150, Sewter 189).
15. One example of this is Psellos' discussion of the revolt of Maniaces and the Russian upheaval that followed. Psellos praises an aspect of Constantine IX's character (the manner of his 'glorious Triumph' against the insurgent), but moderates the statement by pointing out a weakness (the emperor's lack of circumspection) and then finally points out the consequences of this (lack of vigilance caused the war against the barbarians). He then treats Maniaces in the same even-handed manner. He states that while it does not excuse his actions, Maniaces had suffered many injustices in his life. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.76–89; passage cited from 6.88.9 (Renauld 2:7, Sewter 199).

house,[16] or an animal,[17] and comparing the writing of the account of the reign of Constantine IX to 'weaving'[18], it seems to me that there are two major metaphors that recur throughout the work: those related to the sea and to the chariot. These metaphors are not unique to Psellos, but as he refers back to these ancient Greek models he adapts them for his own needs and they become another tool with which he can fashion the particular style of history that he wishes to present.

The sea metaphor is the most conspicuous of the two main metaphors that Psellos employs. It first appears in Book Four where Psellos identifies the actions of John, Michael IV's brother, to be directly responsible for the 'shipwreck' of their family 'with the loss of all hands'.[19] This concept of the empire and its rulers as potentially vulnerable to many problems (to employ a modern take on the sea metaphor, being an emperor is not always 'smooth sailing') is developed further in Book Five. In attempting to discuss the great social unrest following Michael V's exiling of Zoe, Psellos describes his own task thus: 'in my tiny skiff, I have ventured to cross a mighty ocean'.[20] Interestingly, this sea metaphor does not only convey an understanding of the enormity of the problems that can beset an empire. The image of the historian attempting to make sense of these problems and relate them to the audience as a 'tiny skiff' facing a 'mighty ocean' also gives some sense of the complexity of the task Psellos felt himself to be faced with, and perhaps the limited means he felt he had available to deal with it within the confines of his assignment.

It is not, however, until Book Six and the discussion of Constantine IX that Psellos really begins to work this metaphor. When discussing the pressures that an emperor faces in his role, Psellos suggests that an emperor's life is as unpredictable and difficult as the sea, 'calm and peaceful' one minute, other times 'swollen, or lashed by waves'.[21] This concept is then contrasted with Constantine IX's own expectations for his time as emperor. For, after many troubled years, he saw the role of ruler as if 'He had entered the harbour of the palace, so to speak, to enjoy the advantages of a calm retreat and to avoid the duties of helmsman in the future'.[22] When 'Waves of trouble, one after another, descended upon him',[23] we are reminded again of Psellos' original conception of what it was to be an emperor, and, therefore, how ill-prepared Constantine was for the role.

Constantine IX is not the only person for whom this metaphor is relevant, however, and it is brought up again later in the *Chronographia* in relation to other events, but always building on the associations with the role of emperor

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16.   Psellos, *Chron.* (Zoe and Theodora) 6.9 (Renauld 1:121, Sewter 159).

17.   See note 38.

18.   ἐξυφαίνω τὴν εὐφημίαν Psellos, *Chron.* 6.25.19 (Renauld 1:130, Sewter 168 'a tapestry').

19.   Psellos, *Chron.* 4.20; both passages cited from 4.20.7 (Renauld 1:65, Sewter 98).

20.   Psellos, *Chron.* 5.24.19–20 (Renauld 1:101, Sewter 137).

21.   Psellos, *Chron.* 6.27; passages cited from 6.27.20, 21 (Renauld 1:131, Sewter 169).

22.   Psellos, *Chron.* 6.47.6–8 (Renauld 1:140, Sewter 179). The context justifies Sewter's use of 'harbour of the palace' in his translation.

23.   Psellos, *Chron.* 6.72.11 (Renauld 1:152, Sewter, 190).

developed in Book Six. When discussing Isaac Comnenus' approach to
government, for example, Psellos tells us that he 'did not know what it was to lie
at anchor for a while, or rest in harbour'.[24] This is noticeably different from the
description given earlier of Constantine IX's approach to the ruling of the
empire. Where Constantine 'had no intention of sailing the high seas a second
time',[25] Isaac 'braved the sea a second time... and a third, and after that a greater
and most fearful one, as if he were not merely engaged in stirring up the waves
of politics, but in cleaning up the dung of Augeas's stables'.[26] With such an
association of images, the audience is led to compare the two men and the
different ways that they ruled this 'storm-tossed Empire'.[27]

The sea metaphor also allows us to gain different views of what it is like to
be a part of the palace, the 'imperial inner circle'. While Constantine IX saw it as
a place to retreat to, and Isaac saw it as a place to wage war from, for Theodora,
the one with the most legitimate claim to be there, it became a place of refuge.
Theodora, coming out of retirement at the end of Constantine's life 'like a
traveller returning home from a stormy voyage, took refuge in the courts of the
palace'.[28] This again is in marked contrast to a comment Psellos makes about his
own attitudes to the court, stating that he and his friends preferred 'the
untroubled calm of the Church to the confusion and disorder of the Palace'.[29] He
even goes so far as to describe the Church as 'the harbour', taking over for the
Church the metaphor that he had so carefully cultivated to reflect Constantine's
own feelings towards the palace.[30] With a comparative reference such as that to
the 'wave after wave of misfortune'[31] which engulfed those in the palace we
come to see how such an environment meant different things to different people.
Most interesting, however, is when Psellos once again takes the metaphor, and
all its associations with kingship and how one rules, and applies it to someone a
little unexpected — himself. At the end of his discussion of Isaac Comnenus,
Psellos, in one of his more impressive moments of blatant self-promotion, tells
us, 'Such was the extent of my enthusiasm and my devotion to his cause, that
when he was in desperate straits I seized the helm myself, and, by drifting with
the tide here and pulling hard on the tiller there, I brought him into the imperial
harbour in safety'.[32]

Psellos also often combines more than one metaphor to help him illustrate his
point. When discussing, for example, how Constantine IX 'sank' the empire,
how he wrongly overloaded the boat (the empire), Psellos expands upon the
point with a complementary description of this process showing Constantine to
have added 'new parts to a body already long-corrupted, injected into its entrails

24. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.61.6–7 (Renauld 2:121, Sewter 313).
25. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.72.1–4 (Renauld 1:151, Sewter 190).
26. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.61.7–10 (Renauld 2:121, Sewter 313).
27. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.66.1–2 (Renauld 2:123, Sewter 316).
28. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.202; passage cited from 6.202.7–8 (Renauld 2:70–1, Sewter 260).
29. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.200.6–7 (Renauld 2:70, Sewter 259).
30. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.199.2–3 (Renauld 2:69, Sewter 258).
31. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.89.7–8 (Renauld 2:8, Sewter 199).
32. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.91.5–9 (Renauld 2:138, Sewter 330).

liquids even more unwholesome' before he 'practically drove it mad'.[33] This metaphor — the empire as a body — was not a new one. Earlier, for example, Psellos had referred to the army as the 'sinews' of the empire[34]. In a discussion of how the different emperors had contributed to the downfall of the empire, Psellos develops the metaphor of the empire as a 'monstrous body',[35] describing how it had, for example, become 'this strange animal',[36] and the body politic 'fattened up',[37] leading to a crisis as 'The greater part of the nation had been changed from men into beasts'.[38] The very approach of discussing the problem-beset empire as a festering, deformed body, the bad parts of which Isaac Comnenus was attempting to cut out, is one way of making this information more easily accessible, of helping the audience to a better understanding of what Psellos, at least, saw to be the problems facing the empire.[39] Impartial and objective as Psellos frequently protests himself to be, it is hard not to be aware that the 'master rhetorician' never completely lets go of his audience; even Psellos himself admits to the potential deficiencies of his account — it is definitely a 'version' of the events, albeit a highly entertaining one.

Even so, the inseparable themes of the health of the empire and the behaviour and actions of those in charge of it are obviously important ones in the *Chronographia*. The second metaphor that Psellos employs to illustrate these ideas is that of the chariot and charioteer. As with his use of sea-imagery, this second striking visualisation of the empire brings a vividness to the narrative that not only helps the audience understand these discussions, but also sustains their interest. While it is possible to appreciate that the associations created by the image of a chariot and charioteer in charge are quite conducive to a discussion of emperors, the appropriateness of the image for Psellos' audience can be understood further when we remember the place that chariot racing played in Byzantine life. As Baynes memorably commented, 'The Byzantines had two heroes; the winner in the chariot race and the ascetic saint'.[40] No doubt it does not hurt, however, that Psellos' own skill as a rhetorician is shown off in the

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33. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.55; passages cited from 7.55.9, 11–13, 14–15 (Renauld 2:117, Sewter 309).

34. Psellos, *Chron.* 4.19.20 (Renauld 1:64, Sewter 98).

35. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.51.11–12 (Renauld 2:115, Sewter 307).

36. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.55.18 (Renauld 2:117, Sewter 309).

37. My extrapolation from several versions of this metaphor. See Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.53.1–5 (Renauld 2:116, Sewter 308).

38. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.57.1–2 (Renauld 2:118, Sewter 310). They were 'many-headed, hundred-handed monsters', no less. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.55.15–16 (Renauld 2:117, Sewter 309).

39. See Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.51–8 for the full discussion. Psellos had in fact introduced this concept at the beginning of his discussion of Constantine IX's reign. He talked there of the empire as a healthy animal with a strong constitution, but nevertheless under slow attack as a result of Constantine's reluctance to take on the full responsibilities of emperor. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.48 (Renauld 141, Sewter 179–80).

40. N. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire* (London 1935, rev. ed. London 1943) 33; cited in A.D.E. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973) 3.

process of creating this metaphor. With the focus of the chariot imagery on kingship and those who hold this position of power, the first time we encounter this metaphor is in a discussion in which Psellos compares Constantine IX to other great leaders. Constantine is presented as 'coming out on top', for while the others are known for their 'characters and their words and deeds', and while they are often superior in areas such as bravery, they cannot match Constantine for the balance of virtue and vice to be found in his life (in fact the others often 'incline somewhat to the worse').[41] While Constantine did have a temper, for example, he held it in check 'as a charioteer holds back a spirited horse'.[42] The focus here is not only on the balance in Constantine's life, but the fact that the balance is achieved because he has a certain awareness of his own flawed humanity. The ability to exercise control over his own weaknesses would, theoretically, make him a better leader of men as well as a better ruler for the empire. Interestingly, as Psellos shows us in the narrative, this, in fact, was not to be the reality. The chariot metaphor develops to assist in the illustration of the transition made in Constantine's reign from potential control to lack of control. When the metaphor is next used, for example, Constantine has given away the responsibility of running the empire to Constantine Lichudes. When he is warned that the emperor, acting upon jealousy, wished to regain control for himself, Lichudes comments that he is 'by no means inclined to relax his hold, nor to hand over the reins to his master'.[43] Psellos notes that 'With philosophic detachment, he remarked that he would not voluntarily stand by and watch the emperor crash, but, when he did climb down from the chariot and resign the whip, he would not envy Constantine his new position'.[44] As Psellos' account of Constantine IX's reign develops we are next told that Constantine 'set in motion the chariot of State, and of those that rode in it most were thrown overboard or struck down by him'.[45] As Psellos and his friends were themselves 'aboard' there 'was every reason why we should fear some great jolt on the wheel: he might jerk us off, as well as the rest, for we were not very firmly seated'.[46] A growing sense that Constantine's handling of the empire left much to be desired is confirmed here, given as the reason that Psellos and his friends must leave the court.

When Michael VI is later described as 'Unable to bear the movement of the imperial chariot', making the show 'more confused than ever', before finally abdicating his position (and with it any responsibility), this evokes the memory of Constantine's mishandling of the empire, and Psellos' own ideas as to the way an emperor should act are evident in the rebuke, 'Of course he ought to have

41. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.163–4; passages cited from 6.163.2, 9–10 (Renauld 2:51–2, Sewter 241).
42. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.164.8–9 (Renauld 2:52, Sewter 242).
43. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.180; passage cited from 6.180.3–4 (Renauld 2:60, Sewter 249).
44. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.180.4–8 (Renauld 2:60, Sewter 249).
45. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.193.7–9 (Renauld 2:66, Sewter 255). In his original, Psellos uses synecdoche to imply the whole chariot.
46. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.194.9–12 (Renauld 2:66, Sewter 255).

held on; he should have kept a pretty tight hold on the rein'.[47] This memory of Constantine IX also means that the contrast in the manner of leadership presented in the description of Isaac Comnenus that follows is all the more obvious, and obviously in Isaac's favour. For instead of running from the responsibility of the role, 'Isaac Comnenus, wearing his crown, climbed into the Roman chariot'.[48] To focus on and develop the image of Isaac that he wishes to convey, Psellos again employs more than one metaphor, urging the audience to see Isaac as part charioteer, part doctor, faced as he was by 'nothing but disease and festering sores, the imperial horses running at full speed from the starting-post, quite impossible to master, heedless of the reins'.[49] The body metaphor is a familiar one, and the concept of the empire as diseased already established. Even though Isaac rushed in, not realising until too late that he himself had 'caught the disease' before he was able to regain full control over the empire, his over-eager attempts to 'see the chariot borne along on a straight course at once' and 'the sick body restored to health immediately' are still in marked contrast to the mismanagement and weakness described of those who came before, and Psellos finds that, vain though he admits Isaac to be, he cannot fault the man for trying, only for his timing.[50]

We have seen, therefore, how Psellos employs his skill as a writer to create a program of images that will interact with each other throughout the text, building up associations and extra layers of meaning between different sections of the narrative, assisting the audience not only to follow his thoughts, but to get the most out of his discussions of the character and humanity of his subjects. While our very human interest in each other is a topic rarely out of favour, here we can see this focus as part of the new, more personal approach to history that influenced much of the structure of the *Chronographia*. Indeed, in line with the wonderfully flawed, personal portraits that he presented of the emperors, Psellos writes of himself, 'I confess to being a human, a strange and fickle creature, a rational soul tainted by the body, a novel mixture of incongruous elements'.[51] Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the *Chronographia* remains so fascinating today.

47. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.56; passages cited from 7.56.3–4, 7–8 (Renauld 2:117–18, Sewter 309–10).
48. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.57.6–7 (Renauld 2:118, Sewter 310). Again, in the Greek, Psellos is employing synecdoche.
49. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.58.3–6 (Renauld 2:118, Sewter 310).
50. Psellos, *Chron.* (Isaac Comnenus) 7.58; passages cited from 7.58.16, 12–13, 13–14 (Renauld 2:118, Sewter 311).
51. Quoted by M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204: A Political History* (London: 1984) 80 from K. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη *(Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi)* (7 vols Venice–Paris 1872–94) 5:506.

Penelope Buckley

War and Peace in the *Alexiad*

Almost anything in this paper can be refuted from Komnene's text, since almost anything she says can be countered by another quotation, as with Holy Writ. Her history's complexity (and liveliness) radiate from a symbiosis of central character and narrator, the emperor who shapes the empire and the historian who shapes his many-sided story. Komnene's enterprise runs parallel to Alexios's and pulses with similar emotions: anxiety, a passion to justify, a need to control and corresponding need to know, moral intelligence and intellectual scruple. Her scruples as historian testify to his in action. Anxiety especially fuels the history. It is seldom lapse of memory that leads Komnene to contradict herself but rather a practice of complementing one view of her father with its contrary. Each virtue she ascribes to him brings like a shadow the awareness that any virtue can become a defect; to anticipate reproach she meets it with a counter-virtue. Alexios likewise wards off criticism by preemption. And just as he is always actively forming schemes, so his historian actively constructs views of Alexios to govern them and also constructs matching systems of interpretation.

Yet one of her great successes in the *Alexiad* is that she persuades the reader to see her many Alexioses as essentially one. Her 'emperor Alexius, my father'[1] is a complex figure whose many characteristics flow in and out of one another to create the impression of a living mind, and more often than not she centres her narrative in that mind. This centred subjectivity is a powerfully unifying force in itself and so is the reflective narrative medium. In interpreting his actions she builds up an image of him composed from many models and of many layers but an image continually being re-integrated in the flux of her own critique with its checks, qualifications, accretions and riders. Her mind mediates his both as a progress continuous with her own and as a mysterious authority subject to speculation and quasi-religious trust. She is right to say she is not writing panegyric because the *Alexiad* goes beyond that. It is an historical construction invested with a living egoism and a living culture.

The living culture contains very diverse components, all the same, and these come to the fore with more or less distinctness as Komnene shapes events to Alexios and Alexios to events. Caught as he is between perspectives of eternity and history, her Alexios takes on the characteristics both of an icon, timeless conduit of the divine, and of a man of action (or actor) filling roles, themselves by no means unconnected with ideas about divinity. At one end of Komnene's creative spectrum is the great military leader whose type is personified in the Basils. At the other end is the Pantokrator in whose image Alexios is seen enthroned in Book Three. This paper will examine a major shift in the dominant characterization of Alexios just half-way through the work, from the first of those extremes to the second. It must, however, be stressed that all such changes

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1. Anna Komnene. *Alexiad* 1.1.1 ed. D.R. Reinsch & A. Kambylis. CFHB 40 (2 vols Berlin 2001) 11: tr. E.R.A. Sewter. *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (London 1969) 31.

(and there are several) take place within a continuum. The great warrior and the merciful proxy for Christ are both always evident in Alexios and he lives and dies in the tension between the two.

There are further roles, or aspects of his characterization, that recur and are very important to the whole, most notably the Odyssean hero of epic identified by Ruth Macrides,[2] a role which takes on a pre-Renaissance colouring with its suggestions of a Daedalos/Da Vinci genius and a Machiavellian 'old fantastical Duke of dark corners'. These other roles cannot be considered here, which is unfortunate as in part they function as a bridge between the divine likeness and the actual struggle. There are as well some preliminary shifts in strategy that must be mentioned but only passingly. This paper deals with one particular change of narrative emphasis and will unavoidably simplify. Nevertheless, it will claim that from the first half of the *Alexiad* to the second there is a thematic shift of gravity from war to peace and a corresponding shift in preoccupation from the kingdom of this world to the next. It happens with a convincing air of naturalness but is, I think, tied to the vicissitudes of the Norman narrative.

That is not easy to prove given the strongly retrospective cast of the history. From her opening words Komnene establishes Alexios in an aura of divine sanctioning and she takes meticulous trouble in Book One to develop and complement her source[3] to that end. But Komnene also shows from the beginning the tragedian's ability to embrace the darkness of the unknown and to show events emerging into the light. Her narrative is as lively and urgent as if the end were not decided. She shapes as he grows and her account of Alexios's early wars against the Normans show a marked progression. These wars do not prosper until he develops a Christ-enhanced character on the field. The interpretation is retrospective but the form is dramatic. As he turns to deal with other enemies, that character recedes and from Book Six to the middle of Book Eight there is a rising interest in presenting Alexios as a great military leader increasingly like the Basils. Then, at the very point where he triumphs in this role, there is a recoil, a moral revulsion in Alexios himself which precipitates a further change. Slowly but visibly another Alexios comes to the fore, a man of God who leads the Christian community in the direction of a *telos*. This increasingly prominent sacred role is shown to be necessary by changes in the nature of the Norman attack.

The Alexios who takes power in Book Three is a highly integrated figure. This book is something of a tour-de-force and will repay intensive study. It adapts an important feature of the Life of Basil — the establishment of a new order of justice and righteousness (shades of the Second Coming) — and for a similar purpose, to justify a seizure of power. But Alexios's innovations, and Komnene's, are far-reaching and embrace the 'restoration' of traditions which

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2.   R. Macrides, 'The Pen and the Sword: Who Wrote the *Alexiad?' Anna Komnene and Her Times* ed. T. Gouma-Peterson (New York 2000) 68–9.

3.   Bryennios, ed. and tr. P.Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios Histoire.* CFHB 9 (Brussels 1975).

can readily be identified as Theodosian[4] as well as Basilian.[5] In this book Alexios establishes himself as a ruler who can reconcile potentially warring elements and interests: the military and theocratic, Hellenic philosophy and Christianity, old imperial families and new, justice and mercy, secrecy and display. His harmonizing powers are visualized in an image that invests him with the new-old element of *basileia*.

> When standing he did not seem particularly striking to onlookers, but when one saw the grim flash of his eyes as he sat on the imperial throne, he reminded one of a fiery whirlwind, so overwhelming was the radiance that emanated from his countenance and his whole presence. His dark eyebrows were curved, and beneath them the gaze of his eyes was both terrible and kind.[6]

Embedded in and gazing out from Komnene's qualifying detail is a verbal icon of Alexios as Pantokrator. That image has particular staying power through the history: it is behind the frailer Alexios who takes his throne in the tent-scene of Book Nine.

There are many reasons for seeing the *Alexiad* as a conscious answer to Psellos's *Chronographia* and they are all foreshadowed in Book Three. His astonishing investiture of his mother with more than equal power allows him to function in two places at once and with the equal force of theocrat and general. He combines the roles so disastrously adrift in most of Psellos's emperors by being at once a just and visible domestic administrator (in the person of his mother) and a soldier-emperor worthy of his uncle. It is more difficult, however, to sustain all such elements and roles through the long campaign-narratives that Komnene's blended genre[7] requires. One might expect the military commander to prevail, as indeed he does from Book Four. But even this role changes its character according to which enemy Alexios is fighting and when.

He comes up against the worst and toughest right away. The Normans invade the empire twice in this history (with two phases to the second enterprise).[8] First,

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4. He reinvigorates the idea of the Church State. *Alexiad* 3.5.4–6, 3.8.2 (R-K 99–100, 105, S 114–15, 120–1).
5. He makes it clear that the emperor's first task and the empire's primary mode of being are military: ἀσπαίρουσαν δὲ οἷον κατανοῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξιος *Alexiad* 3.9.1 (R-K 109, S 124).
6. *Alexiad* 3.3.2 (R-K 93, S 109). Several other characters are also invested with *basileia* in this book but not seen enthroned: Constantine is given an idealized *effictio* suitable for a coin-head (3.1.3, R-K 88, S 104), his mother Maria Alana is pictured walking (from the crease as it were, 3.2.4, R-K 91, S 107) and the young empress Irene is seen standing as if beside the throne (3.3.3, R-K 94, S 110).
7. Despite Ruth Macrides's powerful case for seeing the *Alexiad* as 'historical epic' (Macrides, 'Pen and Sword' 63–81), it seems to me, as this paper will argue, that the other forms Komnene is drawing on are also vital and necessary and that the shifts in dominance from one to another draft her creative process.
8. The first is Robert Guiscard's (with Bohemond as his lieutenant) and the second Bohemond's (with Tancred as his). Strictly speaking, as Margaret Mullett pointed out at the conference, there are three Norman invasions, reckoning the Crusade, but the

it is a military invasion, but the second time it is an invasion of the empire's very bloodstream. Komnene gives a shapely account of the first invasion in Books Four to Six: she shows Alexios learning generalship in a hard school to the point where he begins to prevail against the Guiscards; and she invests this slowly achieved superiority with religious and cultural significance. In Book Four, the young hero Alexios is displayed and farewelled as he fights unhelmeted, careless of danger, his red hair jumping like his horse.[9] He wins the admiration of Robert Guiscard by a miraculous leap on to a rock,[10] his courage established for all time, but as a general he is doubly beaten. He drags out of Dyrrachium the one man capable of saving it,[11] only to ignore his advice;[12] and he loses the battle by failing to control his allies.[13] But in Book Five, as Alexios regroups and improves his generalship, Komnene adds some sacralizing layers to his image to give him more of the authority of the icon she fashioned in Book Three.

One reason why he will need this authority has already begun to appear. Alexios's diplomacy has sent Robert Guiscard back west to fight the German emperor[14] and there Robert forms an alliance of mutual investiture with the pope[15] that becomes a basis for the later anti-Byzantine crusade.

second and third seem to me to be so closely linked in impetus and narrative time and also in the larger moral framework that I experience them as phases in one conflict. When Robert Guiscard returned to Italy to re-supply his expedition, his attack continued under Bohemond; in the same way, when Bohemond returns to Italy, he leaves an unofficial lieutenant in Tancred together with a continuing awareness (enforced by his parting threat to set his spear up in Byzantium) that hostilities are if anything increasing. Indeed, the theatre of war has already been extended by both parties to include the papal court. The third invasion or, as I prefer to see it, the second phase of the second invasion, is constructed as a parallel to the first invasion, centring on Dyrrachium, with supplies coming from Avlona, but marked by Alexios's greater experience and wisdom. The parallel is enforced by the similarly framed encomia on the two great Norman leaders, one after Robert Guiscard's death and the other after Bohemond's capitulation (he too shortly dies). The difference highlights the shift of emphasis in the *Alexiad* from war to peace. No adversity or loss of men daunts Robert, and his only vulnerable point is his superstition. Bohemond is contrastingly affected by the narrative change of moral climate. 'He realized that the war was being successfully pursued by the emperor... his army was gradually wasting away. Under the circumstances he sent proposals for peace.' *Alexiad* 13.8.5 (R-K 406, S 417). In the presence of the envoys, one of his counts expresses the new mood: 'It is peace that we must make instead of war.' 13.9.7 (R-K 409, S 420). Both heroic leaders, Alexios and Bohemond, are represented as having some manly reluctance to agree to their own proposals ('making a virtue of necessity', 13.8.6, 13.9.8, R-K 407, 409, S 417, 420) but they do resolve their conflict in the terms of peace.

9.   *Alexiad* 4.6.8 (R-K 135, S 148–9).
10.   *Alexiad* 4.7.2, 4.8.3 (R-K 137, 139–40, S 150, 152).
11.   George Palaiologos: *Alexiad* 4.4.4–4.5.2 (R-K 127–9, S 141–4).
12.   *Alexiad* 4.5.3 (R-K 129–30, S 144).
13.   *Alexiad* 4.6.9 (R-K 135–6, S 149).
14.   *Alexiad* 3.10, 5.3.3–6 (R-K 112–14, 147–8, S 126–8, 161–2).
15.   *Alexiad* 5.3.7 (R-K 148–9, S 162).

Meanwhile, Bohemond proves just as skilled and fierce as his father. Komnene highlights three engagements between the Normans and the Romans and, throughout the course of these, Alexios's strategy is right: he has to break the first charge of the Norman cavalry.[16] But his tactics are not secret or clever enough to defeat Norman intelligence. Twice Alexios sets traps for the horses in the centre and twice Bohemond, discovering this, attacks Alexios's flanks and leaves him stranded.[17]

On the third occasion, Alexios does what natives always do to invaders and what he always does best. He sets an ambush. This tactic succeeds and he does indeed break the cavalry charge of one of Bohemond's chief allies. While he prepares, Komnene supplements his preparations in culturally sanctioning ways. First he has a dream and within that a vision in which an icon of 'the great martyr Demetrius'[18] speaks to him. Then there is a numinous sign: 'all the horses of the army were suddenly heard to neigh'.[19] Then, as he sets the ambush, he orders a period of prayer, a vigil approaching trance on a site not unlike the unhabited region to which the Holy Man retreats.

> His men were ordered to dismount and kneel down... He himself
> happened to alight on a germander-bed and there he spent the rest
> of the night, kneeling with reins in hand and his face turned
> towards the ground.[20]

The practical general holding the reins is also seen to be the pious emperor praying for his people.

When the ambush succeeds, Komnene writes it as a God-given phenomenon and turning-point in sacred history.

> Bryennius' men, as their chargers fell, began to circle round and
> round. As they congregated in a great mass, a thick cloud of dust
> rose high to the heavens... that... might have been compared with
> the darkness over Egypt long ago, a darkness that could be felt.[21]

Much of the circumstantial and even sceptical narrative in Books Five and Six do thus set Robert Guiscard against Alexios in a contrast of cultures that suggests why it is more difficult for Alexios to prevail, and why it is important for the civilized (that is, Christian) community that he should.

The two are matched as great-hearted strategists who never give up,[22] but Robert — even when he is being mourned and eulogized in Book Six[23]— is seen

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16. *Alexiad* 5.4.2 (R-K 149, S 163).
17. *Alexiad* 5.4.2–7 (R-K 150–2, S 163–5).
18. *Alexiad* 5.5.6 (R-K 155–6, S 169).
19. *Alexiad* 5.5.7 (R-K 156, S 169).
20. *Alexiad* 5.5.8 (R-K 157, S 170).
21. *Alexiad* 5.6.3 (R-K 158, S 171). See Kenneth Holum's account of Theodosius I's victory at the Frigidus as the pattern for 'the victories of a pious emperor', *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982) esp. 6–7 and 51.
22. *Alexiad* 5.1.2–5 (R-K 141–3, S 155–7).
23. *Alexiad* 6.7.6–7 (R-K 183, S 195–6).

as a moral pagan, careless of consequences,[24] cruel,[25] unsubdued by divine signals[26] and yet fatally superstitious. (He dies in a false Jerusalem spooked by an oracle).[27] Alexios is portrayed as eventually succeeding because he is both more rational and the better Christian.[28] In the same Book Five he also defends the orthodoxy of the State: first against the Holy Man Bishop Leo who is an old-style iconodoule[29] and then against the State's official philosopher, the heretic outsider whose views (as well as being pagan and seditious) are iconoclastic.[30]

Although the first Norman invasion was simply military, I suggest that Komnene's presentation of Alexios is somewhat prophylactic, with the second invasion in mind. This is supported by the grounds on which his mother and brother justify their church-appropriations: they claim that their fellow-Christians in the east are to be seen as prisoners-of-war and as a *Byzantine* responsibility.[31] But even within the terms of the first invasion Komnene so matches Alexios and the Normans in strategic foresight and courage that she needs to show where else he is superior: in morality, piety and orthodoxy and the truth of his position as divinely sanctioned emperor in contrast to their megalomania and presumption.

It is a different Alexios who fights the Turks and another Alexios again against the Scyths. Alexios returns from his Norman victory on a high:

> One success, he thought, should be followed by another and the
> people of the Manichaeans should be made to round off the cycle
> of his triumphs.[32]

This wave of triumphalism carries through to mid-Book Eight. His preemptive strike against the Manichaeans ('quietly living in their own territories')[33] is probably his most cynical and unethical act: he does it by lies, to pay his soldiers[34] and to get new mercenaries,[35] and Komnene, usually hyper-sensitive to criticism of Alexios's morals, does not turn a hair. He surges on to defeat Bohemond using the Venetians (at high long-term cost[36]) and he produces his dynasty. Even his appearance before Church and State over his expropriations strengthens his position as head of both.[37]

24. *Alexiad* 3.12.6–7 (R-K 118–19, S 132–3).
25. *Alexiad* 6.5.8 (R-K 178, S 190).
26. *Alexiad* 3.12.5–7 (R-K 118, S 132).
27. *Alexiad* 6.6.1–2 (R-K 179–80, S 192).
28. *Alexiad* 6.7.3–5 (R-K 181–2, S 194–5).
29. 'Leo maintained that the holy images were truly worshipped by us, not merely treated with reverence', λατρευτικῶς, οὐ σχετικῶς δὲ προσκυνεῖσθαι, *Alexiad* 5.2.5 (R-K 145, S 159).
30. τὸ ὑβρίζειν τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων *Alexiad* 5.9.7 (R-K 167, S 180).
31. *Alexiad* 5.2.2 (R-K 144, S 158).
32. *Alexiad* 6.2.1 (R-K 170, S 183).
33. *Alexiad* 6.2.2 (R-K 170, S 183).
34. *Alexiad* 6.2.4 (R-K 171, S 184).
35. *Alexiad* 6.2.1 (R-K 170, S 183).
36. *Alexiad* 6.5.10 (R-K 178–9, S 191).
37. *Alexiad* 6.3 (R-K 171–3, S 184–6).

As Komnene proceeds through some internecine Turkish struggles and Alexios's interventions the ethical basis of the narrative shows itself as realigned. The Turks are permanent neighbours and a big source of mercenaries. On the other hand, they are infidels who by definition cannot be incorporated as citizens into a Christian empire. They owe Alexios nothing and he owes them even less. Neither he nor Komnene shows any concern to justify his unscrupulous behaviour to them. He plays the Athenian statesman to deceive Abul-Kasim[38] and abuses the patience of the sultan;[39] he suborns the sultan's envoy to regain some coastal cities and then ennobles and baptises him.[40] Indeed, there are several prominent baptisms in Book Six[41] but none apparently requires any actual belief; each is part of a package of cooption and political reward, a naturalization ceremony as it were. (This also happens in reverse).[42] Though Komnene describes Alexios as 'a most saintly person... eager to convert to Christ... all the barbarians',[43] the context is one of military imperialism. Alexios is not required to behave well to the Turks: fighting them off is the business of his rule. At this point Komnene mythologizes him as the fighting centre of the Roman world.

> There was a time when the frontiers of Roman power were the two
> pillars at the limits of east and west... But at the time we are
> speaking of... [the] Emperor Alexius, fighting two-fisted against
> barbarians who attacked him on either flank, manoeuvred round
> Byzantium, the centre of his circle... and proceeded to broaden the
> Empire.[44]

Against the Normans, then, he shows himself as the true Christian emperor. Against the Turks, he does not need to prove this: he is the source of baptism, after all; but he can coexist with them. Against the Scyths, he turns into a real Bulgar-slayer: 'no truce whatever should be given to the Scyths'.[45] In Book Seven Komnene strips away the sacralizing layers of Book Five to present an Alexios who is more Hellenized and more like other warrior emperors. Dreams are now debunked.

> Unlike Atreus' son Agamemnon he needed no dream to urge him
> to battle — he was longing for a fight.[46]

38. *Alexiad* 6.10.8–10 (R-K 191–2, S 203–4).
39. *Alexiad* 6.12.1 (R-K 194, S 206–7).
40. *Alexiad* 6.9.4–6 (R-K 187–8, S 200–1).
41. As well as Siaous, there is Traulos *Alexiad* 6.4.2 (R-K 174, S 187), Elkhanes 6.13.4 (R-K 198, S 211), and the emperor's son and new heir 6.8.5 (R-K 185–6, S 198). The Manichaeans too are offered baptism along with clemency 6.2.4 (R-K 171, S 184).
42. Philaretos *Alexiad* 6.9.2 (R-K 186, S 198) and Traulos by implication when he deserts and marries into the Scyths, repudiating his Christian marriage 6.4.4 (R-K 174, S 187).
43. *Alexiad* 6.13.4 (R-K 199, S 211–2).
44. *Alexiad* 6.11.3 (R-K 193, S 205–6).
45. *Alexiad* 7.2.2 (R-K 204, S 218). The Greek puts the view more strongly in direct speech.
46. *Alexiad* 7.3.1 (R-K 208, S 221–2).

Omens are made light of and, as for prayer-vigils, Alexios finds another use for a germander bush when he hides the sacred pallium in one.[47] Though this 'Cape of the Mother of the Word'[48] is the empire's standard, it discommodes Alexios the fighter.

> In later years we have heard Alexius [say]... 'If I that day had not held the standard... I would have... killed more Scyths than I have hairs on my head'.[49]

(That incidentally is an example of the way Komnene qualifies what she says, for she goes on to insist that Alexios never boasts. It is not a simple case of the forgetful self-contradiction with which she is often charged. There has been no time to forget. It is rather that she puts into his mouth a traditional warrior-leader boast, of the kind essential to this role, and then reasserts a different role which identifies him as still the same Alexios beneath the costume change.)

For much of Book Seven the warlike Alexios is Hellenized. As he mourns his dead Archontopouloi, for instance, Komnene tempers his Christian paternalism in rearing them by underlining their likeness to Spartans,[50] and even echoes Herodotos to link them with Thermopylae.[51] But in Book Eight, for the last Scythian battle, she turns to other models: the chronographers.

As early as Book Three it became evident that she is using the same ground-plan for her emperor's life as Skylitzes used for Basil I, that of the Great Warrior grafted on the Saint.[52] She adapts this model in interesting ways and shades other kinds of emperor into it, such as the empathetic and conscience-burdened type that Skylitzes made or found for John Tzimiskes.[53] Indeed, when Alexios has drinks carried round to his troops during the fighting in Book Eight, he appears

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47. *Alexiad* 7.3.12 (R-K 214, S 227).

48. *Alexiad* 7.3.9 (R-K 212, S 225).

49. *Alexiad* 7.3.11 (R-K 214, S 226).

50. *Alexiad* 7.7.1 (R-K 220, S 231–2).

51. 'About 300 Archontopuli fell fighting valiantly. For a long time the emperor grieved deeply for them... calling upon each one by name.' *Alexiad* 7.7.2 (R-K 221, S 232). Given Komnene's identification of them with the Spartans, this looks like a conscious or unconscious echo of Herodotos, VII.224: 'their names, like the names of all the three hundred, I have made myself acquainted with, because they deserve to be remembered.' (tr. De Selincourt 492–3).

52. Skylitzes, following *Theophanes Continuatus*, lays out a clear ground-plan for Basil I: first, ancestry and family history (modelled in his case on sacred history, with captivity and exodus); second, signs and portents; third, he early shows himself a champion and hero; fourth, his rise at court and preemptive strike; fifth, as new emperor he sets his house in order; sixth, his wars; seventh, church-building and missionary activity; eighth, he deals with the succession and dies. This pattern has a very wide usage — a version is found in the Arthurian material — and Komnene uses it with some decisive modifications.

53. Both are soldier-emperors who lead from the front, not tall but impressive on horseback, and both take power by violence like Basil I but, unlike him, show mercy, give general amnesties to conspirators, use a pantomime-blinding to avoid the real thing, and try to rule as theocrats. Both begin their reigns with acts of penance and show strong elements of an introverted personality. See Skyl: *John Tzimisces* (Thurn 284–313, Wortley 154–69).

to be specifically emulating that emperor.[54] But in this same book the likeness to the Basils is much more pronounced. Even his 'grim' general's joke on his troops, keeping his men dressed in captured Scythian uniforms to frighten his approaching reinforcements,[55] seems designed as a reference to a Basil prototype. It is a joke, unlike Basil I's disguising Saracen prisoners in Roman uniforms and flogging and impaling them to terrify *his* own troops.[56] But it is unusually savage for Alexios, as is his triumphal return with Scythian heads on spears.[57]

The last battle of the Scyths — written as a massacre of a whole people 'already forsaken by Almighty God' — is a *Dies Irae* with apocalyptic overtones.

> Their slayers grew weary, worn out with the violent, continual sword-blows... A whole people... in countless multitudes, with their women and children was utterly wiped out on that day... The sun was just about to set... a whole people... was blotted out in one single day.[58]

It resembles the crusaders' accounts of the slaughter in Jerusalem[59] and it is even more like Basil I's massacre. I quote Skylitzes:

> In one hour the great multitude of the Manichaeans... was dissipated like smoke.[60]

The Old Testament is behind both.[61]

54. *Alexiad* 8.5.8 (R-K 248, S 258) and Skyl: *John Tzimisces* 15 (Thurn 306, Wortley 165).
55. *Alexiad* 8.2.1–4 (R-K 238–40, S 249–50).
56. Skyl: *John Tzimisces* 32 (Thurn 154–5,Wortley 86).
57. 'and the survivors, *not yet beheaded*, being led' (my italics) *Alexiad* 8.2.4 (R-K 240, S 250).
58. *Alexiad* 8.6.7–9 (R-K 248–9, S 258–9).
59. 'About ten thousand were beheaded... Not one of them was allowed to live. They did not spare the women and children.' Fulcher of Chartres, *Chronicle* 13 ed. E. Peters, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials* (Philadelphia 1971) 77; 'All the temple was streaming with their blood... They... attacked both men and women, cutting off their heads... They were burned on pyres like pyramids, and no one save God alone knows how many there were.' *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* 38–9 ed. and tr. R. Hill (Edinburgh 1962) 92; 'Piles of heads, hands, and feet were to be seen in the streets... Men rode in blood up to their knees... a just and splendid judgment of God... The city was filled with corpses.' Raymond d'Aguiliers, *Historia francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem* ed. Peters, *First Crusade* 214.
60. This narrative for its part recalls Constantine ('a great paean of shouting broke out with cries of "the Cross has conquered!" as they attacked.') Basl.19 (Thurn 139–40, Wortley 78–9).
61. Rather than the New Testament Apocalypse which, as Paul Magdalino points out, is an 'optional ingredient' in Byzantine eschatology ('The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda' *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* ed. R. Beaton & C. Roueché (Aldershot 1993) 4), Komnene uses the triumphalist battle-narrative of the Old: 'All that was in it they slew, sparing neither man nor woman, neither youth nor age.' *Josue* 6.21 'Thus

But at the very moment when Alexios fulfils his potential to be another Basil, there is a split in the narrative. It happens mid-sentence, μὲν and δὲ.

> When... *all* had been smitten by the sword... and *many also* had been taken captive. [*my emphases*][62]

This is more than mere inconsistency between rhetoric and fact: it is a point of divergence between two versions of Alexios, the slayer and the quarter-giver. There is no such split in the standard versions of either Basil.[63] Skylitzes's Basil I twice disencumbers himself of prisoners by killing them,[64] and Komnene must have known the story, true or not, of Basil II blinding 15,000 Bulgars (bar one eye for every hundred).[65] Alexios has reasons quite as strong for doing the same kind of thing. 'Every soldier has up to thirty and more Scythian prisoners', his general cries. 'I demand that you order most of the prisoners to be destroyed at once.'

> The emperor looked at him sternly. 'Scyths they may be,' said he,
> 'but human beings all the same; enemies, but worthy of pity.'[66]

This is the pivot for change. Alexios's revulsion from the consequences of his own success is followed by a withdrawal as he tries to deal in-house with three putative or real plots.[67] The context is still a military campaign but the narrative becomes troubled, inward-looking. The mighty ruthless warrior-emperor does not surface again.[68] Instead, Alexios's steady awareness of the consequences of violence is interfused with more pacific aspirations.

The story of Nikephoros Diogenes in Book Nine encapsulates and dissects the intricately layered ways in which the past can bear on the present.[69] It also

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smoke and fire brought death to a thousand souls, all the men and women that dwelt in Sichem Watchtower.' *Judges* 9.49 Knox translations. It is not just a question of one bloody massacre resembling another but of narrative profiling: the extra level of violence signalled, for example, by specifying men *and* women. Komnene does this twice, once emphatically (τὰ τέκνα φημὶ καὶ αἱ μητέρες) and her closing words insist on the aspect of holocaust: ὅλον ἔθνος μυρίανδρον κατὰ μίαν καὶ μόνην ἀφανίσαι ἡμέραν *Alexiad* 8.5.9 (R-K 249). Sewter's translation (259) is a little free.

62. ἐπεὶ... ἅπαντες μὲν ξιφῶν ἔργον γεγόνασι... πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ζωγρία ἐλήφθησαν *Alexiad* 8.5.9 (R-K 249, S 258–9).

63. Skylitzes's Emperor Basil I is e.g. only slightly sanitized by comparison with his history in the life of Michael III. See MichIII.24 and BasI.14–15 (Thurn 113–14, 130–1,Wortley 66, 75).

64. BasI.23 (Thurn 142–3, Wortley 80).

65. Skylitzes tells the story (ὡς φασιν), BasII.35 (Thurn 349, Wortley 187).

66. *Alexiad* 8.6.1 (R-K 250, S 259).

67. Charges against his nephew are dismissed within the family and the imperial tent *Alexiad* 8.8.4 (R-K 254–5, S 264–5). Alexios tries to keep the turbulent Gabras loyal through an imperial marriage 8.9.1–2 (R-K 255–6, S 265–6) and privately to change the heart of the murderous Nikephoros Diogenes, in effect his foster-son, using his brother Adrian who is married to Diogenes's half-sister 9.7.3–4 (R-K 273, S 283).

68. Unless he reappears as the Grand Inquisitor of Book Fifteen.

69. *Alexiad* 9.5.5–7.7 (R-K 270–4, S 279–85).

contains clear pointers to Alexios's Christ-like aura.[70] The plot culminates in a tent-scene which is as much a glory and a crux in the *Alexiad* as Psellos's original is in the *Chronographia*. Alexios faces a host of conspirators that is also the bulk of his own army and he masters his fear to proclaim a general amnesty. This is his reasoning.

> He realized that both civilians and military had been thoroughly corrupted... he was aware too that his own forces were inadequate to guard so many prisoners; he was certainly unwilling to mutilate a great host of people.[71]

It is the clearest possible repudiation of the Basil spirit. His amnesty is the brave act not of a warrior but of someone seriously trying to be a Christian ruler.

The attempt causes stress both in Alexios (where it shows as illness[72]) and in the narrative, where the State is secured through a dysfunctional relation of emperor and his agents. The Scythian prisoners were killed against his orders and Diogenes is blinded 'without the emperor's knowledge' — or, if with his knowledge, then without his author's: 'I have been unable so far to discover anything for certain'.[73] This is the emperor who so masterminds action that it often appears to have its locus in his brain. This is the daughter who knows her character's mind so intimately that it sometimes lacks clear boundaries with her own. Yet her uncertainty should not, I think, be taken as mere obfuscation or hypocrisy. It is rather that his mind or hers blocks at something which cannot be resolved. That Komnene cannot let it go is a sign of her honesty and an admission that neither the emperor nor the historian can satisfactorily play God.

Stress notwithstanding, Komnene continues to refashion Alexios as more pacific and more like Christ than earlier emperors or his own figure in the preceding several books. That is, he is more than simply Christ's anointed. None of his previous characters is abandoned except the Basil-like, but a newly transcendent quality slowly appears. He goes straight to Dalmatia and gladly accepts a peace proposal,

> for he was weary and loathed civil war. The men were Dalmatians, but they were still Christians.[74]

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70. E.g. Alexios sleeping in a protected circle (τὸν δέ γε Νικηφόρον θεία τίς τῷ τότε δύναμις ἀπείρξε) or acknowledged in Biblical language by an assassin (νῦν σε δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ γνήσιον ἔγνωκα) *Alexiad* 9.5.3, 9.7.5 (R-K 269, 274, S 278, 284).

71. *Alexiad* 9.8.4 (R-K 276, S 286).

72. Both are repeatedly described in terms of pressure and weight and from Book Fourteen their symbiosis is spelt out: Alexios's long audiences with the Kelts lead to 'the pain in his feet' *Alexiad* 14.4.7–8 (R-K 441–2, S 451). As he turns from war to administration, Komnene ascribes 'the fluid that descended to his feet... the weight that pressed on them' to 'the labours and fatigue he endured for the glory of Rome' 14.7.9 (R-K 453–4, S 462). In his last illness, Alexios describes his breathing-difficulty as 'like a dead-weight of stone lying on my heart' and Komnene glosses this: 'the main reason for his illness was overwork and the constant pressure of his worries.' 15.11.4–5 (R-K 495, S 507).

73. *Alexiad* 9.9.6 (R-K 279, S 289).

74. *Alexiad* 9.10.1 (R-K 279–80, S 289).

That 'civil war' is new (not stasis but τὴν ἐμφύλιον μάχην). He is not claiming sovereignty over Dalmatia. Rather, Komnene is expanding her idea of the Christian community as superseding national boundaries, in a parallel way to the emperors' claim in Books Three and Four that Christians in the east were to be seen as prisoners-of-war. In both cases the new thinking can be related retrospectively to the First Crusade. In this second case, Komnene is expanding her claim that Alexios is *the* great Christian emperor irrespective of politics or war.

That claim strengthens in the narrative of the Crusade, which she interprets as something between an act of God and a new Norman invasion.[75] During the long struggle for Antioch, Bohemond imports the Latin rite[76] and persuades the pope to sanction a crusade against the Byzantines themselves, on the grounds that Alexios is 'a pagan and an enemy of the Christians'[77] who uses Turkish mercenaries to repel Frankish invaders. Alexios's very identity as a Christian emperor is thus under attack, as is the identity of 'the Christians'. He himself recognizes that the Franks are Christians even when they attack Constantinople.[78] But the Normans and the other westerners increasingly treat the East as a religious *terra nullius*.

Alexios's own role in the Crusade is one of containment. He stretches his mind and other resources to provide and control it at a distance and then tries to accompany it, but he never takes part in the terrible crusader slaughters. He does his best to protect their armies. He even gets the Frankish counts released.[79] His only serious fighting is involuntary and defensive, against the Franks' attack on his own capital.[80] His gains from the campaign are essentially bloodless,[81] and the war he is engaged in is a war of propaganda against Bohemond. In short, the crusaders are fighting one kind of war centred on Jerusalem, Bohemond is fighting another about Antioch (a proxy for Constantinople), and Alexios is defending his identity and the meaning of his role. He uses the counts in this propaganda war,[82] while Bohemond parades some captured Scyths before the

75. *Alexiad* 10.5.4–10 (R-K 297–9, S 308–11).
76. As the Treaty of Devol makes clear, *Alexiad* 13.12.20 (R-K 420, S 430–1). See also William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* tr. E.A. Babcock & A.C. Krey (New York 1943) 297.
77. *Alexiad* 12.1.2 (R-K 359–60, S 369–70).
78. τὸν ἐμφύλιον παρεκκλίνων φόνον *Alexiad* 10.9.5 (R-K 310, S 320) and ἵνα μὴ Χριστιανοὶ κτείνωνται 10.9.7 (R-K 311, S 321).
79. On one or two occasions *Alexiad* 11.7.3, 12.1.3 (R-K 343, 360, S 353, 370).
80. The Homeric echoes fly almost as thick and fast as the arrows in this episode and bring to view another model by which Komnene interprets the events of her father's reign: in the struggle between the Normans and the Byzantines, the Byzantines fill the role of Trojans and the Normans act the Greeks. Even their pretext for invading is similar, the removal in marriage of a chieftain's woman (but in this case her repudiation).
81. Nicaea is won by secret negotiation *Alexiad* 11.2.5 (R-K 326–7, S 337) and the seaboard of Asia Minor is regained largely through military presence and display, particularly of the captured sultan's wife 11.5.2 (R-K 336, S 346).
82. *Alexiad* 12.1.5–6 (R-K 361, S 371).

pope to induce him to sanction a reinvasion as a holy war.[83] At every point, Komnene emphasizes Alexios's providential foresight and his hatred of violence, especially but not only against Christians.

This is the context for some remarkable perspectives in Book Twelve as Alexios prepares to fight the Normans all over again. He is no sybaritic stay-at-home emperor.

> Even the thought of continuing to live in the palace was repugnant.
> He left Byzantium.[84]

But he takes the iconic imperial family along.[85] Irene is made present in very different terms from those of the 'woman gladiator'[86] who typically supports the Franks. In fact, Komnene pointedly revises Book Three's account of Irene as 'Athena made manifest to the human race'.[87] The classicizing tendency which increased in Books Six to Eight is now set at a distance in a passage derived from Paul in which military values are transposed into spiritual ones.

> Her courage was turned elsewhere and if it was fully-armed, it was
> not with the spear of Athena, nor with the cap of Hades: her
> shield... and her sword... were hard work... and a sincere faith...
> Such was the armour of my mother in this warfare, but in all else,
> as befitted her name, she was a most peaceable woman.[88]

This passage follows another Pauline borrowing that identifies Alexios with Christ[89] and is followed by an encomium on Irene's charity.[90]

Irene's strong presence in these later books is closely linked to her roles as Alexios's nurse and guardian and to Alexios's new preoccupation with peace. One prominent passage in Twelve seems to form a diptych with Six's hero fighting in the centre of his circle:

> Peace is the end of all wars... to prefer war... is typical of foolish
> commanders... who work for the destruction of their own state...
> Alexius... cultivated peace to an unusual degree... [in] this great
> man... alone the true character of an emperor was seen again.[91]

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83. *Alexiad* 12.8.4–5 (R-K 379–80, S 389–90).
84. *Alexiad* 12.3.1 (R-K 364, S 374).
85. Thus combining the sacred role of the imperial family as the centre of the empire with that of the 'soldier-emperor' (στρατηγῷ αὐτοκράτορι Psellos, *Chron.: Michael VI*, 6, Renauld 86, Sewter 278). Psellos's emperors mostly fail just because they cannot satisfactorily combine these roles and in this as in other matters Komnene seems to be specifically responding to his disappointment with a counter-claim for her father.
86. ἡ στρατιῶτις ἐκείνη γυνή *Alexiad* 12.8.4 (R-K 379, S 389).
87. *Alexiad* 3.3.4 (R-K 94, S 110).
88. *Alexiad* 12.3.8 (R-K 367, S 377). The Greek places more emphasis on her name than Sewter's translation does.
89. *Alexiad* 12.3.4 (R-K 365, S 375).
90. *Alexiad* 12.3.9–10 (R-K 367–8, S 377–8).
91. *Alexiad* 12.5.2 (R-K 371, S 381).

He goes on leading his army in war until his last illness and, as Margaret Mullett rightly insists,[92] the Treaty of Devol is the crowning achievement of his working life: that life which began when he authorized his mother to run the empire so that he could leave the City to defend it. Or perhaps one should say that the treaty is the crowning document of the history, as the chrysobull about his mother was its first uncompromising innovation. For it is the treaty rather than the military victory behind it which stands out. The treaty represents a tremendous moral, diplomatic and above all rhetorical triumph for Alexios which allows him to impose his own view of the Norman invasions on their chief exponent, even to the extent of impersonating Bohemond's ebullience and exaggerations and defining his life-project as insanity.[93] It is at the same time an unexceptionable treaty of peace whose pacific nature contradicts the spirit Bohemond flaunted when he swore to plant his spear in Byzantium.[94] Its weakness appears in its attempt to bind Bohemond's successor. Bohemond does not survive the treaty by more than a few months[95] but neither does the treaty survive him. It proves useless when power passes to Tancred, who ignores it.[96] In a way, it is a testament to the vanity of human wishes or the hopes of earthly rulers to bind this unruly world to any stable arrangement. It stands as a monument to Alexios's success and to his failure, another word for that failure being death. So, in the mixture of *realpolitik* and transcendence which characterizes the second half of the *Alexiad*, it is the metaphysical dimension that prevails. As with the great Scythian victory, Komnene shows Alexios achieving a particular extreme and then leaves it behind. Slowly she shifts him into a new position as a still-fighting emperor whose kingdom is not chiefly of this world.

As his struggles continue, she dwells increasingly on Alexios's patience and endurance, even fashioning him (in a passage at once sober, hyperbolic and comic) as an athlete for Christ:

> Like a statue wrought by the hammer... of bronze or cold-forged iron, the emperor would sit through the night... often till third cock-crow... The attendants were all worn out, but by frequently retiring had a rest and then came back again — in bad humour... one would sit down, another turned his head away and rested it on

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92. In discussion at the conference.

93. 'Your Majesty, the divinely appointed Emperor... I have come to repentance and like some fisherman caught unawares by a storm have learnt my lesson... I have regained my senses and almost at spear-point recovered my sanity... If ever I plot against Your Majesties — and may that never come to pass, never, O Saviour, never, O Justice of God!... If the turbulent blast of lunacy does blow upon my soul, then they shall disown me... Gabala, which we with our rather broken foreign accent call Zebel (ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες)' etc. *Alexiad* 13.12.1, 13, 21 (R-K 413–14, 417–18, 420, S 424, 428, 431).

94. There may well be a mocking reference in the treaty to that threat (see note 92), *Alexiad* 11.12.6 (R-K 358, S 368).

95. *Alexiad* 14.1.1 (R-K 424, S 435).

96. *Alexiad* 14.2.1 (R-K 427–8, S 438).

something... Only... the emperor faced this tremendous task
without weakening[97]

exposed day and night not to howling gales but to the endless conversation of the
Kelts.

On his last campaign he symbolically unites and transforms his people in a
new army formation 'directly attributable to God — a battle-order inspired by
angels'.[98]

An eye-witness would have said the whole army, although it was
in motion, was standing immobile and when it was halting was on
the march... when they changed direction the whole body moved
like one huge beast, animated and directed by one single mind.[99]

This formation can flexibly and quickly respond to Turkish manoeuvres. It can
also incorporate (and move) a civilian population. In a sequence of remarkable
and emphatic passages, Komnene brings together the new formation and
Alexios's abiding concern for civilian populations in a Long March evoking that
of Moses (but assigning the divine likeness to Alexios himself.)

The native inhabitants... fleeing from Turkish vengeance,
followed them... all seeking refuge with the emperor, as if he were
some kind of sanctuary... You would have said that these men
marching in his new formation constituted a city with bastions,
living and on the move....

Alexius at the head of the line rode on like a... pillar of
fire....[100]

The return journey was made slowly... at an ant's pace...
with the captives, women and children... in the centre of the
column... When a woman was about to give birth, the emperor
ordered a trumpet to sound and everyone halted; the whole army
stopped... After hearing that a child had been born, he gave the
general order to advance by another, and unusual, trumpet-blast.
Again, if someone were on the point of dying, the same thing
occurred. The emperor visited the dying man and priests were
summoned to sing... and administer the last sacraments... Only
when the dead had been laid in his tomb... was the column
allowed to move on... At meal-times all women and men who
were worn out with sickness or old age were invited to the
emperor's table... no flutes, no drums, no music at all to disturb
the feasters.[101]

Just as women and children were included in the slaughter, so they are included
in this picture of a people being saved. The narrative of the march brings
together many insights, both her own and other writers'. As Anna Dalassena

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97. *Alexiad* 14.4.7 (R-K 441, S 451).
98. *Alexiad* 15.3.8 (R-K 470, S 480).
99. *Alexiad* 15.7.1 (R-K 481, S 491).
100. *Alexiad* 15.4.9–15.5.2 (R-K 473–4, S 483–4).
101. *Alexiad* 15.7.1–2 (R-K 481, S 491–2).

transformed the palace in Book Three,[102] so this march incorporates a sober monastic order. As in Psellos's tent-scene,[103] the troop-formation mirrors a healthy empire. Again, as in the crusading narratives, this army and the people it protects become an emblem for the Church Militant. But these passages combine and supersede those models in something more nearly unprecedented, the moving image of a human community processing with its burdens towards God.

Then in a seamless transition Komnene shows Alexios caring for this fugitive people in the real and permanent city.

> Inside the capital city, he built a second city... All round it in a circle were... houses for the poor and... for mutilated persons... You would have said it was Solomon's Porch. The buildings were in a double circle and were two-storeyed... So large was this circle that if you wished to visit these folk and started early in the morning, it would be evening before you finished... They had no plots of ground, no vineyards... on which we see men earning their livelihood, but like Job each of them... dwelt in the house built for them and everything... was provided for them... I myself saw an old woman being assisted by a young girl, a blind person being led... a man who had no hands being aided by the hands of his friends, babies being nursed by foster-mothers and the paralyzed being waited on by strong, healthy men.[104]

This second city is Alexios's last response to the Crusade. It is not the historic Jerusalem, freshly polluted by blood, but a version of the New Jerusalem, God's city animated by love. Komnene has shifted it historically to give it the fullest eschatological impact at the end of Alexios's life. Other chronographers (including Psellos) place imperial church-or-charitable building late in the lives too, as they indicate their characters looking back upon their misdeeds and forward to their rewards.[105] But here too Komnene takes the practice further, using patristic thinking to produce something more like Eusebios's 'new-made city built by God', 'unshakable stones of human souls', 'the live temple consisting of us all'.[106] And, just as the Komnenoi liked to invoke tradition to sanction innovations, so Komnene uses the principle in reverse, making this undertaking with deep roots in Byzantine history and theology appear like something never previously tried. Alexios's new city supersedes the gorgeous ecclesiastical palaces recorded by Skylitzes and Psellos and seems to lift Constantine's original idea (whatever that was) on to another level.

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102. *Alexiad* 3.8.2 (R-K 105, S 120–1).
103. Psellos, *Chron.: Michael VI*, 22–3 (Renauld 95–6, Sewter 287–9).
104. *Alexiad* 15.7.4–6 (R-K 482–3, S 492–3).
105. E.g. Psellos, *Chron.: Romanos III*, 14, 16 (Renauld 41–2, 43–4, Sewter 71–2, 73–4), *Michael IV*, 31, 36 (Renauld 71–2, 74–5 Sewter 107–8) and *Constantine IX*, 185–7 (Renauld 61–3, Sewter 250–2). Skylitzes makes rather less of church building than does Psellos (except in the case of *Basil I*) but he too places imperial building programmes of various kinds late in his biographies.
106. Eusebius, *HE* 10.4.7, 10.4.65, 10.4.21 tr G.A. Williamson, *Eusebius, The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (Harmondsworth 1965) 384, 399, 388.

Alexios is still a warrior-emperor. His new city houses people maimed and bereaved by his wars. But even in that role his image has been reconstituted in these glowing eschatological terms. He is not, as Komnene sorrowfully acknowledges, actually the Christ.

> The emperor could not say to the paralytic: 'Rise up and walk!'...
> but he did what he could.[107]

Other emperors may be baptised or tonsured in their last days but Komnene's Alexios is invested with something very like the weight of the universe and the light of the world.

The burden of being an emperor like Christ does slowly break him. The images of his suffering are interestingly different from those of Psellos's or Skylitzes's emperors, who die more often than not of intestinal diseases which stand for bodily and moral corruption (like Herod's or the King's Evil).[108] There is no hint of corruption in Alexios, only the shaking of fever (like the vibrations of an instrument)[109] and the paralyzing pain of gout.

His penultimate appearance as the first Grand Inquisitor is morally vertiginous but this powerful episode does show how far she has moved her narrative into the region of the Four Last Things. The great disturbance it produces is directly followed by Alexios's death, where polyphony resolves into a few mighty chords. One genre prevails, that of tragedy.

Komnene has invested so much in the idea of Alexios that his death seems like the death of the universe, and it is just here that she departs most starkly from the underlying Basilian blueprint. That blueprint has a most important phase, the arranging of the succession. Komnene paid brief lip-service to this in Book Six, where she describes herself as her father's natural successor and her brother as his heir,[110] but at Alexios's death — written in his grandson's reign during the most stable dynasty for a very long time — she omits it. For her creative purposes (never mind the personal) there is no dynasty: 'the catastrophe which had overtaken the whole world,' 'the shining light of the world, the great Alexius,'[111] 'in this great man... alone the true character of an emperor was seen again'. Only in him did the empire that she celebrates exist. The women weeping round his death-bed give the last episode the Hellenized form of tragedy,[112] but

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107. *Alexiad* 15.7.6 (R-K 483, S 494).
108. Psellos's *Romanos III, Michael IV, Constantine IX,* and *Theodora*; Skylitzes adds *Michael II, Theophilos, Basil I, Leo VI, Alexander, Constantine VII* and *Romanos II*.
109. For example, Alexios's two fever-wakeful nights before battles in *Alexiad* 7.10.1–11 (R-K 229–32, S 240–3) function as an emblem of his sensitized unsleeping care for his empire. (In his final illness he does suffer diarrhoea but this is passed over without metaphoric resonance.)
110. *Alexiad* 6.8.1–5 (R-K 183–6, S 196–8). She is similarly ambivalent over the treaty of Devol, where her Caesar acts as Alexios's moral second-in-command and actually persuades Bohemond to sign, while her brother John is named in the treaty as his formal partner 13.11.2 and 13.12.2 (R-K 413–4, S 423–4).
111. *Alexiad* 15.11.20–21 (R-K 503–4, S 513–14).
112. 'The empress in her wild grief said, "Let everything be abandoned..." And I, heedless of all else, wailed with her... They tore at their hair... She... kept looking at me... to play the part of an oracle... to make some Phoebus-like prediction...

Komnene has tapped into another powerful source of feeling in her mixed tradition, that of eschatology. Alexios's death is also seen as the End of All Things.[113]

Suddenly... she emitted a loud, piercing shriek.' *Alexiad* 15.11.17–19 (R-K 501–3, S 512–3). There are many Hellenizing touches in the scene, including the references in 23 and 24 to herself as Niobe and the destruction of τὴν ἐμὴν ὀικίαν (R-K 505, S 515). But the 'thirteenth apostle' who 'ought to be ranked with... or... immediately after Constantine in both roles — as emperor and as apostle' 14.8.8 (R-K 457, S 466) continues to resonate in the Hellenism of the death-scene (even to the reference to 'that other Mary who once sat at the feet of My Lord' 15.11.14 (R-K 499, S 511). Both aspects of Alexios's Christian Hellenism are metaphysicalized together.

113. In a very different sense from that in which, in Paul Magdalino's words, 'Alexios was being cast in the role of the Last Emperor' by 'certain monks' (Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 26). In Komnene's perspective here, the empire's tragedy is that there will be no second coming.

Theoni Sklavos

Moralising History: The *Synopsis Historiarum* of John Skylitzes

The eleventh-century chronicle of John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*,[1] is essentially a compilation of sources — a selection which the author has sifted through, assessed and allocated as true for his history.[2] Skylitzes remains an enigmatic figure in Byzantine history. Essentially, all that is known about him comes from the scraps of information found in the prooemium to the chronicle and in his legal writings.[3] Given the limitation of biographical information and his utilisation of other sources, it is difficult to make assumptions about Skylitzes' personal convictions and biases. The contention of this paper is that the chronicle is a moralising history with an underlying idea of reciprocity between the imperial and divine realms (reciprocity here implies not a relationship of equality but one in which imperial behaviour is followed by consequences of divine origin). Historical events are organised into cause-and-effect sequences that highlight the relationship between emperor behaviour and divine response. Divinely-favoured emperors, who display the virtues of justice and piety, are rewarded with a flourishing empire. Immoral emperors are punished with natural disasters and a short reign. The scope of this paper has been limited to a comparison between the representations in the chronicle of two emperors: Basil I, who is divinely sanctioned, and Michael IV, who is reviled by God. The supernatural, portents and allegories that feature in these chapters of the chronicle highlight this divinely-sanctioned moralistic view.

The prooemium begins with a pronouncement of the best history writers, according to Skylitzes — George the Monk and Theophanes the Confessor.[4] He commends these chroniclers for their dedication to presenting the facts and remaining objective in their history writing: 'These men carefully read through the history-books, making a précis of them in simple, unaffected language, touching exclusively on the substance of the events which had taken place' (Prooem.2, 1).[5]

This commendation is followed by a tirade against those authors who have done a 'disservice' to their craft by writing with agendas, be it 'to glorify an

1. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* ed. I. Thurn. CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis (Berlin 1973); tr. J. Wortley, *John Scylitzes, A Synopsis of Histories (811–1057 AD): A Provisional Translation* (Manitoba 2000). A.E. Laiou dates the chronicle to AD 1070: 'Prologue', *Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum: codex Matritensis graecus Vitr. 26–2, facsimile edition* ed. A. Tselikas (Athens 2000) 13–14.
2. Skylitzes says so himself: Prooemium 2 (Wortley 1–2).
3. Skylitzes was a judge and jurist: A.E. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages and Their Critics in the Eleventh Century: The Case of Skylitzes' *DOP* 46 (1992) 166–9. He also held the title of *Kouropalates* and *Droungarios of The Watch*: Skyl. Prooemium 1 (Wortley 1).
4. For more on the Chronicle of Theophanes see C. Mango & R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford 1997).
5. In references to Skylitzes hereafter, page numbers refer to Wortley's *Provisional Translation*.

emperor, to censure a patriarch, or to sing the praises of a friend'. The prooemium concludes with Skylitzes' pledge to write an objective history, no doubt in the same vein as the 'greats' before him. Skylitzes emphasises that he has 'conjured away... all comments of a subjective or fanciful nature' and 'garnered whatever seemed likely and not beyond the bounds of credibility...' (Prooem.2, 1–2). What stands out in the chronicle, however, is the prominence of dreams, omens and the supernatural. Clearly, these phenomena were taken seriously by the synopsist, who does not dismiss them into the realm of the 'fanciful' but stresses their significance.

The divine shaping of historical events is made clear as one progresses through the chronicle, as is the idea that an emperor's relationship with the divine instigates the events which befall the empire. The heavenly and imperial realms had been interconnected in Byzantine ideology for centuries. Eusebius was the first to articulate the Christian version of the divinely sanctioned emperor, whom he identified as God's vicar on Earth: the emperor was expected to govern his empire in imitation of God himself.[6] Such notions were by no means a novelty, for they can also found in Hebrew models of kingship — like that of David, the divinely sanctioned, just interpreter of God's will[7] — and in Hellenistic models, which viewed the king as guided by the logos of philosophy.[8]

The Byzantines viewed themselves as God's chosen people and the capital as the New Jerusalem.[9] The imperial realm was supposed to be a mimesis of the heavenly realm, with the expectation that the emperor would possess the virtues of piety, morality and justice.[10] Skylitzes follows this tradition, depicting pious and righteous rulers being rewarded by God with a prosperous empire. Conversely, war, civic discord and disaster are portrayed as divine vengeance for impious and immoral rulers.[11] History does not always appear to follow this rule, but events are underscored in the chronicle to stress their association with a divine plan.

6. T.M. Kolbaba, 'Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire' *Byz* 68 (1998) 210; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago 1984) 17. From the time of Eusebius, the transcendent theory of empire, in which the emperor was regarded as God's vicar on earth, held sway in Byzantine ideology. See the remarks on Eusebius's *Oratio de laudibus Constantini* in F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, DOS 9 (2 vols Washington 1966) 618. Eusebius delivered this oration on the thirtieth year of the reign of Constantine I in AD 336.

7. Dvornik, *Political Philosophy* 287.

8. Dvornik, *Political Philosophy* 618.

9. Kolbaba, 'Holy War' 209; P. Magdalino, 'The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda' *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* ed. R. Beaton & C. Roueché (Aldershot 1993) 11–12.

10. These virtues are set out in the *Oratio de laudibus Constantini* (see Dvornik, *Political Philosophy* 618).

11. This idea of divine punishment in the form of natural disasters inflicted on the whole of a nation for its king's misbehaviour is also present in Old Testament traditions; see Dvornik, *Political Philosophy* 303.

Portents and supernatural occurrences are presented as channels through which the divine will is expressed. They may highlight an emperor's divine favour, foretell an emperor's ordination, or underscore and predict an emperor's immorality and divine disfavour. Natural disasters are depicted in much the same way — they will often be juxtaposed with an emperor's immorality and be presented as divine punishment for depravity or blasphemy. The supernatural serves as an excellent vehicle for critique or exaltation. To highlight this, I will proceed with a comparison between the representation of Basil I and Michael IV in the *Synopsis Historiarum*.

Basil is depicted as the pious imperial archetype. He is divinely preordained, he governs righteously, and hence he is rewarded by the divine with a prosperous empire. Evidently, Skylitzes' account of Basil uses the history of Theophanes Continuatus as a source,[12] specifically Book V, the *Vita Basilii* — an extremely favourable, if not mythologised, history of Basil I written by Basil's own grandson, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the tenth century.[13] Following the *Vita Basilii*, the *Synopsis Historiarum* portrays Basil's attainment of the throne as predestined and divinely sanctioned rather than as a violent usurpation, and it mitigates Basil's murder of his predecessor by portraying Michael III as a depraved blasphemer[14] and inept ruler:

> All the subjects of the Roman Empire rejoiced at the proclamation
> of Basil... for they yearned to see sitting at the helm of the Empire
> a man who well knew from his own experience how the simple
> people were afflicted by the rich and powerful. Michael's regime
> was pain and grief to them; all softness and luxury with nothing
> else to do but indulge in 'rioting and drunkenness'... [he] emptied
> the imperial treasury with both hands on catamites... He and a
> pack of defiled and licentious transvestites even went so far as to
> ridicule the Godhead! (Basl.14, 74)

Any positive characterization of Michael III was probably eclipsed or suppressed by the Macedonian historiography and propaganda that Skylitzes utilises. Thus Basil's usurpation is presented as a justified and necessary response to the people's plight, whilst Michael's demise is depicted as divine retribution for his immorality: 'incorrigible is he who has once deviated from the path of

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12. N. Tobias. *Basil I (867–886): The Founder of the Macedonian Dynasty: A Study of the Political and Military History of the Byzantine Empire in the Ninth Century* (PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania 1970) 35.

13. Tobias. *Basil* 32, 35; A.E. Laiou. 'Law, Justice, and the Byzantine Historians: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries'. *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* ed. A.E. Laiou & D. Simon (Washington 1994) 155. Tobias contends that the first four books of Theophanes Continuatus were compiled by a colleague of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Book V was written by the emperor himself.

14. Tobias, *Basil* 132–5. R.J.H. Jenkins. *Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th & 10th Centuries* (London 1970) 71–7, contends that the derogatory description of Michael in the *Vita Basilii* is a deliberate conflation of the worst features of Plutarch's Antony and Nero. S. Tougher. *The Reign of Leo VI (886-912): Politics and People* (Leiden 1997) 25, 30, states that Michael III was mythologised as a bad emperor 'to justify Basil's liquidation of him as an agent of God'.

righteousness; thus he was very quickly overwhelmed by catastrophe' (MichIII.22, 64). Michael is blasphemous, immoral and disfavoured by God; in contrast, Basil's pious lineage is drawn upon, as are the dreams and portents which herald his divine preordination. Basil's parents are described as 'sow[ing] the seed of Christian teaching' amongst the Bulgars during their captivity under the Bulgar warlord Krum (Basl.2, 68). History will repeat itself in the chronicle, when Basil continues his parents' pious legacy by sending more missions to the Bulgar nation during his rule (Basl.42, 91). The actions of the parents foreshadow Basil's own sanctified destiny.

His divine sanction is underscored by the numerous dreams and omens which precede his rule.[15] The divine nature of these portents is unequivocal — they are 'sign[s] from God' (Basl.3, 69). The dream of the *hegumen* at the monastery of St Diomedes is one such example. It occurs on the night that Basil first enters Constantinople after leaving his home in Macedonia for a career in the capital. Exhausted, he falls asleep on the steps outside the Monastery of St Diomedes. Inside the monastery, the *hegumen* dreams of St Diomedes, who commands him to tend to Basil outside as 'this man had been anointed emperor by God and [would]... restore and enlarge... [the] monastery'. The *hegumen* ignores the dream but is forced to carry out the order when the saint reappears wielding a whip and declaring threats (Basl.4, 69–70).

The *hegumen's* dream is significant in highlighting the reciprocity of the divine/imperial relationship. Firstly, it illustrates Basil's divine preordination; secondly, it stresses that God's will cannot be ignored — hence the saint's whip and insistence; and finally, it foreshadows Basil's reciprocation of the divine favour. The saint's prediction is affirmed later in the narrative, when Basil becomes emperor: a whole paragraph is dedicated exclusively to Basil's adornment of the monastery 'with extremely costly treasures and splendid offerings' (Basl.39, 89).

In the *Synopsis Historiarum*, Basil is depicted as the consummate ruler. He reciprocates the divine assistance he received, in the only way an honorable ruler could, by governing righteously and behaving piously upon acceding to the throne. Basil is portrayed as possessing the qualities expected of an emperor who follows the divine example, the first being justice.[16] One of his first acts as emperor is the restitution of the court system and reformation of the civil laws. The *Synopsis* follows the *Vita Basilii* in offering the reader a gushing account of Basil's dedication to justice and equity in the capital:

> ... he turned his attention to justice, instituting equity among his subjects and striving to prevent the rich from lording it over the poor. He promulgated regulations prescribing the total elimination

15. I. Kalavrezou, 'Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court' *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* ed. H. Maguire (Washington 1997) 78, asserts that the prophecies concerning Basil's preordination were intentionally constructed to legitimise his attainment of the throne.

16. For more on the virtues expected of an emperor see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* tr. J. Hussey (Oxford 1956) 218; Kolbaba, 'Holy War' 203.

of injustice; he appointed judges... [and] ordered that they were to be in court every day... He also provided suitable locations for them... He stipulated a living-allowance for the poorer litigants so that they would not be obliged by want to withdraw from their cases. When he was free... he too would devote himself to the hearing of cases... to see whether anybody was being investigated unjustly; in this way he used to come to the assistance of those who were suffering wrong... (Bas I.16, 75–6)

There is a description of Basil's reformation of the law: 'the civil law was far from clear and in a state of confusion, he [Basil] made haste to reform it... He deleted some laws because they were obsolete, clarified others and reduced the number of the laws still in force' (Bas I.16, 76). Ostrogorsky and Laiou both maintain that this is a reference to the prooemium of the *Procheiros Nomos*, which Basil wrote before he died.[17] The aim of this work was to serve as a general practical law-book; it included a selection of the most important and frequently used civil laws.[18] Thus Basil honours God by interpreting and clarifying the law for his people. He also ensures that his subjects are treated justly and that the laws are upheld.[19]

Basil honours God by defending his people and safeguarding the Christian faith from external threats.[20] In this way, he exemplifies the virtue of piety. Basil launches a campaign against 'the forces which were hostile to the Roman state', attacking the regions around Tephrike, which was the capital of the heretical Paulicians.[21] In turn, God grants him victory, which is followed by Basil giving thanks to God: 'All the way to the Church of the personified Wisdom of God he came; there he offered hymns of thanksgiving to God...' (Bas I.18, 77). The idea of victory following piety is stressed in the account of the Tephrike campaign. The cry of the Byzantine army when they attack the enemy is 'the Cross has conquered!' (Bas I.19, 78). This account is blended with an Old Testament quote fusing both eras: 'Such was the conclusion of the Tephrike affair; in one hour the great multitude of the Manichaeans, lifted up to the very pinnacle of glory, was dissipated like smoke' (Bas I.18, 76).[22]

Basil's piety is also underscored by other actions recounted in the chronicle. He resolves ecclesiastical disputes (Bas I.16, 76), sends missionaries to the Russians, Bulgars and Jews (Bas I.42, 91), and begins an extensive church-building program, which is painstakingly detailed (Bas I.41, 89–91).

In sum, Basil is portrayed in the *Synopsis Historiarum* as being divinely preordained and as having an imperial destiny that is signified by the portents that precede his reign. Upon acceding to the throne, Basil fulfils his destiny and

17. Ostrogorsky, *History* 212–13; Laiou, 'Law' 155.
18. Ostrogorsky, *History* 213.
19. Kalavrezou, 'Helping Hands' 62. Defending God's law was the emperor's obligation.
20. According to Byzantine ideology, it was the emperor's duty to defend Christianity against external threats. See Kolbaba, 'Holy War' 209.
21. Bas I.18, 76. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 24, refers to Basil's quelling of the Paulician heresy as part of the emperor's program to convert the world.
22. Wortley detects an allusion to Ps 67:3 (LXX).

reciprocates the divine favour by ruling in a way pleasing to God, as exemplified by his quest for justice within the capital, his military offensives against those who threatened the empire, the missionary activities undertaken during his reign, and his church-building program. The divine, in turn, rewards Basil by granting him a long and prosperous reign. The divine and imperial realms are represented as functioning harmoniously.

In the case of Michael IV, however, the divine/imperial relationship is represented as one of discord and destruction. Unlike Basil I, whose legitimacy and divine sanction are stressed and applauded, Michael IV is deprecated. He is portrayed as an undeserving and corrupt ruler who is punished by God for his transgressions. Natural disasters and ominous portents communicate God's wrath and displeasure at the depraved actions of the emperor. The empire is punished for its ruler's sins.

From the moment he is introduced into the narrative, Michael IV is portrayed as a corrupting force. Even prior to entering the imperial circle, his trade is money-changing — where Michael would 'adulterate the coin' (RomIII.17, 208). In the same way that Michael adulterates the coin, debasing it and offering an inferior one in its place, so too does his emperorship emerge from the assassination of a superior monarch — Romanos III — and the contamination of an empress.

Romanos is presented as a paradigm of virtue. He is pious and generous, honouring God with benefactions to the church and the elimination of the burdensome *allelengyon* tax from the clergy: 'His earliest benefactions were in the religious domain... He restored many of those servants of God who had come to the ultimate degree of penury because of the *allelengyon* and granted relief to others whom distress and oppression had brought into tight straits' (RomIII.1, 201). Likewise, God reciprocates the good works by allowing the Empire to flourish: 'In those days God caused an adequate amount of rain to fall and the crops were abundant...' (RomIII.2, 201). In this way, Romanos's pious actions are juxtaposed with divine reward, inviting an association between the two.[23] Laiou suggests that Skylitzes used an ecclesiastical source for his account — hence the focus on divine response and flattering description of the benefactions.[24] Skylitzes' account of Romanos may be contrasted with that of Psellus,[25] who criticises Romanos for being more ostentatious than pious: 'This particular emperor aspired to a reputation for piety... but there was more pretence about it than real piety'.[26] Psellus rebukes the emperor for exhausting the treasury with his extravagant church-building programme:

> ... jealous of the great Solomon, for his building of the much-
> vaunted Temple... envious of the Emperor Justinian... he

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23. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 169, 172.
24. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 171–2, proposes Demetrios of Kyzikos as Skylitzes' source. Also known as Demetrios Synkellos, he was appointed metropolitan by Romanos III and was presumably very fond of the emperor.
25. This is noted by Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 171.
26. Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* 3.13.1–4; tr. E.R.A. Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The 'Chronographia' of Michael Psellus* (London 1966) 71.

> determined to build... another [church] in honour of the Mother of God. It was a great mistake, for what intended to be an act of piety, turned out to be the cause of evil and the occasion for many injustices.... All the royal treasure was made available... The monies were exhausted... It cannot be right, in order to show one's piety, to commit great injustices, to put the whole state in confusion, to break down the whole body politic... [27]

Skylitzes, however, takes a different stance. Whilst we cannot assume that he consciously differentiated himself from Psellus, or even that he had read Psellus' *Chronographia*, it is interesting to compare the two contrasting viewpoints. In the *Synopsis Historiarum*, Romanos' deeds are praised and contrasted with Michael's rise to power, which is the result of corruption and sin. Romanos 'restore[s] the leper-house', while Michael engages in 'shady intercourse' with the empress Zoe. Zoe is bewitched by Michael's beauty and their liaison impels her to plot her husband's assassination:

> The Empress fell madly and demonically in love with this man; she used to have secret meetings with him and shady intercourse. They say this is why the Emperor wasted away with a painful disease under the influence of slow poison, the Empress taking the opportunity of getting rid of him... so that she could raise up Michael to the imperial throne. (RomIII.17, 208)

The scathing tone continues with the account of the assassination of Romanos at the hands of Michael's henchmen. The impiety of the murder is heightened by the fact that it occurs on Holy Thursday and involves the bribery of the patriarch. The profanity of the deed is intensified when contrasted with the sanctity of the evening:

> And that very night, while they were singing of the Saviour's sufferings, the Patriarch Alexios was summoned... to come up to the palace. When he got there, he found the Emperor Romanos dead.... Zoe brought in Michael and would have the Patriarch marry him to her.... John [Michael's brother], together with Zoe, gave fifty pounds of gold to the Patriarch and fifty to the clergy — which convinced them to perform the priestly office. (RomIII.17, 209)

Michael's escalation to emperorship is presented as an impious transgression. He commits adultery, conspires in the murder of a divinely favoured emperor on a sacred evening, and corrupts the patriarch and clergy. The result of these transgressions is divine wrath, inflicted on both Michael and the empire. Just as he possessed the throne and the empress, Michael is in turn possessed by a demon — a fitting punishment.[28] Psellus states that Michael's illness had afflicted him since childhood.[29] In Skylitzes it is a punishment of his sins; a

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27. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.14.2–3.15.11 (Sewter 71–3).
28. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 170, makes a comparison between Skylitzes' description of Zoe's obsessive lust and Michael's possession.
29. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.22.1–5 (Sewter 78–9).

punishment that radiates out to the empire and manifests itself in the disasters which occur. The account is almost biblical:

> ... it was clearly shown from the outset that what had transpired was not pleasing to God. At the eleventh hour of Easter Day there was an unendurable hailstorm, so violent that...houses and churches collapsed; crops and vines were laid flat to the ground; hence there ensued a great shortage of all kinds of produce at that time. There was a falling star... And the Emperor became possessed of a demon... He received no relief either by divine might or from doctors but was grievously tormented and tortured. (MichIV.2, 210)

Portents are utilised, in this account, to highlight divine wrath. The natural disasters which occur are rationalised as divine retribution. One vision that features in the *Synopsis Historiarum*, that of the servant of Pergamon, presages the forthcoming disasters, explicitly blaming 'the transgression of God's commandments and the desecration of the Emperor Romanos which has taken place and of his marriage-bed' (MichIV.4, 211). The vision is followed by an account of the disasters that take place in the empire — earthquakes, locusts and famine.[30] The Byzantines are assailed by enemy invasions.[31] The meaning and arrangement of events in the chronicle are unequivocal — Michael and the empire are the objects of divine retribution.

After recounting the good works conducted by Michael, there is a blatant condemnation in the chronicle:

> [they] might have attained their end if he had renounced the purple for which he had committed such misdeeds, repudiated the adulteress and wept for his sin, alone. But he did none of these things... And he financed his alleged good works out of the public purse, expecting to receive absolution as though from a mindless and unjust God from whom repentance could be purchased with the money of others. (MichIV.7, 213)

Reciprocity between the imperial and divine is once again pronounced. The inference is clear — Michael could have saved himself and the empire from further destruction if he had divorced the empress and abdicated, thus appeasing God. Incidentally, during the eleventh century, the period in which the chronicle was produced, imperial matrimonial issues had come to the fore. Laiou describes how there was an increased interest in jurisprudence and questions of matrimonial law.[32] It was also a period in which the idea that emperors were above the law had altered, and the attitude that emerged viewed emperors as being subject to the law.[33] Thus emperors were supposed to lead by moral

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30. For locusts see MichIV.4 (211), 9 (213); earthquakes 6 (212), 8 (213), 10 (214), 19 (217), 28 (221); famine 10 (214), 13 (215).
31. For the Arab invasion of Myra, the Patzinak invasion of Thessalonica and the African attack on the Cyclades see MichIV.6 (212).
32. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 171–2.
33. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 176. Geanakoplos, *Contemporary Eyes* 20–1, quotes an eleventh-century treatise on kingship, *Logos nouthetetikos*, by an anonymous author:

example. This chapter of the *Synopsis Historiarum* appears to follow this premise, demonstrating that whilst emperors may try to override the law, they will still be punished — by the divine judge.

This same idea of emperor liability may be highlighted through the inclusion of the Varangian episode. Whilst in the above example a clear and direct criticism is made of Michael and Zoe's adultery, there are more subtle censures in the narrative, as the Varangian episode may prove. This obscure and seemingly random story at first glance seems an odd inclusion. Contextualised with the account of Zoe and Michael's infidelity, however, it may be viewed as a parable of morality.

The story involves a Thracesian woman, who has the 'quality of her virtue [put] to the test' by a barbarian Varangian, who approaches her in the wilderness. She resists his advances and kills him when his actions turn violent. The attacker's fellow Varangians hold an assembly and crown the woman, rewarding her with the possessions of her attacker, who is left unburied 'according to the law concerning assassins' (MichIV.4, 211). The whole story, which emphasises the themes of virtue and lawfulness, is a stark contrast to the description of Michael and Zoe's debauchery and lawlessness. The Thracesian woman, who upholds her virtue despite the temptation, is the antithesis of Zoe, who surrenders to her passion. Though Michael is not punished by his people as the attacker is, he is afflicted by divine wrath, indicated by the servant's ominous vision, which is the next event recounted in the chronicle.

Another point to note is that, in the case of the attacker, an assembly is held — he is tried and punished for his crimes. There is accountability — something that was lacking in the case of Michael, who murdered, committed adultery, and assumed power without question from his people. The laws concerning adultery were strict during Michael's time: not only could they have invalidated his marriage, but the church could have expelled the couple and enforced a strict penance.[34] Instead, Michael and Zoe bypassed the sacred and secular law, with bribery.

Admittedly, it is dangerous to speculate on the meaning of the Varangian episode, given the lack of information we have about the original source. The episode may have been a random event chronicled in an earlier source without the connotations and associations it derives in the context of the *Synopsis Historiarum*, where it is situated between Romanos' assassination and the ominous vision which presages the catastrophes that befall the empire. This juxtaposition tempts the reader to view the episode as a moral example, an allegory about adultery, and to see in it an admonition for women to uphold their virtue; and for adulterous men — be they laymen or emperors— to be punished for their sins. Again, however, we are left to speculate. It may be a useful

'Some affirm that the emperor is not subject to the law but is the law... know that the emperor, being a man, is subject to the laws of piety... The emperor is the model and example for all, and all men look up to him and imitate his conduct.'

34. I. Kalavrezou, 'Irregular Marriages in the Eleventh Century and the Zoe and Constantine Mosaic in Hagia Sophia' *Law & Society* 248; see also Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 171.

exercise to research the existence and function of allegories in the chronicle genre in general.

It is difficult to make assumptions about a chronicle that is essentially a compilation of other sources. What this paper attempts to do is suggest — by comparing the depiction of two emperors— that there is an underlying theme of divine sanction and a principle of divine/imperial reciprocation running through the *Synopsis Historiarum*. The premise that emerges is that emperors can be divinely sanctioned, as exemplified by Basil I. If they govern righteously and lead as moral paradigms for their people, they are rewarded with a prosperous empire. Emperors that attain power through corruption and impiety are disfavoured by God, who punishes the empire with natural disasters and discord. Clearly, Skylitzes deemed the supernatural and portents as significant to the history of his empire, given his original claim to have eliminated from his work all 'fanciful' material.

Emma Strugnell

The Representation of Augustae
in John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historiarum*

John Skylitzes' acceptance of female regency is asserted in a speech in which the Augusta Theodora is confronted by the Bulgar ruler, Bogoris. Upon hearing that the Romans were ruled by a woman with tender child, Bogoris threatened to invade. Skylitzes states that:

> There was nothing ignoble or womanly about the reply of the Empress: 'You will have to reckon with me fighting against you, and, if it be God's will, getting the better of you. And even if it is you who gets the upper hand (which is by no means impossible) the victory will still be mine. For it will be a woman, not a man that you have overcome.'[1]

John Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Histories* thus allows for the possibility of legitimate female rule.

This paper elucidates contemporary attitudes to female Augustae contained within Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Histories*[2] through a discussion of Skylitzes' representation of key female Augustae: the regents Theodora[3] and Zoe Karbounopsina,[4] the eleventh-century Porphyrogenitae Zoe and Theodora,[5] and the illegitimate Augustae Skleraina and Zoe Zaoutzaina.[6] I contend that Skylitzes' representation of female rulers reflects three archetypal models of female behaviour: that of Eve, the Theotokos and the sorceress/witch. These figures may be distinguished by their exercise of political power and their relationships to men. Augustae are characteristically ambitious, susceptible to temptation and easily manipulated. Augustae who claim the imperial authority without acting on behalf of male relatives are associated with the additional negative associations of sorcery and an insatiable lust. Skylitzes' approval of the

1. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* ed. I. Thurn. CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis (Berlin 1973) MichIII.7; tr. J. Wortley, *John Scylitzes, A Synopsis of Histories (811–1057 AD): A Provisional Translation* (Manitoba 2000) 52.
2. The *Synopsis of Histories* provides a summary of the events between 811–1057. Skylitzes cites as his sources the histories of Theodore Daphnopates, George the Monk, Theophanes the Confessor and Michael Psellos, among others (Prooem., Wortley 1).
3. Theodora ruled as regent from 842–62 after the death of her husband Theophilos and during the minority of her son, Michael III (842–67).
4. Zoe Karbounopsina, fourth wife of Leo VI (886–912), lived with Leo as his concubine until after the birth of a male heir, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944–59).
5. The Porphyrogenetae Zoe and Theodora ruled jointly in 1042, and Theodora ruled independently in 1055–6.
6. Skleraina was mistress of Constantine IX Monomachos. Constantine sought to elevate her to a position equivalent in dignity to Zoe the Porphyrogenita. Zoe Zaoutzaina became Leo VI's second wife after having been his concubine while he was legally married to the Augusta Theophano.

Augusta-regent is restricted to those women whose sexuality is repressed and, critically, recognize the impermanence of their positions. By suppressing overt connotations of female sexuality and by emphasizing a maternal motivation, female Augustae may legitimately be invested with temporary imperial authority.

The Three Models for Female Behaviour

Until recently, Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Histories* had been largely neglected as a historical resource. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text did not appear until 1973.[7] The French translation and commentary by Bernard Flusin and Jean-Claude Cheynet — the first translation of the complete work into any modern language[8] — was unavailable at the time of writing; this paper relies upon the as yet unpublished translation by John Wortley.

Skylitzes provides a unique insight into this fascinating period, and as *Kouropalates*[9] and *Droungarios of the Watch*,[10] Skylitzes was a jurist familiar with both civil and ecclesiastical law.[11] Although his narrative strives towards being an impartial account, it remains biased in its presentation of events. This bias is in fact useful in that it reveals Skylitzes' own differential assessment of individual Augustae.

Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Histories* provides a summary account of Byzantine imperial history from the period AD 811 to 1057. As his account is chronological, he provides no obvious framework to discriminate between the

7. Before 1974 Skylitzes could be studied in only manuscript form or from the text of Kedrenos. Kedrenos' *Synopsis Historion* is a compilation based upon pseudo-Symeon, Theophanes and George Hamartolos. According to the *OCD* (s.v. 'Cedrenus'), in his portrayal of events from 811, Kedrenos 'slavishly followed' Skylitzes.

8. *Jean Skylitzès: Empereurs de Constantinople* tr. B. Flusin comm. J.-C. Cheynet (Paris 2003). For the (incomplete) German translation see *Byzanz wieder ein Weltreich: Das Zeitalter der Makedonischen Dynastie. Teil I, Ende des Bilderstreites und Makedonische Renaissance (Anfang 9. bis Mitte 10. Jh.). Nach dem Geschichtswerk des Johannes Skylitzes* tr. and comm. H. Thurn (Graz 1983).

9. This high-ranking dignity derived from the *cura palatii* of late antiquity. The *Kouropalates* initially designated a subaltern official in charge of construction and order in the palace. After Justinian, *Kouropalates* became a title conferred primarily on members of the imperial family and foreign princes. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the *Kouropalates* was a position of honour immediately below the Caesar and *nobilissimus*. In the eleventh century the title was conferred on several generals outside the imperial family.

10. The *Droungarios of the Watch* was the commander of the *tagma* of the *vigla*. The first major function of this droungarios was guarding the emperor on expeditions and in the palace. He was both the emperor's confidant and an active military commander. About 1030 the function of the Droungarios of the Watch radically changed, and he became a member of the judiciary. The droungarioi as judges were primarily members of the civil nobility.

11. A.E. Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages and Their Critics in the Eleventh Century: The Case of Skylitzes' *DOP* 46 (1992) 166, identifies Skylitzes with Ioannes Thrakesios, a jurist prominent during the reign of Alexios I (1081–1118).

mass of female Augustae. In this analysis I have categorized women by the type of power they exercised. My reading of the text suggests Skylitzes subconsciously adopted similar categories. Such categories (for example, as Augusta-regent and Augusta-autokrator, Augusta-consort, mistress and sister) are used as a way of grouping individuals, and a means of determining Skylitzes' approach. The categorization of individual figures according to the exercise of political authority has thus greatly facilitated discussion of the text, and it exposes Skylitzes' differential treatment of individual figures within gender categories. Women as Augustae may therefore be grouped according to whether or not they held authority with, on behalf of, or independent from male relatives. Skylitzes' portrays these women in a manner intended to recall the attributes of the Eve, the Theotokos and the evil witch respectively.

Byzantine Feminism

The rise of feminist discourse has prompted historians to reconsider the position of women in Byzantine society.[12] There has been a recent proliferation in this field, particularly in biographical accounts of prominent Byzantine Empresses, and more broad-based attempts to discern an ideology of what is female. This study of the representation of gender in Skylitzes' *Synopsis* is limited to a study of Augustae, of Empresses who wielded significant political authority as co-regnants, regents, and independent rulers. While on the one hand Skylitzes reinforces patriarchal notions of gender, his formulation of gender roles allows for the possibility of female leadership, so long as its transitory nature is recognized.

12. Recent works include K.G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982); A.P. Kazhdan & M. McCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court' *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* ed. H. Maguire (Washington 1997) 167–98; L. Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204* (London 1999); B. Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage and Ideology* (London 1999); T. Gouma-Peterson, ed., *Anna Komnene and Her Times* (London 2000); J. Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London 2001); A.L. McClanan, *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses: Image and Empire* (New York 2002); C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalla-Crook et al, eds, *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides* (Aldershot 2003); C.L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium* (New Haven 2004). On the role of and attitudes towards eunuchs in Byzantine society see: R. Guilland, 'Les eunuques dans l'empire byzantine' *REB* 1 (1943) 197–238; L.A. Coser, 'The Political Functions of Eunuchism' *American Sociological Review* 29 (1964) 880–5; rp. 'The Political Functions of Eunuchism' *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment* (New York 1974) 21–31; S. Tougher, 'Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin' *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* ed. L. James (London 1997) 168–84; K. Ringrose, 'Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium' *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History* ed. G. Herdt (New York 1994) 85–109; K. Ringrose, 'Passing the Test of Sanctity: Denial of Sexuality and Involuntary Castration' *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* ed. L. James (Aldershot 1999) 123–39.

Dion Smythe's assertion that women collectively form a 'minority group', while certainly provocative, relies upon a number of inaccurate assumptions about the nature of life in Byzantium.[13] Smythe's structuralist division of society into distinct spheres — 'public = male' and 'private = female'[14] — has long been discredited in historical circles.[15] Smythe's suppositions of the patriarchy and repression of women have however found some adherents. Judith Herrin, for example, maintains that Byzantine women were consciously excluded from public life, 'shrouded in Christian roles and reduced to a very private existence',[16] and she considers the position of non-imperial women in Byzantium to have been 'manifestly subordinate'.[17]

Herrin's contention that sexual segregation increases with social status is not supported by Skylitzes.[18] While Byzantine empresses certainly had a *gynaeceum*, such apartments were simply curtained off from the main reception rooms and were not gender exclusive.[19] While married women normally enjoyed greater physical freedom, a secluded existence was thought appropriate for women of all ranks, unless public duties made it impossible.[20] Skylitzes thus emphasizes that Zoe's confinement by Michael the Paphlagonian is exceptional.[21] While conventions of behaviour such as spinning[22] and wearing the veil signified the inferior status of woman, such practices were of little hindrance in real terms.[23] Prominent wealthy women in the later Byzantine period enjoyed considerable physical and social freedom, freedoms both recognized and protected.[24]

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13. D.C. Smythe, 'Women as Outsiders' *Women, Men* 152.
14. Ibid. 150.
15. Barbara Hill suggests this dichotomy is too universal and too structural to be of great value in historical analysis. Division into spheres of activity denies the interrelatedness of masculine and feminine interests. See Hill, *Imperial Women* 20.
16. J. Herrin, 'In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach' *Images of Women in Antiquity* ed. A.M. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (London 1983) 185.
17. Ibid. 185. Empresses, however, occupied an exceptional position and imperial widows in particular extended their powers after 600 AD.
18. Herrin ('Search' 172) asserts that 'the greater the social standing [of women] the stronger the segregation', but cf. her *Purple*, stressing throughout the activity and involvement of empresses.
19. Hill, *Imperial Women* 16. Seclusion was the normal course for unmarried women. See L. Garland, 'The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women' *Byz* 58 (1988) 368.
20. Garland, 'Life and Ideology' 368, 371.
21. MichIV.2 (210), MichV.1 (223).
22. A.E. Laiou, 'The Role of Women in Byzantine Society' *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 243, contends that spinning was the only occupation for women which was totally accepted.
23. Garland, 'Life and Ideology' 377.
24. Buckler rightly asserted as long ago as 1936 that women in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantium enjoyed a position of legal security and importance that 'has rarely if ever been surpassed'. While the law was biased in favour of men with respect to legal testimony and divorce, in matters of inheritance women stood on equal footing with men. See G. Buckler, 'Women in Byzantine Law about 1100 AD' *Byz* 11 (1936) 391–416.

Byzantine Christian Attitudes to Gender

The dominant ideology of the Church Fathers and ascetics demanded that women be powerless and reticent in accordance with their inferior status. Christian values however appear to have had limited influence on historical reality in Byzantium. The frequency with which misogynist arguments are expressed provides some indication of their impotence.[25] The ninth-century Patriarch Photios, for example, is explicit in his conception of gender. In rejecting the doctrine of commonality, Photios regards women as a separate and inferior category of being.[26] He considers sexual fertility critical to the construction of gender identity. For women, the production of male heirs allows them to attain a position of sanctity.[27] Effeminate men and non-submissive women threaten the stability of society.[28]

Although Christian ideology advocated the subordination of women, such ideals had limited practical application. Byzantine court society valued physical beauty above any sense of submission.[29] In fact, both ceremonial and political aspects of governance demanded female participation,[30] although implying a subordinate status.[31] While the roles of the imperial couple were gendered and complementary, the female Augusta was essential to the expression of male imperium.[32]

Archetypal Females: Eve, the Theotokos and the Sorceress/witch.

Representative of the female sex, Eve is characterized by her susceptibility to temptation and aggressive sexuality.[33] Eve's gullibility, however, with its

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25. Hill, *Imperial Women* 15.
26. Photios, *Epistles* 210.25–6, cited in M.P. Vinson, 'Gender and Politics in the Post-Iconoclastic Period: The *Lives* of Anthony the Younger, the Empress Theodora, and the Patriarch Ignatios' *Byz* 69 (1999) 488.
27. Vinson 'Gender and Politics' 485.
28. Vinson (ibid. 489) intimates that such hostility may be a reaction to the perceived prominence of women in the iconophile movement.
29. B. Hill, 'Imperial Women and the Ideology of Womanhood in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' *Women, Men* 77. Byzantine empresses were considered the embodiment of the splendour of the imperial court and its lifestyle. See L. Garland, '"The Eye of the Beholder": Byzantine Imperial Women and Their Image from Zoe Porphyrogenita to Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina 1028–1203' *Byz* 64 (1994) 20.
30. When Leo VI's second wife Zoe Zaoutzaina died unexpectedly, he crowned her daughter Anna as he was unable to perform the imperial ceremonies without an *Augusta*; see Skyl. LeoVI.22 (100). See also *Nicholas I Mystikos, Epistulae*: ed. R.J.H. Jenkins & L.G. Westerink, *Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters* (Washington 1973) Ep. 32.77–84, where Leo's marriage to Eudokia is permitted for the same reason.
31. Garland, 'Life and Ideology' 388.
32. Herrin, *Purple* 192.
33. C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge 1991) 60. I have in part drawn on her insightful analysis of the writings of twelfth-century Cypriot Holy Man, Neophytos the Recluse (1134–*post* 1214). Neophytos revised an insight into conceptions of gender

insinuations of inferior intelligence, prevents her from being truly evil.[34] Her sin is shared with the serpent and devil himself; as such, Eve is not independently powerful.[35] As I hope to demonstrate, Skylitzes' portrayal of women in power, and more generally, reflects this stereotype.

In contrast, the sorceress/witch signifies true maleficence.[36] This figure transgresses the boundaries of conventional female behaviour, and is above all motivated by lust. The portrayal of the female witch as promiscuous, scheming and conspiratorial is derived from the classical tradition of the evil sorceress, as exemplified by Circe and Medea.[37] This tradition was perpetuated in Byzantine hagiography, in chronicles, and children's fairy tales.[38] I argue that while Skylitzes avoids directly accusing his Augustae of witchcraft, his insinuations of deviant female sexuality, and involvement with poisons are intended to suggest this stereotype.

In Skylitzes' *Synopsis of Histories*, 'good' women are sexually unspecific and are denied independent power. Whereas Eve represents woman's sinfulness and potential to corrupt, Mary signifies purity, virginity and obedience.[39] Mary's virtue could in fact cancel out Eve's transgressions.[40]

Mary's virginity is a prerequisite for her sanctity, not only as it implies sexual purity but because it desexualizes her as female.[41] Mary's sexual status is, however, exceptional — she remains a virgin *in partu*, during and after the birth of Christ. And yet it is important to recognize that Mary is not herself divine[42] and derives her power from her proximity to God and Christ. This fact is made

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approximately contemporaneous with Skylitzes. John Chrysostom (PG 51:225–42) concluded that equality of the sexes results in conflict and rivalry.

34. Galatariotou, *Neophytos* 61.
35. Ibid. 61.
36. Ibid. 62.
37. Ibid. 63.
38. See J.B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft, Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans* (London 1980) 29–32. Galatariotou suggests that references to Lamias in Byzantine fairy tales are an example of the continuation of this tradition. In classical mythology, Lamia was a beautiful Lydian, whose children by Zeus were killed by Hera in jealousy. Lamia is said to have assumed monstrous form and to have seized the children of other women. See *OCD* s.v. 'Lamia'.
39. A.M. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395–600* (London 1993) 149.
40. Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 100, cited in A.M. Cameron, 'The Early Cult of the Virgin' *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* ed. M. Vassilaki (Milan 2000) 4.
41. Galatariotou, *Neophytos* 86. A.M Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople' *JTS* 29 (1978) 106, rp. *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London 1981) XVI, contends that the sixth-century devotion to the Virgin in Constantinople had little to do with her sex and much more to do with her role as mediator.
42. Cameron, 'Cult' 7.

clear in the language of Orthodox theology.[43] Mary functions as divine mediator and, as such, lacks meaning in isolation.[44]

Accordingly, 'good' women are those who come to despise or disguise their femininity. As 'daughter', 'wife' or 'mother', a woman's sexuality may be rendered passive and non-threatening. Skylitzes' archetypal 'good' women are those whose sexuality is repressed. The authority of Augusta-regents, such as Theodora, may be accepted by removing overt connotations of sexuality and by emphasizing familial motivation.[45]

Augustae as Eve.

Skylitzes' Augustae typically follow the model of Eve. Characteristically capricious, they lack the balance and moral fibre of men,[46] are devoid of self-control, and incessantly seek both financial and material gain. Helen, wife of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, is rebuked for her involvement in the buying and selling of offices (ConstVII.3, 130). Following the stereotype of Eve, Helen is seen as innately treacherous, and her disloyalty to her own brothers (despite advancing the cause of her husband) is remarkable (ConstVII.2, 129).

Skylitzes' most striking portrayal of this type is of the Augusta Theophano. Theophano encourages her husband Romanos II to remove his father with poison (ConstVII.16, 134) and to expel his mother (RomII.9, 138), apparently desiring to cement her own political authority. The Augusta goes on to procure the death of the ex-Emperor Stephen (BasII&ConstVIII.4, 139) and of her second husband, Nikephoros Phokas. Describing Phokas' illustrious career and tragic demise, Skylitzes recounts the inscription on his sarcophagus, which explicitly equates Theophano with Eve:

> Who once sliced men more sharply than the sword
> Is the victim of a woman and a glaive
> Who once retained the whole world in his power
> Now small, is housed in but a yard of earth.
> Whom once it seems by wild beasts was revered
> His wife has slain as though he were a sheep...
>
> For death, as you well know, is safety and
> Salvation for th' entire Christian folk,
> Nikephoros, who vanquished all but Eve.[47]

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43. The word for the veneration of Mary is different from that applied to Christ or God, and implies an inferior status. See Galatariotou, *Neophytos* 93.
44. Ibid. 93.
45. This will be further discussed in the section below on 'Female Regents'.
46. Ringrose ('Passing the Test' 124) suggests the classical tradition viewed testicles as loom weights, that is, as the body's regulatory apparatus. Women and eunuchs therefore could be seen to lack balance, moral fibre and self control.
47. NikPhok.23 (153). This epitaph is attributed to John, Bishop of Melitene. As it is found only in manuscripts ACE, the lines may have been interpolated into Skylitzes' text.

While Skylitzes avoids directly accusing Theophano of murder, her adultery signifies her personal and political disloyalty (NikPhok.22, 151). Yet Skylitzes intimates that Theophano, like Eve, is in fact the victim of others' designs. Motivated by love or political ambition, she did not anticipate her subsequent betrayal by her partner-in-crime, John Tzimiskes.[48] Theophano was exiled for her role in Phokas' murder, while Tzimiskes was proclaimed emperor after first submitting to penance. The empress responded to this turn of events with verbal and physical abuse, apparently leaving the marks of her knuckles on the emperor's forehead (Tzim.2, 154).

Skylitzes' women appear not only gullible but excessively emotional. Discovering the plot for her deposition, Zoe Karbounopsina clung to Constantine Porphyrogenitus 'with shrieks and tears' (ConstVII.11, 114). This incident parallels the expulsion of Theophano from Hagia Sophia, where she resorts to both verbal and physical abuse (Tzim.2, 154). Such emotionality is potentially dangerous if the women resort to the superstitious practice of cursing their adversaries. When Helen discovers the plot to remove her from the palace, she dissuades her son Romanos II, using 'tears and threats, for he was afraid of her curses' (RomII.9, 138).[49]

Female Regents: Theodora and Zoe Karbounopsina.

While Theophano reflects the negative stereotype of Eve, an emphasis on maternal motivation may allow Augustae to wield legitimate imperium. Such women are denied independent authority and are defined by their relationships to men, as wife, daughter and mother, thereby reflecting the mediating role of the Theotokos. Skylitzes' greatest approval is thus reserved for women who promote familial interest above individual ambition.[50] Theodora's political betrayal of the heretical emperor Theophilos is justified by his erroneous beliefs, but moreover by emphasizing the importance of women in the religious instruction of their children (Theoph.5, 31).[51]

48. Rosemary Morris dismisses the suggestion that Theophano recalled Tzimiskes in an effort to protect her son's rights: 'Succession and Usurpation: Politics and Rhetoric in the Late Tenth Century' *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot 1994) 207. The rumour that Nikephoros' desired to castrate Basil and Constantine is not mentioned by Skylitzes. This omission is particularly revealing, as its inclusion would considerably lessen the gravity of Theophano's adultery by providing a maternal motivation.

49. In a similar incident, when Michael III and his associates imitate the Patriarch Ignatios, the Augusta Theodora curses her son and predicts his fall from the grace of God (MichIII.21, 64).

50. Such women may not act entirely selflessly. Any increase in the family honour would enhance the status of the female. What is most important is that women appear to be motivated by familial interest, and not personal ambition.

51. Theodora, wife of Theophilos is portrayed in a particularly feminine manner upon learning of the death of Theoktistos, and 'let down her hair and filled the palace with lamentation, hurling reproaches at both her son and brother, calling down a similar death upon them' (MichIII.9, 55).

Theodora in fact acted as head of state from 842 to 862, during the minority of her son and heir to the imperial throne, Michael III, otherwise known as 'the drunkard'. Skylitzes' account of Theodora's 'career' reinforces notions of patriarchy. His order of naming reveals the absolute hierarchy of power; Theodora is the temporary transmitter of imperial blood; it is Michael, together with his mother Theodora, who succeeds to the sceptre of Empire (MichIII.I, 48). Michael was aged four at the time.

Critically, Skylitzes follows the tradition of denying the acting regent due recognition. The initiative for the ecclesiastical 'Council' of 843, which restored the veneration of icons, is vaguely attributed to 'some god-fearing men' (MichIII.I, 48), when in fact the initiative clearly lay with Theodora. Skylitzes credits both Theodora and Michael with the restoration of orthodoxy,[52] although it is not unreasonable to assume that Michael, aged five, had limited comprehension of the finer points of orthodox theology. Skylitzes' acceptance of Theodora's temporary authority is asserted in the passage cited at the beginning of this paper, when the Augusta is confronted by the Bulgar ruler, Bogoris, who had threatened to invade when he realized that a woman ruled the Romans. The passage is clearly intended to legitimise Theodora's authority as regent. Skylitzes thus portrays Theodora's character as exceptional. She is 'unwomanly' and fails to utilize the stereotypical female weapons of tears and threats to support her claim to rule.[53]

While Theodora is masculinized at the moment of crisis, her femininity is never questioned. As Michael approaches his majority, Theodora represents an increasing threat to masculine authority. In Skylitzes' narrative, Theodora reverts to stereotypical female behaviour reminiscent of Eve. She reacts hysterically to the murder of the eunuch and Logothete, Theoktistos, letting her hair down and filling the palace with lamentations, hurling reproaches at both son and brother. Critically, it is at this point in Skylitzes' narrative, as Michael longs to take rightful control of his inheritance, that he introduces the allegation of intimacy between the Augusta and Theoktistos, thereby equating female political ambition with the inappropriate expression of sexuality. Her expulsion from the palace in 856 is presented as a return to the natural, masculine order.

Upon her capitulation, Theodora is once more admired for her achievements. She delivers to the senate an assessment of her tenure, aiming to restrict the expenditure of her son and make known her prudent stewardship (MichIII.9, 56).

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52. The restoration of icons is the first reform 'which the ever-memorable Theodora and her son accomplished' (MichIII.2, 49).

53. By shifting in and out of gender roles, women may overcome the perceived limitations of their sex. As we have seen, in asserting admirable motive by preserving one's sexual purity or by ensuring the interests of the family, women may exploit the ideology of female to their own advantage. Theodora entreats her children 'not to be soft, nor to remain the women they were, but to play the man and to think the kind of thoughts which were worthy and appropriate to their mother's breast. They were to hold on abomination their father's heresy, embracing the outward forms of the icons' (Theoph.5, 31). Skylitzes also recounts an incident where a woman kills her would-be rapist, a member of the Varangian guard. In this instance, the woman's actions are excused by her desire to protect her sexual purity (MichII.20, 27).

In Skylitzes' narrative, Theodora recognizes her own position as that of steward; as temporary transmitter of imperial authority. Her intrinsic worth is in fact equated with her physical beauty, reinforcing the notion that female Augustae are valued for their appearance rather than their political, social or religious achievements. Theodora's reputation is restored at the moment that she acknowledges the impermanence of her position.

Skylitzes' portrayal of Theodora provides an interesting contrast to the *Life of Theodora*,[54] in which her deference to male relatives is strikingly apparent.[55] As empress and regent, Theodora is vulnerable to accusations of having usurped masculine authority. Such sentiments were potentially aggravated by the prominence of eunuchs in her regime.[56] The *Life of Theodora* accepts Photios' division of the sexes and attempts to align Theodora within accepted boundaries of female behaviour. While Theodora is indubitably accepted as legitimate ruler, the emphasis placed on her femininity suggests that she does not represent a true threat to masculine authority.[57] In contrast, Skylitzes' Theodora is prominent during the reign of both husband and son. The relationship between Theodora and Theophilos, however, is irrefutably deferential. Even during the heat of argument she addresses him with the rigid 'Emperor' (Theoph.5, 32). This power dynamic is temporarily inverted with Theophilos' adultery, when he begs forgiveness from his wife. Skylitzes' attitude to this act is somewhat incredulous, in spite of his vehement opposition to adultery (Theoph.10, 37).

Zoe Karbounopsina, fourth wife of Leo VI, is perhaps Skylitzes' most controversial female figure. According to Skylitzes, Zoe lived with Leo 'some considerable time uncrowned' (LeoVI.22, 100).[58] This position of virtual concubinage probably dates from 903.[59] In fact, their marriage was not solemnised until after the birth of a male heir, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in September 905. Constantine's birth is associated with a number of miraculous events, including the discovery of an ancient icon and the appearance of a comet lasting forty days (LeoVI.26, 102).[60] Skylitzes' narrative is striking in its suppression of the controversy surrounding the marriage. Not only did the Patriarch offer prayers for a male child, but actually blessed Zoe's womb.[61]

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54. The hagiographical text, the *Life of Theodora*, originated in the court of Leo VI. The text is obviously panegyrical in style. Vinson ('Gender and Politics' 470) regards the *Life of Theodora* as part of a wider attempt to restore faith in the church and state though the affirmation of traditional gender roles.
55. Vinson, 'Gender and Politics' 493.
56. Augustae frequently surround themselves with eunuchs. Such measures were probably intended to frustrate would-be emperors who might damage the interests of legitimate heirs. This is also true of the Theodora the Porphyrogenita, whose use of eunuchs is discussed in a later passage.
57. Vinson, 'Gender and Politics' 493.
58. Skylitzes succinctly states: 'the Emperor Leo took a fourth wife, Zoe Karbounopsina, who lived with him some considerable time uncrowned'.
59. S. Tougher, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People* (Leiden 1997) 150.
60. For miracles associated with the birth of Constantine see Tougher, *Leo VI* 153.
61. N. Oikonomides, 'Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia' *DOP* 30 (1976) 163.

During the reign of Leo VI, Zoe's political involvement appears minimal. In fact, Zoe remains obscure apart from an interesting allegation of familiarity with Constantine the Parakoimomenos (LeoVI.32, 104). Skylitzes' portrayal of the Augusta is initially favourable; it seems the controversy surrounding her is overshadowed by Leo's own transgressions. It nonetheless appears that there was some resistance to her position. While Leo requested the senate's fidelity to Zoe and Constantine, he appointed Alexander his successor (LeoVI.34, 106). Alexander soon reinstated the deposed Patriarch Nicholas, a move calculated to remove Zoe from political life. After Alexander's death, Skylitzes is openly hostile towards the Augusta. We are informed that Zoe is reinstated at the request of Constantine, apparently against the better judgment of his regents, for 'once she was in, she seized the reigns of government' (ConstVII.4, 111). To secure her position, Zoe systematically purged the administration of men loyal to Alexander, elevating Constantine the Parakoimomenos and the Goggylios brothers as her associates.

Zoe's reputation and stability as regent depended upon military conquest. The disastrous Bulgarian campaign cemented popular opinion against Zoe and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and Leo Phokas openly discussed his desire for the throne (ConstVII.10, 113). For this reason, Constantine's tutor recruited the services of the Patrician Romanos. Significantly, when Constantine Porphyrogenitus desires to take control of government, he reintroduces Zoe's principal adversary, the Patriarch Nicholas, and seeks to evict the empress. Only by displaying her feminine weakness could Zoe temporarily secure her position in the palace (ConstVII.11, 114).[62] Inevitably, Zoe is expelled and tonsured on a pretext of conspiracy against the new Basileopater (ConstVII.14, 116).

Skylitzes' portrayal of Zoe is largely disapproving. He wholeheartedly agrees with the sentiments of Nicholas regarding the *tetragamy* dispute. The elevation of Nicholas as 'a man of outstanding intelligence and wisdom' can only be interpreted as opposition to the controversial Augusta (LeoVI.18, 99). Skylitzes' opinion of Zoe is rarely stated directly. When Leo addressed Alexander for the last time however, he is said to have prophesied 'Behold, evil times after thirteen months!' (LeoVI.34, 106). As Alexander ruled from May 912 to June 913, this statement can only refer to Zoe's regency.

'Independent' Rulers: Female Autokratores; the Porphyrogenitae Zoe and Theodora.

Feminist historians have suggested that Skylitzes' changing attitudes to Zoe the Porphyrogenita are symbolic of a wider movement for female 'emancipation'. Skylitzes' portrayal of Zoe in fact, however, conforms to his previous representation of female Augustae. In no way does Skylitzes' account seek to legitimise Zoe's position as Augusta on a permanent basis. As with previous Augustae, Zoe is ultimately praised for recognizing her own feminine ineptitude;

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62. The Patriarch Nicholas and the Magister Stephen tried to remove the Augusta from the palace, 'but she clung to her son with shrieks and tears and moved him to feel the compassion and pity one ought to have for his mother'.

her role is that of transmitter of imperial blood. Accordingly, Skylitzes' assessment of Zoe's character is clouded by the negative stereotypes of Eve and the sorceress/witch; such behaviour is particularly apparent at moments when Zoe seeks to augment or make permanent her position.

When first introduced, Zoe provides an interesting contrast to the morality of her younger sister Theodora. First offered the imperial sceptre, Theodora refused Romanos Argyros 'either because he was a relative or because his wife was still living' (ConstVIII.3, 200).[63]

Zoe's ambition is immediately apparent in Skylitzes' narrative, as is her desire to exclude Theodora from power.[64] However, from 1028 to 1034 Zoe's participation in affairs of state is restricted. In his desire to approve of Romanos, Skylitzes conveniently omits key details which would otherwise provoke sympathy for the Augusta. He ignores the presence and influence of Romanos' mistress,[65] and fails to mention Zoe's exclusion from the imperial treasury, an act tantamount to her exclusion from an active political role.[66]

Skylitzes equates Zoe's desire to reassert political authority with a predatory and insatiable sexual appetite. Skylitzes' Zoe is therefore imbued with characteristics reminiscent of the female witch. He suggests Zoe's sexual appetite is not only excessive but also unnatural; she falls 'madly and demonically' in love with Michael the Paphlagonian, and 'used to have secret meetings with him and shady intercourse' (RomIII.17, 208). Skylitzes in fact uses the same word to describe Zoe's passion for Michael and his epilepsy, also attributed to demons,[67] thereby equating female sexuality with negative, fundamentally disruptive influences. Michael had been introduced to Zoe by his brother, the eunuch John the Orphanotrophos, who in fact sought to secure his own authority.

Interestingly, the historian Michael Psellos suggests Romanos was aware of Zoe's adultery, and tolerated the liaison 'to prevent her from sharing her favours among many'.[68] In Skylitzes' *Synopsis,* however, Romanos is the unwitting victim of Zoe's political ambition. After orchestrating the murder of Romanos, Zoe hastily elevated her beau to the imperial throne, disregarding the customary mourning period and granting her own dispensation for a second marriage. Moreover, when confronted with a vacillating patriarch, John and Zoe thought it expedient to offer a 'sweetener' of fifty pounds of gold each to the Patriarch Alexios and the clergy, after which the marriage ceremony was promptly performed.

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63. Byzantium did not operate on a system of primogeniture. Theodora was first offered empire because she was younger, and it was believed she was therefore more likely to produce children. Hill, *Imperial Women* 51.
64. Theodora was tonsured on the order of Zoe in 1031, despite already being confined at Petrion. Zoe may have had some grounds to tonsure Theodora, as she is implicated in more than one plot against the Emperor Romanos (RomIII.12, 206–7).
65. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.17.2–8 (Renauld 1:44, Sewter 75)
66. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.6.9–13 (Renauld 1:35, Sewter 66).
67. 'Manikos'; see Laiou, 'Imperial Marriages' 170.
68. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.23.9 (Renauld 1:49, Sewter 79).

Skylitzes explicitly labels Zoe as both adulteress and murderer (MichIV.7, 213). He states that 'the Emperor [Romanos Argyros] wasted away with a painful disease under the influence of slow poison, the Empress taking the opportunity of getting rid of him without attracting suspicion' (RomIII.17, 208).

Yet Skylitzes' narrative likens Zoe's gullibility to that of Eve. The Augusta apparently believed Michael would be 'slave and servant rather than husband and emperor' (MichIV.2, 210), and critically underestimated the influence of John the Orphanotrophos.

Once more excluded from power, Zoe conspired against John the Orphanotrophos, again utilizing her extensive knowledge of poisons (MichIV.15, 215).[69] These three characteristics — excessive sexuality, deceitfulness, and knowledge of poisons — are intended to recall the stereotype of the sorceress/witch.

Michael's deteriorating physical condition, guilt for his role in Romanos' murder and the increasing repulsion he felt towards his wife forced his resignation from political life in 1041. Zoe was determined to reassert control over the Empire. Before elevating Michael Kalaphates, she 'bound him with awesome oaths to hold her as his mistress, his sovereign-lady and mother for so long as she was active and to do whatever she commanded' (MichV.1, 223). Zoe's subordinate position is made clear in the visual portrayal of Michael's investiture contained in the Madrid Skylitzes.[70] Here, Michael is shown dressed in imperial garb, while Zoe, the legitimator of his authority, is portrayed in a simple matron's dress. This naive and powerless figure stands in clear contrast to her portrayal as all-powerful murderess.

In fact, Zoe's expulsion in 1042 incited a popular uprising in favour of the two Porphyrogenitae, Zoe and Theodora. While some historians have interpreted the riot as acceptance of Zoe's position of independent ruler, I believe the riot was symbolic of popular repression. Zoe's confinement certainly provides the initial impetus for the revolt, however the rioters did not stop with her restoration but went on to seize the imperial gold and destroy the tax rolls (MichV.1, 224).

The joint rule of the Augustae Zoe and Theodora in 1042 is a unique event in Byzantine history. Psellus regards the rule of Zoe and Theodora as an improvement on previous emperors, but nonetheless views it as an inversion of the natural order. He asserts that:

> neither of them was fitted by temperament to govern. They neither
> knew how to administer nor were they capable of serious argument

69. Psellos' Zoe is more closely associated with paramedical activities, particularly those pertaining to fertility. While Romanos encouraged Zoe in the practice of fertility rituals, 'she went further: she was introduced to most of the magical practices, fastening little pebbles to her body, hanging charms about her'. Psellos, *Chron.* 3.5.14–16 (Renauld 1:34, Sewter 65).

70. In the miniature depicting the elevation of the emperor Michael IV (folio 218v), Zoe wears a traditional woman's dress and not the imperial purple. The image does suggest, however, that Zoe held a position of power; Michael holds her wrist and the two figures are visually linked under an arch. See B. Hill, L. James and D.C. Smythe, 'Zoe: The Rhythm Method of Imperial Renewal' *New Constantines* 218.

on the subject of politics. For the most part, they confused the
trifles of the harem with important matters of state.[71]

Psellus goes further and identifies Zoe's liberality as the sole cause of the
corruption and decay of the Roman Empire.

As with previous Augustae, Skylitzes praises Zoe for recognizing her
biological unsuitability for rule. Speaking of her decision to elevate Michael
Kalaphates, Skylitzes states that Zoe 'realized she could not adequately
administer the public business all alone. She thought it was detrimental for such
a dominion to be *without ruler and director* and judged it necessary to procure
an emperor' [my emphasis] (MichV.1, 223).

Although Skylitzes praises the sisters' prudent administration, it is implicitly
understood that their rule is transient; the Empire simply required a male head of
state (ConstIX.1, 226), a point which, as Skylitzes reminds us, was universally
acknowledged. With the accession of Constantine Monomachos, Zoe's active
intervention in the affairs of state comes to a conclusion.

Behind the scenes, Theodora was once more plotting to regain political
authority. As previously intimated, Theodora the Porphyrogenita is initially
acclaimed as an exemplar of morality in rejecting a marriage alliance with
Romanos Argyros. Skylitzes, however, soon shifts his portrayal. Theodora is
seen as excessively ambitious and a cruel persecutor of her adversaries. She is
implicated in three separate conspiracies, before, during and after her
confinement by Zoe in the Petrion monastery. Skylitzes suggests that Theodora's
confinement is justified by her incessant desire to magnify her authority without
seeking to elevate a male counterpart as Augustus, either by marriage or
promotion. Yet Theodora evidently made a favourable impression on the citizens
of Constantinople: in the 1042 uprising against Michael Kalaphates, Theodora is
remembered and brought from the Petrion monastery to be proclaimed Augusta,
much to Zoe's vexation (MichV.1, 224).

In contrast to Zoe, Theodora was at no point perceived as 'legitimator' of
imperial authority. With the impending death of Monomachos, Theodora's name
is conspicuous by its absence from discussions of candidates for succession
(ConstIX.30, 253). Informed by her personal eunuchs of the political affairs at
court, Theodora pre-empted the election of a new Augustus and had herself
declared ruling emperor, autokrator (ConstIX.30, 253). Theodora is the first
female ruler since Irene the Athenian in the eighth century to claim this
position.[72] Once in power, Theodora ruthlessly persecuted her opponents, sought
to curtail the authority of the nobles, and pursued with vengeance those who had
supported the rival candidate for the throne. Theodora perceived her own
position as that of legitimate and hereditary ruler, and saw no reason to elevate a
male counterpart as associate. Instead, the Augusta surrounded herself with her
eunuchs, who by virtue of their physical imperfection could never aspire to rule
themselves.

71. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.5.3–6 (Renauld 1:119, Sewter 157).
72. Garland, *Empresses* 167.

Skylitzes' account of Theodora's reign is notable in its brevity. We are informed only of three salient details: the appointment of a new Bulgarian archbishop, Theodora's attempts to stop the incursions of the Turks, and the subsequent revolt and persecution of Bryennios. These details seem insignificant until we remember that Theodora is behaving as a male emperor; violating accepted gender roles without pretending to elevate a male counterpart. Theodora's presumptive appointment of the Bulgarian archbishop raised particular resentment, for the appointment of clerics was perceived as a masculine privilege.[73] In fact, a popular revolution was cut short by her untimely death in 1056, resulting from a blockage of the bowel.

Women as Illegitimate Figures of Authority: Skleraina and Zoe Zaoutzaina.

In Skylitzes' narrative, Constantine Monomachos' proposal to elevate his mistress Skleraina to the dignity of Augusta is universally opposed, 'by the people, the Senate and by the sisters, the Sovereign Ladies' the Porphyrogenitae Zoe and Theodora (ConstIX.7, 232). Skylitzes' hostility is undisguised; he alleges that Skleraina has usurped a position of power illegitimately by virtue of her feminine charms. He states that the emperor was reproved for his conduct, but to no avail, as Constantine 'was completely under the *spell* of her beauty' [my emphasis].[74] Skylitzes' accusations of sexuality and witchcraft here recall the negative attributes of the classical sorceress.

In fact, Constantine's unprecedented proposal incited a popular uprising in favour of Zoe and Theodora. The crowd's ringleader, whose sentiments Skylitzes certainly approves, exclaims 'we don't want Skleraina for mistress and we don't want our mammas, the Porphyrogenitae Zoe and Theodora, put to death on her account' (ConstIX.7, 232).[75] Skylitzes' narrative provides an interesting contrast to Psellus, the latter suggesting that Zoe was unmoved by Skleraina's introduction into the palace[76] and subsequent elevation.[77] Moreover Psellus' Skleraina is given tangible personality. We learn of her intellectual ability and ambition; the absence of these details from Skylitzes' narrative implies that Skleraina's femininity is incompatible with the masculine trait of intelligence. According to Psellus, Skleraina was 'sustained by hopes of power'.[78] Psellus also reveals that Skleraina's status was officially recognized in a 'treaty of friendship'

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73. Ibid. 166.
74. ConstIX.7, 232. Constantine had been able to introduce Skleraina into the palace and to grant her a title equivalent to Zoe. Smythe therefore argues that autarky for the office of empress became effective only in the absence of an emperor. See D.C. Smythe, 'Behind the Mask: Empresses and Empire in Middle Byzantium' *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference Held at King's College London, April 1995* ed. A.J. Duggan (London 1997) 145.
75. The absence of this event in Psellus' narrative may imply that the dialogue is an invention of Skylitzes, intended to demonstrate the 'universal opposition' to Skleraina.
76. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.53.1–9 (Renauld 1:143, Sewter 182).
77. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.59.1–13 (Renauld 1:145, Sewter 184).
78. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.51.7–8 (Renauld 1:142, Sewter 181).

witnessed by the senate. He remarks that Zoe 'embraced her new partner with unusual warmth',[79] conflicting with Skylitzes' view of universal opposition. While Psellus is well disposed to Skleraina herself, both authors nonetheless consider Constantine's action as lacking in propriety.[80]

Zoe Zaoutzaina, second wife and former concubine of Leo VI (886–912), demonstrates the possible fate of Skleraina had she lived beyond 1044. Zoe Zaoutzaina's relationship with Leo VI could never have been considered legitimate, as she became his concubine while he was legally married to the Augusta Theophano (LeoVI.3, 95). Skylitzes relates that Zoe's former husband, Theodore Gouniatzizes had been 'treacherously poisoned', though at no point does he suggest Zoe's involvement (LeoVI.10, 97). This omission is intriguing, given that popular opinion maintained Zoe's responsibility for the murder not only of her husband but also of Theophano.[81] Their marriage ceremony was itself highly irregular, and the Patriarch Antony Kaukas refused to approve the marriage.[82] Skylitzes states that the couple was blessed by 'a clergyman of the palace, who was promptly degraded' (LeoVI.14, 99).

While Zoe was considered unworthy of imperial dignity on account of her less than savoury reputation, this objection is overshadowed by the Emperor's own disregard for legal and ecclesiastical prescriptions. Byzantine law is explicit in its opposition to marriages seeking to legitimise the position of former concubines.[83] Skylitzes' opposition to Zoe is apparent — he deliberately avoids relating miracles which may have suggested divine approval.[84] Zoe did not live long after her elevation. Skylitzes records a controversial inscription discovered on her sarcophagus, 'Daughter of Babylon, wasted with misery' (Ps 136/7 8), a reference to the biblical whore of Babylon.[85] Runciman suggests that Zoe intentionally had the inscription carved as a sign of repentance.[86] Skylitzes, however, confirms that the quotation was not Zoe's initiative but was intended as graffiti or slander.[87]

79. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.59.1–13 (Renauld 1:145, Sewter 184).
80. Psellos states that Constantine 'lost all sense of impropriety and his real plans were revealed. All pretence of the lady's "apartment" in his house was abandoned... He wasted the imperial treasuries in satisfying her every whim'. Psellos, *Chron.* 6.56.3–57.2 (Renauld 1:144, Sewter 183).
81. Tougher, *Leo VI* 141.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid. 140.
84. Leo promoted the cult of his first wife Theodora, in an attempt to restore Zoe's reputation. He also encouraged the dissemination of myths connected to the new Augusta. Tougher (*Leo VI* 19) relates a myth in which Zoe was cured of illness by placing the Virgin's girdle across her body.
85. LeoVI.16 (99); Leo Gramm. 270–1; *TheophCont* 361.
86. S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of 10th-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge 1929, rp. 1988) 41.
87. Tougher, *Leo VI* 144. Skylitzes states that, as the sarcophagus on which her body was to be laid was being prepared, an inscription was found. Skylitzes' account gives no indication of Zoe's alleged repentance.

In conclusion, Skylitzes overwhelmingly portrays women in positions of political power in an unfavourable light. Modelled upon the biblical tradition of Eve, they are characterized by their excessive ambition, gullibility and susceptibility to temptation. Skylitzes' portrayal of the eleventh-century Porphyrogenitae Zoe and Theodora, and to a lesser extent Skleraina, is also influenced by the stereotypical traits of the evil witch-sorceress. 'Good' women are those who lack independent authority. The Augusta Theodora, mother of Michael, can thus legitimately act as temporary ruler by removing overt connotations of sexuality and emphasizing a familial motivation. Critical to Skylitzes' approval of the Augusta-regent is the regent's own recognition of her impermanence. The Porphyrogenita Theodora and the ninth-century iconophile Theodora represent a threat to masculine authority at the moment they seek to extend their power or make permanent their authority. In this manner, Zoe the Porphyrogenita is ultimately praised for recognizing her own ineptitude and the necessity of male leadership. Women are thus praised for recognizing the limitations and essential, biological inferiority of their sex.

John Burke

The Madrid *Skylitzes* as an Audio-Visual Experiment[1]

With its 575 surviving miniatures, the twelfth-century illustrated Madrid manuscript[2] of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historion*[3] has been much admired, particularly since reproductions became more widely available,[4] including a marvellous full-size facsimile edition.[5] What puzzles is that none of the other twenty or so surviving Skylitzes manuscripts is illustrated.[6] Indeed, no other illustrated manuscript of a Byzantine Greek chronicle has come to light.[7] Despite its obvious appeal, the Madrid *Skylitzes* does not seem to have stimulated imitation.

My concern in this paper is not with the obvious disincentive of cost or problems of physical access, nor with matters of style, iconography, and the occasional mismatches between text, miniature and caption. I also leave aside the question of whether the illustrations and captions in the Madrid *Skylitzes* were copied from elsewhere or invented *ad hoc* for this particular manuscript[8] My focus is not on the Madrid *Skylitzes* as such, but on the illustrative program it implements, for which there is no known precedent. Despite its obvious achievement, I want to suggest here that the experiment may have discouraged

1. The research for this paper forms part of a wider project on the Madrid Skylitzes involving the Universities of Melbourne and Sussex and Queen's University Belfast, with support from the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Australian Research Council. I thank my colleagues Assoc. Prof. R.D. Scott and Dr B. Bjornholt, as well as the anonymous referee and the editors of this volume, for their patience and helpful comments, and Professor M.E. Mullett for encouraging remarks on an earlier version of part of this paper.
2. Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26–2 (formerly Matritensis II), National Library Madrid.
3. Editio princeps: *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* ed. I. Thurn. CFHB 5. Series Berolinensis (Berlin 1973).
4. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Skyllitzes Matritensis*, vol. 1, *Reproducciones y miniaturas* (Barcelona 1965); A. Grabar & M. Manoussacas, *L'Illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzès de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid*. Bibliothèque de L'Institut Hellénique D'Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines de Venise No. 10 (Venice 1979); V. Tsamakda, *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid* (Leiden 2002). Individual miniatures have been reproduced in numerous publications as well as on book covers and museum walls and other media.
5. *Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum: codex Matritensis graecus Vitr. 26–2, facsimile edition*. Scientific consultant A. Tselikas (Athens 2000).
6. For the manuscript tradition see Thurn's introduction xx–xxviii and Tsamakda, *Chronicle* 24 n. 4. None of the apographa of the Madrid *Skylitzes* (Thurn xxv) are illustrated.
7. It is not until the mid-13th century that anything similar appears in the West: see E.N. Boeck, *The Art of Being Byzantine: History, Structure and Visual Narrative in the Madrid Skylitzes Manuscript* (PhD thesis, Yale 2003) 20–1.
8. For a recent summary of views see Tsamakda, *Chronicle* 1–5 and 371; for her own conclusions, 260–6.

imitation because it effectively demonstrated that the idea of an illustrated history book could not fully succeed without a radically different approach.

Certain broad characteristics of the *Skylitzes* illustration program can be identified more easily through a brief comparison with some earlier illustrated books:

1. The sixth-century Vienna *Genesis*[9] applied a fixed page layout, with the lower half of each page reserved for the illustration. The text in the upper half of the page was truncated to fit the space — what doesn't fit just gets left out!

2. In the Joshua Roll, the picture dominates the 'page' and carries most of the narrative. The text below is reduced almost to a caption, giving only a brief summary of the biblical text.[10]

3. The eleventh-century Octateuch Vat.gr.747 retains the text in its entirety as well as adding a marginal commentary (*catena*) and illustrations. The quantity of Bible text on each page is adjusted to the length of the related commentary. The Bible text is divided into sections with centred titles. The text of each section starts with a large capital letter in the left margin; other such marginal capitals, indicating the start of a subsection, mark the first word of the line in which the subsection starts. The scribe allows for the illustrations by leaving a half-column space within the text area, sometimes extending the space into the margin. The number of miniatures per page varies, and some pages have no miniature.[11] The exact point in the text to which the miniature relates is not always clear, although sometimes a colon is used; no such problem arises when, occasionally, the illustration occupies the full width of the page.[12]

4. The full-width strip or frieze miniature leaves no doubt about where it fits in relation to the text. In an eleventh-century Gospel now in Florence, every verse of the text is followed by a strip illustration. The strips average nearly three scenes each. Each verse starts with a special letter in the margin.[13]

So what did the Skylitzes team do? For their illustrations they reserved the full width of the text area.[14] Illustrations can include several component scenes. There is no mechanical rule of one illustration per page, as in the Vienna

9. Nat. Lib. cod. theol. gr. 31. See, for example, Pict. 31: K. Weitzmann, 'The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts' *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington 1975) pl. 2.

10. Vat.palat.gr.431. See, for example, Sheet III: Weitzmann, 'Selection' pl. 4.

11. See, for example, Vat.gr.747 folios 167v–8r: J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study of Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (University Park Pa. 2002) fig. 34.

12. As on folio 223r (Lowden, *Octateuchs* fig. 87).

13. Laurent. Lib. Cod. Plut. VI.23 fol. 15v, for example: Weitzmann, 'Selection' pls. 8a & 8b.

14. In Weitzmann's terms, the relationship of the illustration to the text is the classic 'papyrus style': K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (2nd ed. Princeton 1970) 73–7. The 11th-century copy of (Pseudo-)Oppian's *Cynegetica*, now in Venice, also uses column-width strip illustrations: see I. Spatharakis, *The Illustrations of the Cynegetica in Venice Codex Marcianus Graecus 479* (Leiden 2004)

Genesis, or per section or verse of the text, as in the Florence Gospel: most pages have one or two illustrations, some have three and some have none. Unlike the Vienna *Genesis* and the Joshua Roll, the text is retained in its entirety. All the illustrations are pin-pointed in relation to the text — even if it contains only a single word, the line above the miniature is truncated at the precise point of insertion.

Sometimes the insertion point of an illustration is astutely chosen. Miniature 80ra, for example, has three scenes with four component captions [Fig. 1]: 'Bardas' held prostrate at the feet of 'The Emperor Michael' by a sword-wielding officer; the same 'Bardas' clutching his groin while being hacked by two swordsmen; and a soldier raising 'Bardas's genitals' at the end of a spear. The miniature breaks into the text at the precise point where Bardas has thrown himself at the emperor's feet, thus adding suspense about the outcome of his supplication. But the viewer also sees the other two scenes in the miniature, which the captions do little to explain, and so reads on with anticipation:

> Swords raised, Bardas saw the men coming at him in force.
> Recognizing death, he threw himself at the feet of the emperor.
> [Fig. 1]
> But they drag him from there, and limb by limb cut him into
> pieces. Then, on a spear dangling his genital organs, they parade
> them around as a warning.

This clever interplay between text and illustration enhances the drama of the reading experience. Of course, many a reader will look at all the pictures on the page before settling into the text, but such a reader's curiosity and anticipation would only be heightened by the minimalist captions and the unclear sequence of events (it is not immediately obvious that the scenes should be read from right to left).

But a fixed insertion point can sometimes create layout difficulties. It may occur towards the end of a page, in which case the illustration is forced into the bottom margin or an unsightly gap is left and the illustration deferred until the other side of the page, disassociating it from the relevant text.[15] Or it may occur in the first line of a page, after only a word of two of text, which can then get lost among the miniature and its captions.[16] These infelicities might have been avoided by the occasional use of parallel columns, as in the Octateuchs. But such flexibility was not part of the program.

The lack of a clear sequence in the scenes of an illustration can also cause difficulty. Tsamakda counted 148 miniatures with more than one scene and identified a variety of 'reading' sequences: linear, antithetical, cyclical,

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15. See, for example, miniatures 45rb, 219vb (a single miniature on a page is indicated by the folio number; the letter a, b or c is appended if the page has more than one miniature); and the blank lines at the end of 47r and the miniature at the top of 47v. or 153r and 153v.
16. For example, 31ra, 201v, 206r, 212ra, 211va, 212ra.

complex.[17] In fact, the artists seem to conceive of a whole episode as suspended in a single moment outside of time. This contrasts with the narrative, in which the sequence of events within an episode is critical. Sometimes, too, it is difficult to discern whether a particular figure or building belongs to one scene or another. The end result can be confusion and frustration. The program might work better if scenes were more clearly separated and there were some convention about the sequence in which they should be 'read'.

The captions to the illustrations are very helpful — as becomes particularly obvious when they are missing.[18] But here too we note a certain hapharzdness. Some clearly identify the event illustrated, as when Leo Tornikios is raised on a shield: 'The patrician Leo Tornikios is acclaimed emperor' (230ra); but a similar scene on folio 10v, with two crowned figures on the shield, is without caption and scholars remain baffled as to who and what is represented. In many cases the captions are no more than labels: people and places are identified but not the event (43va, 46rb, 48r, 49rb, 49vb, 119v, 120v, 123rb), or occasionally the event but not the participants (125rb). On the whole, the producers of the illustrated Skylitzes seem to be exploring the possibilities and feeling their way towards a more systematic approach, the need for which is underscored by the explanatory titles that Grabar & Manoussacas and Tsamakda, with the advantage of hindsight, have assigned to each miniature.

Some illustrations brilliantly capture the tension of a particular moment and enhance the drama of the narrative,[19] and a few seem to be historically accurate,[20] but not all illustrations are equally successful. About seventy occur at the end of a section in the text, more at the end of an episode, and many of these offer only a visual recapitulation. In addition, there are many battle scenes, for example, with nothing in particular to distinguish one from another — they could be swapped around and nobody would be the wiser.[21] Sometimes it would make not the slightest difference if the captions 'Romans' and 'Bulgarians' were reversed. The same can be said of weddings, coronations of emperors, enthronements of patriarchs, and the portrayal of buildings — often the only identifying feature is the caption. These generic, stereotyped miniatures add a visual dimension but little real value to the narrative. It is as though the producers of the illustrated

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17. V. Tsamakda, 'The Miniatures of the Madrid *Skylitzes' Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum: codex Matritensis graecus Vitr. 26–2, facsimile edition* (Athens 2000) 130.

18. Captions are missing from the miniatures of quires 19 and 20 (fols 143–56) and from another 11 miniatures; see Grabar-Manoussacas 6, 21–2.

19. See 11rb, for example, and the text that follows it.

20. N. Oikonomides, Ἡ στολή του ἐπάρχου καὶ ὁ Σκυλίτζης τῆς Μαδρίτης', *Εὐφρόσυνον: Ἀφιέρωμα στον Μ. Χατζιδάκη* (Athens 1991) 422–32 found that the uniform of the Eparch of Constantinople in 43ra corresponds to descriptions in other sources (but not the uniform portrayed in 219ra or 221r); I. Ševčenko, 'The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the Light of its New Dating' *Byzanz und der Westen* ed. I. Hutter (Vienna 1984) 126–7 identified a recently invented siege engine; Tsamakda, *Chronicle* 289–93 thinks that two of the wedding scenes may be 'realistic'.

21. Boeck 44 estimates that 80% of the battle scenes are generic.

Skylitzes felt obliged to distribute miniatures fairly evenly, at a rate of roughly three per opening, but were unable to sustain their high standards throughout such a long text.

Another problem shows up in folios 101v–103r. Folio 102r [Fig. 2] is the first of only eight in the manuscript with three miniatures, and this in itself catches our eye. The first miniature, arresting for its size and subject matter, shows a women named Danelis being carried in a sedan chair; the second miniature shows her presenting coronation gifts to the Emperor Basil I, and in the third she presents gifts to his son and successor Leo VI. Except for the quantity of imperial facial hair, miniatures 102rb and 102rc could be interchanged. The related section of the text (Basl.40) opens with the promotion of Danelis's son to high office and a reminder that, some years earlier in Patras, Basil had entered into a relationship of spiritual brotherhood with him. Danelis had requested this upon learning from a monk that Basil was ordained by God to become emperor. In gratitude, she had given Basil gifts sufficient to make him and his refugee family among the richest landowners in Macedonia.[22] Miniature 102ra powerfully conveys the wealth and gumption of Danelis, who by then was too old and frail to ride a horse so she travelled from Patras to Constantinople in a sedan chair with a relay of three hundred of her sturdiest slaves.[23] But the son does not appear in this or the next two miniatures. The gifts do look sumptuous but the illustration does not convey other points made in the text: that Basil received Danelis with great honour and hospitality, that good taste prevented enumeration of the gifts, and that Danelis also made Leo her heir (and died shortly thereafter). I take the essential point of the text to be Danelis's devotion to those whom God appoints to the throne and the honour and respect with which the emperor reciprocates. The miniatures seem to show only the first part of this equation, that is, the emperor on the receiving end. The visual focus on the sedan chair is something of a distraction. The illustration creates an emphasis that is different from that of the text.

But an even greater mismatch between text and illustration follows. As Boeck observed,[24] the three miniatures on folio 102r illustrate only thirteen lines of text. Fifty-seven lines on the next two pages tell of Basil's building or restoration of churches, monasteries and other edifices in Constantinople, but these pages are entirely without illustration. Were the Madrid artists not interested in buildings? Did they feel unequal to the task because of unfamiliarity with the landmarks of Constantinople? Whatever the reason, Basil's building program is omitted from the visual experience. In selecting what to illustrate and leaving out the rest, the illustrators present a set of values, interests and priorities that can be different from those of the text. They can tell a different story.

Thus far I have identified several apparently contradictory characteristics of the illustration program: respect for the letter of the text but not always for its emphasis; clever interplay between miniature and text but miniatures that depend

22. Basl.6, folios 84r.2–85r.7 (Thurn 121.46–123.2).
23. Basl.40 (Thurn 160.83–161.3). Tsamakda, 'Miniatures' 133 reads the Greek text to mean that the slaves were not her own but sent by the emperor.
24. Boeck 46.

on the text and the captions for their explanation, and many that seem perfunctory; flexibility to choose specific insertion points but rigid adherence to full-width illustrations and lines of text; and a rather mechanical approach to the frequency of illustration. The producers of the illustrated Skylitzes showed what could be achieved but also revealed the limitations of their approach. Some of the problems may be ascribed simply to a failure of imagination or to communication difficulties inherent in a long project involving a scribe and many artists. What I want to suggest, however, is that much of the success and failure may be due largely to a single, underlying cause: that the producers' apprehension of the text was primarily aural, and their respect for the text so great that they could not make changes necessary for its successful adaptation to the visual medium.

In looking for specifically oral/aural features of the text, we should not forget the overwhelming predominance of the spoken word in Byzantium, or the functions of the *anagnostes*, the sermon and the public oration, and in general how scarce and expensive books were.[25] When chroniclers talk about their 'listeners', it may not be a mere figure of speech. In his introduction, Skylitzes asserts that, by contradicting each other, previous historians 'entangled their *listeners* in giddy confusion'.[26] Elsewhere he avoids listing all the things that Michael Stratiotikos did lest he become boring to his 'listeners'.[27] George Synkellos criticises another author for confusing the 'listener'.[28] Michael Glykas keeps his chronicle short to spare his son's 'ears'.[29] It is a real possibility that these chroniclers may have anticipated that their works would be read aloud.

Then there is the script. Cyril Mango wrote: 'I take it that the minuscule script was introduced for the purpose of library books, i.e., for cabinet study as opposed to reading out loud...'[30] The text of the Madrid *Skylitzes* is not in minuscule. Its script is semi-uncial, which stands in contrast to the minuscule and cursive script of some captions, where the letters can be less than half as high and require very close scrutiny (in my case, a magnifying glass). It is also more open and immediately readable than the denser, business-like hand of its twin manuscript in Naples,[31] which employs more than ten times as many

25. Although the written word was regarded as authoritative, books were brought in only as a last resort in the public debates held by the emperor Theophilos on the question of icons (Theoph.10, Thurn 61.45ff). The Russians were converted not by reading the Gospel but by seeing a single copy of it miraculously survive a fire (Basl.43, Thurn 165ff).

26. Pro.1.34 (Thurn 4.39): ἰλίγγου καὶ ταραχῆς τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ἐμπεπλήκασιν.

27. MichVI.2.14 (Thurn 483.92): προσκορὴς γενήσομαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς.

28. *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica* ed. A.A. Mosshammer (Leipzig 1984) 32.19: συγχέαι τὸν ἀκροατήν.

29. *Michaelis Glycae annales* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836) 4.1–2: πάνυ καταβαρύνει τὰς ἀκοάς, εἴπερ ὁ λόγος εἰς μῆκος ἐπεκταθείη.

30. C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750–850' *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington 1975) 29–45.

31. Neapolitanus III. B. 24; see the opening reproduced in Thurn's introduction lix.

abbreviations.[32] The Madrid manuscript has been described as clear, legible, calligraphic.[33] The script thus lends support to the possibility that it was designed to be read aloud.

On the other hand, the scribe of the Madrid *Skylitzes* does seem to care about which accent to write. He makes a number of corrections.[34] Some of these bring the accent into conformity with the rule about replacing a final grave with an acute before a colon or period, so he seems to know the rule.[35] He is less certain about the circumflex, however. In a survey of four quires (about fourteen percent of the surviving text), I found thirty-eight circumflexes where a grave or acute is required and thirty-five instances of a different accent where a circumflex is required. Similarly, more than forty breathings were wrong. These errors, whether corrected or uncorrected, constitute only a tiny fraction of the total, of course. But my point is that they make no difference to the way the text *sounds* when read aloud.

Similarly, prefixes can be written as prepositions (187v.12: πρὸς μένειν for προσμένειν) and prepositions written as prefixes (83v.18: καθύπνους for καθ' ὕπνους); sometimes a breathing underlines the uncertainty (89r.17: κατ' αὐτοῦ is written καταὐτοῦ, while ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ appears both as 83v.9 ἐπανδρείᾳ and 91.10 ἐπάνδρείᾳ). Some 107 such instances occur in the four quires surveyed. Again, they would not have affected how the text *sounded*.

As the phonological system of Greek changed, the retention of traditional spelling meant that the sounds represented phonetically as /i/, /o/, /e/ could be spelled in several ways; a double consonant was pronounced as if single, and γγ the same as γκ. In my survey I found some 130 non-standard spellings, all of them with no effect on pronunciation. Yet it cannot be said the scribe was indifferent to spelling. At 83r.18, for example, an original iota has been changed to eta in Διομήδους (but not in Διομίδης three lines below); at 88v.14, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν has been corrected to τῶν ἀρχηγῶν; at 28v.1, a correcting iota is written over the eta in ἀοίδημος. These amendments, in the scribal hand, were perhaps made during proof-reading. Again, neither the mistakes nor the corrections change the sound. What the copyist preserves, first and last, is the aural text.

Was the text transmitted orally? While Mioni found no evidence that Byzantine texts were copied via dictation, he acknowledged the aural factor in talking about 'internal dictation', that is, the scribe 'hears' the text rather than

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32. This observation is based on quires 10 (hand 1) and 11 (hand 2) of the Madrid manuscript and comparison with the corresponding part of the Naples manuscript.

33. J.M. Fernández Pomar, 'El Scylitzes de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid' *Gladius* 3 (1964) 18–19.

34. 10 examples in 6 randomly-chosen pages: τηνικαῦτα ἀμερμουμνῆς (81r.22), τόν (81v.28), ἑαυτῶν (82v.4), φωνὴ (83r.1), ἀποστροφή (83r.3), μήτ' (93v.6), φεύγων (93v.12), ᾠδάς (95r.10) ἄρας (95r.23).

35. Unlike the modern editor, the scribe does not apply this rule before a comma: see for example εὐθὺς (83r.30), προσεοικὸς (83v.18), πατὴρ (85r.21), στρατὸν (93r.13), ἐστὶ (93v.6), βασιλεὺς (94r.24), μηχανὰς (94v.15).

'seeing' it as he is writing it down.[36] This would explain the errors noted above in accents, breathings and spelling — the scribe follows his own orthographic tendencies when writing down what he holds aurally in his short-term memory.

In the Madrid *Skylitzes* I think we can see another factor: the scribe's understanding. In its context, the accusative singular τὸν ἀρχηγὸν rather than the genitive plural τῶν ἀρχηγῶν makes good sense up until the very last word of the phrase: τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀπονοίας φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πραγματευσαμένων (88v.14, Thurn 130.75). The reading ὅλως ('totally') instead of ὅλος ('all') seems at least plausible in ὅλος τῆς τούτου φιλίας ἐγένετο (81v.8, Thurn 113.73). Similarly, it does not become clear until several lines later that we should read τοῖς rather than τῆς before περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπονοίας ἀφορμὴν διδόντος ('giving cause for suspicion to the people around him' rather than 'giving cause for the suspicion about him') (87v.11, Thurn 127.29). The scribe's initial interpretation is based not on the spelling or the visual text but on its sound.

That the scribe interprets what he 'hears' is not unique to the Madrid manuscript. In the fields at harvest time, Basil I's parents placed him in a makeshift tent '... so that he could sleep without interruption':

> τὸ δὲ παιδίον, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ θάλπους καταφλέγοιτο τοῦ ἡλίου, σκηνήν τινα σχεδιάσαντες ἐκ τοῦ συνδέσμου τῶν ἀσταχύων ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο κοιμηθησόμενον ἔθεντο, ἅμα μὲν τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου θέρμης τὸν καύσωνα ἀβλαβῶς διελθεῖν μηχανώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀπερικόπως ὑπνώττοι, μὴ ὑπό τινος ἔξωθεν ἐνοχλούμενον (Basl.3, Thurn 118.54–58)

The manuscript tradition offers four variants of the word for 'sleep': optative ὑπνώττοι ACE, infinitive ὑπνώττειν BMF, present indicative ὑπνώττει NH, and subjunctive ὑπνώττῃ V. All are defensible readings, none makes any real difference to the meaning, and all would have sounded the same. Except for the infinitive, of course, with its final nu; but scribes would not hesitate for long if they felt that a nu was needed to make written sense of what they had heard and understood.[37] The four variant readings reinforce the filtration model of the copying process: the exemplar passes through the scribe's eye to his mind and aural memory before being written down according to his personal linguistic sensibilities. Once again, the visual dimension plays second or even third fiddle.

It goes without saying that the visual image of the text inevitably plays an important role in the copying process, and doubtless it helps avoid many errors. But there are other indications that scribes were not photocopy machines. With little or no effect on the meaning, changes in word order show that the scribe has understood the phrase, remembered the words, and is able to reconstruct the phrase with the same words; but he does not necessarily remember the visual

36. E. Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca* 2nd ed., tr. N.M. Panagiotakes Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν ἑλληνικὴ παλαιογραφία (Athens 1979) 96–9.

37. Instances of mistaken inclusion or omission of final nu in the Madrid *Skylitzes* include Thurn 114.46 ὑποτίθησίν τινι, 118.40 χερσὶ, 128.36 ποσίν, 130.70 ἐτύγχανεν, 131.5 ἴσχυσεν, 131.95 ἐπέβαλλεν, 144.41 μέγα, 337.18 ἄνεισιν, 355.16 ὑπεχώρησε, 356.38 ἐξέπεμψεν, 363.46 κάτεισι.

imprint of their physical sequence on the page.[38] The same applies *a fortiori* where a synonym is substituted: δράσειν becomes πράσσειν;[39] ὁρῶν[40] and εὑρὼν[41] become ἰδὼν but ἰδόντες becomes εὑρόντες;[42] ἐκεῖνος becomes ὁ Σκληρὸς[43], Σκληρὸν becomes ἀποστάτην;[44] and ἀρχιεπισκόπου becomes ἄρχοντος ἐπισκόπου.[45] As these are unique in the manuscript tradition, we may reasonably assume that the Madrid scribe did not see them in his exemplar. Though they express the same meaning, they are his own words.

Punctuation started as an attempt to clarify meaning on the written page by representing the phrasing and intonation of speech. The scribe of the Madrid *Skylitzes* seems to have taken particular care with his punctuation.[46] On many pages there is evidence that it may have been completed in two passes: the colour and pressure of most commas and colons seem identical with that of the words around them, but periods seem bolder and thicker. Photoshop colour analysis suggests that red ink may have been used for the periods on certain pages, such as 201v–202r, but the edges of the dots seem to have the same colour as the text. One cannot be confident of analysis based on scans of a facsimile, of course. Pending pigment analysis, my best hypothesis is that the scribe wrote the periods while copying the text but went over them later with a fresh pen. As red ink similar to that of the marginal capitals is used on folio 87r to amend word order (line 9) and for the name Δαμιανὸν (line 19), which is written over an erasure, the second punctuation pass may sometimes have taken place when the marginal capitals were being added and the text proof-read.

It is my contention that punctuation in the Madrid *Skylitzes* is essentially an oral/aural device. Let us look again at the passage following miniature 80ra. Thurn uses three periods and two commas to make the sentence structure clear. The Madrid punctuation breaks it into twelve segments. In the transcription below, extra space between lines indicates Thurn's five segments, while each of the Madrid segments is on a separate line (diacritics, word division and punctuation follow the Madrid manuscript):

38. In my survey of four quires I counted 46 cases of word order different from Thurn's: in only 3 of these has the scribe inserted numerals above the line to amend the word order (81v.30, 87r.9, 182v.16).
39. 181v.25 (Thurn 335.62).
40. 181v.26 (Thurn 335.63).
41. 92v.1 (Thurn 136.34).
42. 84r.13 (Thurn 122.59).
43. 183r.16 (Thurn 338.57).
44. 179r.2 (Thurn 327.38).
45. 190v.6 (Thurn 354.69).
46. Careful punctuation is not unique to the Madrid manuscript, and variations in punctuation between the Naples and Madrid manuscripts are few and far between. Among the caption writer's errors, Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzes* (20–1) included miniature 130v, where the name of the king of Provence, Hugo, is erroneously transferred to his daughter. Manoussacas cites Thurn's punctuation: in the text of both the Madrid and Naples manuscripts, however, the comma occurs before rather than after the name, thus associating it with the daughter. We may infer that both scribes and the caption writer were faithful to their exemplar.

ἀλλ᾽ ἀποσπῶσι τοῦτον ἐκεῖθεν,
καὶ μεληδὸν κατὰ τέμνουσιν.

εἶτα·
κοντῷ τὰ παιδογόνα αὐτοῦ ἀπαιωρήσαντες μόρια·
παραδειγματίζουσιν.

ἤρθη δὲ θόρυβος πολύς·
καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κίνδυνον ἐπισείων·

ὃν ὁ τῆς βίγλας δρουγγάριος Κωνσταντῖνος,
μετὰ πολλῶν εἰς μέσον ἀθρόως ἐπιφανεὶς,
διέλυσεν·

εὐφημίαις τὲ βάλλων τὸν βασιλέα·
καὶ δικαίως ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βάρδαν διὰ βεβαιούμενος.[47]

It is far easier to follow the text with the manuscript's punctuation, which articulates the passage into easily-digestible semantic units that are co-extensive with speech phrases. My suggestion, in other words, is that the predominance of the oral/aural dimension is not restricted to the copying process. Rather, it is built into the very fabric of the expression. Skylitzes' prose is structured and punctuated as though he intended it to be listened to.

It is also evident that the whole text is divided into chapters and then into sections; in Thurn's edition, the sections have become numbered paragraphs. The Madrid *Skylitzes* provides chapter titles (for all but the first few emperors). It also uses section titles and rubricated capital letters to mark section/paragraph breaks. But it falls short of the Octateuchs, for example, in its employment of these devices. Only about forty of some 400 sections are marked with a title. Of these, a mere handful break into the text. Most occur in the top or bottom margin, many are written in the zone reserved for a miniature and it is impossible to decide if they are titles or captions (or perhaps both at the same time); the

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47. 80r.1–4 (Thurn 112.13–18). I offer the following odd-sounding and very literal translation in an attempt to convey in English some sense of the tenor and rhythm of the Greek:

> But they drag him from there,
> and limb by limb cut him into pieces.
> Then:
> on a spear dangling his genital organs:
> they parade them around as an example.
> There arose a great uproar:
> to the emperor danger threatening:
> which the *droungarios* of the watch Constantine,
> with many troops in the middle suddenly appearing,
> dispersed:
> with praises acclaiming the emperor:
> and that justly did Bardas die confirming.

precise insertion point is unclear, and these titles seem to have been added almost as an afterthought. In the side margins, thirty-three Greek numerals in a broken series ranging from 54 (folio 55v) to 239 (folio 126v) indicate that a need was felt to identify section breaks, but this method was not implemented systematically. And while use is sometimes made of large red letters in the left margin to mark the start of a new section, in the Madrid *Skylitzes* they also appear mechanically after each miniature.[48] In many cases, the ornamental letter after a miniature does double duty, also marking the start of a new section. Even more confusing is that, as a section marker, the letter highlighted is not the first letter of the new section but the first letter of the line in which the new section starts. Thus, in the first line of fol. 62r a big red E following a miniature (on the previous page) is also meant to indicate that the tenth word in the line, ἐπεί, is the start of a new section. But how is the reader expected to guess? In sum: it would not be unfair to describe section division in the Madrid *Skylitzes* as something of a dog's breakfast. The presence of the same section titles and Greek marginal numerals in the twin manuscript (Naples) suggests strongly that, in this respect, the producers of the Madrid manuscript stuck quite closely to the layout and mark-up of their exemplar. It may be that they were simply following instructions. Or it could be that they (or whoever issued the instructions) felt that the division of the text into sections would be self-evident when it was read aloud. Unfortunately, it is anything but self-evident on the written page. There was precedent, such as the Octateuchs, but lot more work needed to be done before the section structure of Skylitzes' narrative could be represented adequately in the visual medium. This may have been another factor that discouraged imitation.

Illustrative cycles seem to work best when the illustrations have responsibility for carrying the narrative and the text is either reduced (as in the Vienna *Genesis* and the Joshua Roll) or all but completely eliminated (as on the walls of many churches). I imagine that their success is due in part to the artist knowing that he has to carry the story and rising to the challenge, and in part also to the familiarity of the narrative, such as the life or the passion of Christ, which were recounted year after year in the annual liturgical cycle. Neither factor applies in the case of the *Synopsis Historion*.[49] A fundamental weakness of the illustrative program is its inability to adapt even the layout of the text to the visual medium. Furthermore, while the text does not *need* the illustrations, the miniatures cannot

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48. A rule to which exceptions multiply from quire 20.
49. I do not discount the possibility that some parts of the text may be based on earlier works, such as the twelve episodes of what Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzes* (57) refer to as an 'Histoire, en douze épisodes, de la jeunesse de Basile I', which may have been illustrated (153–4); also, T. Papamastorakes & E. Anagnostakes, 'Η Θεοδώρα ήταν Θεόφιλος;' H Καθημερινή: Επτά Ημέρες: Εικόνες από το Βυζάντιο: Το Χρονικό του Ιωάννη Σκυλίτζη (28 October 2001) 29–32. Proponents of this line of thought posit the existence of earlier models as an explanation for mismatches between text and image. But this implies that the artist assumed even less responsibility for matching his illustration to the text he was illustrating when he could 'borrow' a model.

stand alone — they carry only a small fraction of the narrative, and sometimes distort it; in many cases they would be unintelligible without the text (or, indeed, the captions).

Trans-media adaptations are fraught with difficulty — we can all think of novels, plays and musicals turned into films and the different demands of radio and television. The successful integration of text and image in a book required two further conceptual shifts: the text needs to be thought of as something seen rather than heard, and the images need to be conceived of as essential parts of the narrative. The comic book achieves this very well. In history books, illustrations work best when they form part of the documentation and part of the text is devoted to bringing out their significance.[50] To adapt Skylitzes fully to the visual medium, the text would have had to be re-written and a different type of illustration would have been needed.

Yet I have suggested that perhaps the Madrid *Skylitzes* may have been intended more as an illustrated reading (though I cannot quite imagine how someone could have listened to the text while looking at the illustrations). It may not have attained the goals it aspired to because of the restrictions its producers accepted. But just as the concept of densely illustrating a non-religious, non-classical historical narrative may be regarded as an early or even pre-humanist innovation — the Madrid *Skylitzes* may very well be Europe's first illustrated 'modern' history book — perhaps we should also regard the enterprise as an inspired audio-visual narrative experiment that was centuries ahead of its time.

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50.   O. Figes, *Natasha's Dance* (London 2002) is a good example.

Andrew Gillett

The Goths and the Bees in Jordanes: A Narrative of No Return

> '...one characteristic of sixth-century literature...is its confidence in attempting something new, even where the novelty consists in reworking the old.'
>
> Roger Scott, 'Malalas and His Contemporaries.'[1]

Jordanes was a mid-sixth century Constantinopolitan author who wrote a breviary of Roman history and a far better-known narrative of the Goths, a group that exercised Byzantine minds greatly in his time. In the latter text, Jordanes twice interrupts his narrative to compare his barbarian subjects to bees. Why bees?

Jordanes is not an author much perused for such literary flourishes. Scholarly interest in Jordanes, indeed, tends to be selective. Jordanes lived and wrote in Constantinople during the reign of Justinian, and his works reflect certain aspects of that emperor's war-time propaganda.[2] Nevertheless, his writings have been of interest less to Byzantinists or Classicists — scholars of his chronological, geographic, and generic contexts — than to students of the western Middle Ages and of Germanic antiquity. Medievalists have valued Jordanes as a supposed witness to 'Germanic' traditions more than Byzantinists have exploited him as a window on literary traditions or on his times.[3] Yet Jordanes is not an artless writer or one incidental to his time. Especially through his use of narrative structure, he offers a sophisticated and significant discourse that arguably says

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1. R. Scott, 'Malalas and His Contemporaries' *Studies in John Malalas* ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke & R. Scott. ByzAus 6 (Sydney 1990) 85.

2. For Jordanes: *PLRE* III, 'Iordanes 1' 713–14. Recent brief introductions: B. Croke, 'Latin Historiography and the Barbarian Kingdoms' *Greek and Roman Historiography in Late Antiquity* ed. G. Marasco (Leiden 2003) 358–75; J.M. Pizarro, 'Ethnic and National History ca. 500–1000' *Historiography in the Middle Ages* ed. D.M. Deliyannis (Leiden 2003) 47–51; H. Wolfram, '*Origo Gentis*: The Literature of Germanic Origins' *Early Germanic Literature and Culture* ed. B. Murdoch & M. Read (Rochester 2004) 44–50. Fundamental to all current work on Jordanes is W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton 1988. rp. with new preface Notre Dame Ind. 2005) 20–111; and B. Croke, 'Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes' *CPh* 82 (1987) 117–34. Also important are idem, 'Jordanes and the Immediate Past' *Historia* 54 (2005) 473–94; P. Heather, *Goths and Romans, 332–489* (Oxford 1991) 34–67; and especially P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge 1997) 291–307.

3. E.g. monographs on Jordanes have all been written by Germanists or Medievalists, not Byzantinists: J. Svennung, *Jordanes und Scandia: Kritisch-Exegetische Studien* (Stockholm 1967); N. Wagner, *Getica: Untersuchungen zum Leben des Jordanes und zur frühen Geschichte der Goten*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker n.s. 22 (Berlin 1967); Goffart, *Narrators*; A.S. Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth* tr. H. Flegal (Copenhagen 2002).

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more about his contemporary milieu than his actual textual content says about the past. The two brief but strategically-situated apian interruptions to his Gothic narrative serve a precise communicative function. They contribute to one of the main themes of Jordanes' meta-narrative: that the Goths were not a problem that could be 'sent back' whence they had (allegedly) originated. The seemingly quaint image of the bee grants access to two important aspects of Jordanes' writing: his deployment of classical ethnography, a living rhetorical and intellectual resource in Justinianic Byzantium; and the participation of his text in current reflections on the aims and desirable outcomes of Justinian's western military campaigns.

Jordanes presents himself in his text (our only source of information on him) as a former military *notarius* who subsequently underwent some form of religious *conversio*. In the early 550s, Jordanes wrote his two short historical narratives, in Latin, at the request of friends[4] (the texts are most commonly cited by their modern editorial titles, the *Romana* and the *Getica*[5]). Both works provide information about events and attitudes in Justinian's Byzantium, but neither is primarily thought of in modern scholarship in that context. The slimness of the *Romana* and the derivation of much of its information from earlier handbooks of Roman history generally consign the work to a very minor place in surveys of early Byzantine literature, and an even more lowly position in the hierarchy of sources for Roman history.[6] The *Getica*, on the other hand, has traditionally commanded far greater swathes of scholarly attention; not however in Byzantine Studies, but in the study of *Germanische Altertumskunde*, 'Germanic Antiquity.' The *Getica* has been regarded since the sixteenth century as the first work dedicated to the history of one of the major 'Germanic' peoples, the product of

4. The date of composition of the *Getica* remains contested: W. Goffart, 'Jordanes' *Getica* and the Disputed Authenticity of Gothic Origins from Scandinavia' *Speculum* 80 (2005) 379–98 (after 552); Croke, 'Jordanes and the Immediate Past' 473–94 (before 31 March 551).
5. The convenient and familiar short titles were embedded in scholarly usage by Mommsen's edition; the actual manuscript titles are: *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* and *De origine actibusque Getarum* (the latter title is confirmed by Jordanes' usage in the preface to *Romana* 4; in *Getica* 1, Jordanes refers to the *Romana* as *adbreviatione chronicorum*). Jordanes conflates the Goths with the ancient Getae (and other earlier peoples) as had other authors before him, hence the 'classicising' title *Getica*. Editions: Jordanes, *Romana et Getica* ed. T. Mommsen, MGH *AA* 5:1 (Berlin 1882); Iordanes, *De origine actibusqe Getarum* ed. F. Giunta & A. Grillone, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 117 (Rome 1991). Mommsen's edition is followed here, with reference to readings from Giunta and Grillone (hereafter 'GG'). English translation: C.C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Princeton 1915); French translation: O. Devillers, *Jordanès: Histoire des Goths* (Paris 1995).
6. Lowly: e.g. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1959) 211–12; lowest: C. Rapp, 'Literary Culture under Justinian' *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* ed. M. Maas (Cambridge 2005) 390 ('now lost').

an author presumed to have been a member of that barbarian group.[7] It holds a venerable place in modern European scholarship and culture as one of four main pillars carrying the burden of evidence for the antiquities of the Germanic and Slavic peoples of Europe — its companions being the fourth, Scythian book of Herodotus' *Histories*; Tacitus' *Germania*; and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperii*.[8] Jordanes has been mined as a window onto the proto-history of northern European peoples: for the remote history of the Goths before contact with the Mediterranean world — their supposed origins in Scandinavia and the Baltic[9] — or, more recently, for putative Germanic ideological traditions preserved in the *Getica*.[10] The dynamics of modern European cultural identity and a rather heady scholarly optimism have sustained belief that this Late Antique ethnographic text, heavily and often explicitly dependent on earlier classical sources, preserves significant quantities of ancient 'Germanic' tradition and oral history.   ·

7.   The assumption that Jordanes identifies himself as a Goth, accepted from medieval times through early modern to contemporary scholarship, rests on the shaky grammatical grounds of *Getica* 316 and the force of the word *quasi* there. In early modern scholarship, not only Jordanes but also his lost sources Cassiodorus (on whom, below) and Ablabius were all assumed to be Goths: e.g. Johannes Magnus, *De omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Rome 1554) 3–4, 16–17; Olaus Magnus, *Description of the Northern Peoples (1555)* ed. and tr. P. Foote et al. Hakluyt Society ser. 2, vols 182, 187, 188 (London 1996–8) Preface, vol. 182, 6; Hugo Grotius, *Historia Gotthorum Vandalorum et Langobardorum* (Amsterdam 1655) 62–3. For interpretation of *Getica* 316: Wagner, *Getica*, 5–17 (esp. at 6 and 13; asserting Jordanes' Gothic identity); Devillers, *Jordanès: Histoire des Goths* xvi–xviii (ambivalent); A. Gillett, 'Jordanes and Ablabius' *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. 10 ed. C. Deroux. Collection Latomus 254 (Brussels 2000) 482–4 (rejecting Gothic identity).
8.   For modern scholarly attitudes to Jordanes: S. Brough, *The Goths and the Concept of Gothic in Germany from 1500 to 1750* (Frankfurt 1985) 18–62; K. von See, *Barbar, Germane, Arier: Die Suche nach der Identität der Deutschen* (Heidelberg 1994); E.H. Jacobs, *Accidental Migrations: An Archaeology of Gothic Discourse* (Lewisburg 2000) 33–57; Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes*, 7–14. Cf. for Tacitus: D. Kelley, 'Tacitus *noster*: The *Germania* in the Renaissance and the Reformation' *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* ed. T.J. Luce & A.J. Woodman (Princeton 1993) 152–67; rp. *The Writing of History and the Study of Law* (Aldershot 1997) paper II.
9.   For dismissal of the Gothic 'migration' from Scandinavia, either as historical fact or as genuine Gothic legend: R. Hachmann, *Die Goten und Skandinavien* (Berlin 1970) 451–74; Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes*; Goffart, 'Jordanes' *Getica* and Scandinavia' 379–98.
10. For debate over current deployment of Greco-Roman sources as evidence for 'Gothic' and other barbarian ideologies in the study of Germanic Antiquity: A. Gillett, ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout 2002): papers by Bowlus, Gillett, Goffart, Kulikowski, Murray, and Pohl; Pizarro, 'Ethnic and National History' 43–7; A.H. Merrills, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 2005) 109–12; A. Gillett, 'Ethnogenesis: A Contested Model of Early Medieval Europe' *History Compass* 4.2 (2006) 241–60 at http://www.blackwell-compass.com/subject/history/; idem, 'The Mirror of Jordanes: Concepts of the Barbarian, Then and Now' *The Blackwell Companion to Late Antiquity* ed. P. Rousseau (in press).

The actual circumstances of the work's composition in mid-sixth century Constantinople, meanwhile, have often been regarded at best as a distraction from the true value of the *Getica*. A serious impediment to the study of Jordanes in his own context has been scholarly preoccupation with the extent of his dependence on an earlier, lost *History* of the Goths written by Cassiodorus Senator, an Italian aristocrat who held several of the most senior magistracies at the quasi-imperial Ostrogothic court of Italy between 507 and 537.[11] Jordanes himself stresses that his text, though it had used Cassiodorus', varied significantly from that of his Italian predecessor in length, style, and structure, and by extensive use of other Greek and Latin sources.[12] Recent scholarship has confirmed that even the few extant testimonia to Cassiodorus' lost work confirm Jordanes' claims to divergence not only in form and content, but also in aim.[13] Despite their shared topic, radical differences in the approach of the two authors should come as no surprise: Cassiodorus wrote in Italy in the late 520s/early 530s, explicitly to praise the Ostrogothic royal dynasty ruling in Italy; Jordanes' work was composed in Constantinople, a tumultuous generation later, not only towards the close of the Byzantine destruction of the Ostrogothic regime but explicitly in celebration of it. Quite different milieux produced the two works. Yet much modern scholarship has looked past this problem, preferring to see Jordanes as a relatively translucent medium for Cassiodorus' text, in order to lay claim to genuine royal Germanic historical memory to which Cassiodorus conceivably had access (despite his protestations to the contrary).[14]

Jordanes' *Romana* is intermittently studied for its relationship to other examples of the genre of *breviaria*,[15] and the *Getica* has been exhaustively scrutinized for relations with classical geographic texts.[16] It is rarer, however, for *Quellenforschung* of the *Getica* to be directed towards not ethnography but literary style. Jordanes has been more characteristically perused for intimations of the medieval Icelandic *Edda* than for the shadow of Virgil. But in fact Virgil

11. For Cassiodorus and his lost *History of the Goths*: Cassiodorus, *Variae* IX 25.4–6; *Anecdoton Holderi* (*Ordo generis Cassiodorum*); Jordanes, *Getica* 1–3; *PLRE* II, 'Cassiodorus 4' 265–9.

12. Jordanes, *Getica* 1–3.

13. Croke, 'Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes'; Goffart, *Narrators* 23–31, 58–62.

14. Modern expectations notwithstanding, Cassiodorus' lost work seems to have had a high content of classical ethnography, and little genuine Gothic 'oral tradition'; the same is true for Jordanes' *Getica*. Goffart, *Narrators* 31–42; idem, 'Jordanes' *Getica* and Scandinavia'; Amory, *People and Identity* 295–98; Gillett, 'Jordanes and Ablabius' 484–5 nn. 9, 12; Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes* 54–83, cf. 250–300 (sees some oral material in Cassiodorus, lost in Jordanes). A qualified version of the traditional view in favour of oral sources is defended in Heather, *Goths and Romans* 3–6, 61–7; fuller reassertions in J. Weissensteiner, 'Cassiodor/Jordanes als Geschichtsschreiber' *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* ed. A. Scharer & G. Scheibelreiter (Vienna 1994) 308–25; and H.H. Anton, 'Origo gentis — Volksgeschichte' in the same volume, 262–307.'

15. E.g. S. Ratti, 'Les *Romana* de Jordanès et le *Bréviaire* d'Eutrope' *L'Antiquité classique* 65 (1996) 175–87.

16. E.g. Hachmann, *Goten und Skandinavien* 15–143; Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes* 21–53; Merrills, *History and Geography* 132–62.

does help provide context for understanding one of the literary allusions in Jordanes' *Getica*, the comparison of the Goths with bees.

The image of bees occurs in two passages in the early pages of the *Getica* (cc. 9, 19). Innocuous in themselves, if a little odd, it is the location of the passages that gives them significance. Immediately before the first passage, Jordanes enumerates the islands in the north-west of Oceanus (i.e. the Atlantic), including Thule. Jordanes continues (he is addressing Castalius, his *frater*, presumably in a religious sense, who had commissioned the work):

> This very same boundless sea has also in its arctic — that is, northern — region an extensive island named Scandza, whence my narrative, if God bids it, shall commence; for the people whose source you demand to know, bursting forth like a swarm of bees from the heart of this island, came into the land of Europa; how and in what way we shall make clear, if the Lord grants it, in what follows. (*Getica* 9)[17]

The second passage, shortly after, also concerns the island of Scandza:

> There the honey-making throng of bees is nowhere to be found on account of the excessive cold. (*Getica* 19).[18]

That is all Jordanes has to say about bees.[19] Read in isolation, the first passage is a striking enough image. It underscores the permanency of the Goths' ancient departure from their distant homeland, for a swarm (*examen*) of bees is not merely a massed flight, but a permanent relocation of the whole group to a new dwelling place.[20] Examined in their narrative context, however, the two passages reveal a structural function.

Jordanes' *Getica* is a highly structured text, its sections clearly demarked by authorial sign-posts.[21] After the opening address to the friend who had commissioned the work, the *Getica* comprises four distinct sections: a geographical survey, mainly of the islands of western and north-western Oceanus; a narrative of the 'pre-history' of the Goths, from their departure out of

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17. Habet quoque is ipse inmensus pelagus in parte arctoa [sic GG], id est septentrionali, amplam insulam nomine Scandzam [GG: Scandiam], unde nobis sermo, si dominus iubaverit, est adsumpturus, quia gens, cuius originem flagitas, ab huius insulae gremio velut examen apium erumpens in terram Europae advinit; quomodo vero aut qualiter, in subsequentibus, si dominus donaverit, explanavimus. (Translations are my own, with grateful reference to those of Mierow and Devillers.)

18. Apium ibi turba mellifica ob nimium frigore [sic GG] nusquam repperitur.

19. Mierow, perhaps perceiving the significance of the image of bees associated with Scandza in *Getica* 9 and 19, introduced a third reference in his translation of *Getica* 25, a description of Scandza as *quasi officina gentium aut certe velut vagina nationum*: 'as from a hive of races or a womb of nations.' There seems to be no support for Mierow's attractive translation of *officina* as 'hive' (cf. *ThLL* IX.2 s.v. *officina*; searches on CETEDOC and the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina*) but Mierow was right to emphasise the narrative link between *Getica* 9 and 25.

20. Virgil, *Georgica* II.452–3, cf. IV.21–2; Pliny XI.17.54 (*migraturo examine*); Columella, *Res rustica* IX.8–9, 12, 14.5.

21. For structure: Mommsen, 'Conspectus *Geticorum*' in Mommsen, ed., Jordanes *Getica*, 'Prooemium' xviii–xx.

the island of Scandza, some two millennia earlier according to Jordanes' chronology,[22] until the eve of the entry into the Roman empire of a large body of Goths in 376; an account of the 'Visigoths' from the battle of Adrianople in 378 through to the establishment of the Gothic kingdom in south-western Gaul c. 418 and the later destruction of this kingdom by the Frankish king Clovis in 507;[23] and an account of the 'Ostrogoths' from their conquest by the Huns in the late fourth century to the establishment of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy from 489 and the ultimate destruction of that state by Justinian's general Belisarius.[24] A brief conclusion makes explicit what this narrative pattern implies: the overt purpose of recounting the past deeds of the Goths, however heroic, was to highlight the even greater victoriousness of Justinian and his general. In summary:

Preface (Getica 1–3)
1.   Geographical survey (*Getica* 4–24)
2.   'Pre-history' to 376 (*Getica* 25–130)
3.   Visigoths: western kingdom and destruction (*Getica* 131–245)
4.   Ostrogoths: western kingdom and destruction (*Getica* 246–314)
Conclusion (*Getica* 315–6)[25]

Within these main divisions, subsections are set out and advance in a clear sequence.

The two passages about bees occur in the opening, geographical section. This section in turn has clearly marked subsections. An opening survey of the islands in Oceanus works outward from the Mediterranean center to the furthest western island, the legendary Thule, and concludes with the equally distant northern island of Scandza (*Getica* 4–9). The first passage quoted above constitutes the last sentence of this survey. The great distance of Scandza,[26] its role as the *origo*

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22. Jordanes, *Getica* 313.

23. The 'destruction' of the Visigothic kingdom explicitly echoes the 'fall' of the western Roman empire in 476 (*Getica* 243, 245), a Byzantine historiographic construct; B. Croke, '476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point' *Chiron* 13 (1983) 81–119. In fact, the Visigothic kingdom survived, re-centred from Aquitania in southern Gaul to Spain and Narbonne, as Jordanes later tacitly acknowledges: *Getica* 302–303. Cf. following note for a parallel anticipation.

24. In fact, Jordanes anticipates the final downfall of the Ostrogothic state, by misleadingly casting the surrender of the Gothic king Vitiges to Belisarius in 540 as the end of the Gothic war, and passing in silence over the prolonged later struggle under Vitiges' successors, Totila and Teia, which constituted considerably more than a 'mopping-up' campaign. This is in contrast to *Romana* 378–383, which continues the narrative of the Italian war to 550.

25. This structure has had an enduring influence on modern scholarship. Its anachronistic retrojection of sixth-century conditions — the political groupings and (Byzantine ethnographic) names 'Visigoths' and 'Ostrogoths' — onto earlier periods has generated a wholly false construct of clearly identified Gothic identities from pre-historic periods; Heather, *Goths and Romans* 7–33; W. Goffart, 'The Supposedly 'Frankish' Table of Nations' *Rome's Fall and After* (London 1989) 161; Gillett, 'Jordanes and Ablabius' 497–500.

26. For literary role of distant islands: Merrills, *History and Geography* 164–6.

of the Goths,[27] their permanent departure from there, and the analogy of Goths to bees are all introduced simultaneously as the conclusion of this section. The narrative turns to a detailed account of another northern island, Britain: first a topographical description, then an ethnographic survey of its inhabitants (*Getica* 10–15).[28] Jordanes then returns to Scandza, which is treated under the same headings as Britain: first topography, then ethnography (*Getica* 16–24). Immediately following this ethnographical description, Jordanes shifts to historical mode to commence the narrative of the Goths' deeds after their departure from Scandza. In summary:

1. Survey of islands in Oceanus (Getica 4–9) (bees: 9)
2. Britain:
    topographical description (Getica 10–13)
    ethnographical description (Getica 13–15)
3. Scandza:
    topographical description (Getica 16–18)
    ethnographical description(Getica 19–24) (bees: 19)
    commencement of historical narrative (Getica 25 onwards)

It is at the opening of the ethnographic account of Scandza that the second reference to bees occurs, and it will be useful to quote in full the first three sentences of this section:

> In the island of Scandza, whence my narrative will commence, although there remain many and varied nations, yet Ptolemy mentions the names of (only) seven of them. There the honey-making throng of bees is nowhere to be found on account of the excessive cold. In its arctic region dwell the people of the Adogit, who are said to have constant light for forty days and nights in the middle of summer, and likewise in winter not to know the clarity of light for the same number of days and nights. (*Getica* 19).

A short account of the movement of the sun in extreme latitudes follows, explaining this phenomenon, then an account of other tribes of Scandza. Altogether, the ethnographical account of Scandza forms a short systematized catalogue of 'barbarian' typologies: they live in lands where the laws of nature are turned upside down (the Adogit); they are pre-agrarian; they produce only primitive primary goods, horses and fur; and their multitudinous numbers present a vast series of tribes which pressure one another like a long series of dominos.[29] This taxonomy is drawn from classical ethnography. The selection of

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27. For the geographic sense of *origo*: R.F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition* (Cambridge 1982) 2–3, 127. With the possible but unlikely exception of Cassiodorus, Jordanes is the first source to suggest a provenance for the Goths further than the Roman frontiers on the Danube or Euxine Sea; cf. Procopius, *Wars* 3.2.6, 8.5.5.
28. Jordanes' sources are no more recent than Tacitus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, and Dio Chrysostom; he offers no information on contemporary Britain, not even to note its lapse from imperial control. Cf. Procopius, *Wars* 4.2.31, 38; 6.6.28.
29. Jordanes, *Getica* 19–24; Gillett, 'Introduction: Ethnicity, History, and Methodology' *On Barbarian Identity*, 16–17 n. 32 for comparanda. The scholarly tradition that this section is drawn from two different sources, one giving specific details for the first

arctic days and nights to stand as the first defining characteristic of the far north follows descriptions of Thule by Jordanes' geographical sources Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Solinus, though it may in fact be borrowed directly from Jordanes' contemporary Procopius.[30] This choice perhaps also invokes the description in Homer's *Odyssey* of the Cimmerians, who likewise live at the farthest shores of Oceanus where the sun cannot reach (the last human settlement before the entry to Hades).[31]

What is striking about the sentence on bees is that it appears out of place here. Having announced his intent to recount the peoples of Scandza, Jordanes immediately interrupts himself with an entomological comment that seems irrelevant, before again resuming his enumeration.[32] Such a non-sequitur is uncharacteristic of Jordanes' structured and orderly writing.[33] But it makes sense with reference to the simile of the Goths as a swarm of migrating bees given shortly before. Its purpose becomes clearer at the end of the geographic section and the shift to the historical narrative of the Goths' migration to Europe (*Getica* 25). Here there is a narrative lacuna between the geographical and ethnographical account of the Goths' *origo* and their first *acta*: although Jordanes had foreshadowed explaining 'how and in what way' the Goths 'burst forth' from Scandza into Europa (*Getica* 9), he in fact never explains why or under what circumstances the Goths departed their *origo*. The shift in authorial modes from the timeless description of the topography and ethnography of Scandza to the historical record of Gothic actions immediately after arriving in Europa conceals a narrative ellipsis.[34] The only explanation is given indirectly

three tribes, the later only briefly enumerating a longer list (cf. Merrills, *History and Geography* 149–51 and studies cited n. 221), depends on the easy fall-back of textual analysis, the image of the incompetent author who is incapable of recognising or reconciling differences in his (now lost) sources. Read in terms of classical ethnographic conventions, Jordanes' presentation of information is understandable as a purposeful schema of stereotypes.

30. Pomponius Mela, III.57; Pliny, II.186; Strabo, II.5.8; Solinus, XXII.9 (11). Procopius, *Wars* 6.15.6–15 alone includes the detail of forty-day periods of light and dark.

31. Homer, *Odyssey* XI.14–19.

32. Svennung, *Jordanes und Scandia* 10 explains this reference to bees (like other changes of topic) as an insertion from a different written source; Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes* 252–3 notes its apparent incongruity.

33. There is no manuscript evidence to suggest that this sentence is an interpolation, or has been copied out of order.

34. It is unclear whether Jordanes intends his list of thirty-odd tribes in Scandza (the number is uncertain; cf. the readings of Mommsen and Giunta and Grillone of *Getica* 22–24) to represent the ethnographical situation before the Gothic migration from Scandza, or afterwards, in his own time. The problem arises from the differences in the narrative modes of the genres *geographica*, which is an essentially timeless description; and *historia*, for which chronological sequence and change are fundamental; K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford 1999) 4–22. The existence of tribal names with the element '-goth' (Vagoth, Gauthigoth, Ostrogoth; possibly also Greutingi) does not necessarily indicate the former; Jordanes never implies that these groups, which he intersperses among others, cumulatively constitute what he considers to be '*the*

and metaphorically: the climatic conditions that preclude bees from living in Scandza also bar the Goths. The location of the references to bees at strategic points in the narrative — at the introduction of Scandza and at the head of the island's ethnographical account — determines the reading of the following passages and so substitutes for the need to introduce a specific narrative event to explain the Gothic departure from Scandza. Jordanes builds into his reader's mind the assumption that an absolute condition, climatic environment, lay behind the removal of the Goths from their *origo*. Climate was a foundational element of the explanatory models of Hellenistic ethnography; here it is exploited by Jordanes as a narrative device.[35]

There is a historiographic and perhaps political context for this literary device. Walter Goffart has suggested that Jordanes' *Getica* intersects at several points with the narrative of the *Wars* of his contemporary Procopius, not only with regard to 'set-piece' scenes such as Belisarius' campaigns against the Ostrogoths in Italy (in fact, addressed only superficially by Jordanes), but with topics and images that seem to reflect issues of debate in contemporary Constantinople.[36] Procopius presents barbarians in Roman territories returning (or potentially returning) to their original homelands or other northern territories; Jordanes reverses these narratives, showing the same barbarians settled in former Roman territories and underscoring the epic distance separating them from their legendarily-distant starting points.[37] Goffart reads these narrative reversals as a

Goths' who constitute the actors of his later historical narrative (other fragmentary and side-lined Gothic groups appear throughout his text: *Getica* 27, 267). Neither does he record any vacuum left in Scandza by the departure of the Goths, as he and contemporaries do in descriptions of other barbarian movements, with the assumption that the same or other barbarians could return to reclaim those spaces (e.g. Jordanes, *Getica* 50–2, 96–100; Procopius, *Wars* 3.22, 4.14.24, 6.15.1–4 and 26; Gregory of Tours, *Histories* V.15); cf. Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes* 283. Jordanes describes the Gothic *origo* timelessly, as a land in which Goths, like bees, do not dwell; there is no space to which they can return.

35. Climate in ethnography: e.g. F. Hartog, *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece* tr. J. Lloyd (original French ed. Paris 1996, tr. Edinburgh 2001) 92–4; W. Nippel, 'The Construction of the 'Other'' tr. A. Nevill, *Greeks and Barbarians* ed. T. Harrison (Edinburgh 2002) 279–310; R.V. Munson, *Telling Wonders: Ethnographic and Political Discourse in the Work of Herodotus* (Ann Arbor 2001) 87–8; R.F. Thomas, *Herodotus in Context: Ethnography, Science, and the Art of persuasion* (Cambridge 2000) 86–98, 103–14; Thomas, *Lands and Peoples* 3, 51–5, 79 (Scythians and bees); cf. F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs* (Cambridge 2001) 44. Immediately before the ethnographical survey that opens with noting the absence of bees, Jordanes' topographical survey of Scandza concludes with a similar animal example demonstrating climatic hostility: wolves that travel by ice floes to the small islands to the north of Scandza go blind there: *ita non solum inhospitalis hominibus, verum etiam beluis terra crudelis est*; Jordanes, *Getica* 18.

36. Goffart, *Narrators* 92–6.

37. I.e. compare Procopius, *Wars* 6.6.28 (Goths offered Britain in exchange for Italy) with Jordanes, *Getica* 10–15 (distance and population of Britain; cf. n. 34 above on the theme of demographic vacuums which could be reclaimed: there is no room in Jordanes' Britain); and Procopius, *Wars* 6.14.1–15.4 (Heruli migrate from Thule under king Rodolf; some later return) with Jordanes, *Getica* 24 (Rodulf's departure

form of historiographic debate (also involving Agathias[38]) on how the Goths of Italy should be dealt with following their military defeat: acceptance of the historical fact of their presence as opposed to futile attempts at expulsion. Other images also develop this theme. Jordanes states that when the ancient Goths first entered Scythia, soon after their departure from Scandza, a bridge that half the Gothic force had crossed collapsed behind them; he states explicitly that the Goths were thus cut off from retracing their steps or rejoining those left behind. The collapsed bridge is a synecdoche of their irreversible movement into the known classical world.[39] Indeed, the whole geographical section predicates the theme of irreversibility, framed as it to convey how very far removed from the contemporary Roman world the Gothic departure from their homeland was, in both time (the history of the Goths commences well before the Trojan war, so predating the conventional beginnings of Graeco-Roman historiography[40]) and space (emphasized by repeated references to Oceanus, the barrier at the edge of the world[41]). In both regards, Jordanes deftly exploits paradigms of Hellenistic *historia* and *geographia* in order to intimate by sheer scale the unlikelihood that the Goths of the western kingdoms could be 'sent back' to the far north.[42]

Whether Jordanes' intertextual ploys responded directly and exclusively to Procopius, or to a broader discussion current in contemporary Constantinople, is a question that awaits further research. This historiographic discussion had precedents. In the late fourth century, when the emperor Theodosius I first introduced the policy of large-scale cooption of barbarian groups and their settlement as quasi-autonomous allies on Roman territory with his Gothic treaty of 382, a debate opened on military policy, arguing the merits of such cooption or the more traditional forced exclusion of barbarian intruders. This debate registered in literary works, in particular those associated with the imperial court, including Themistius and Synesius of Cyrene, as well as in other authors including Ammianus Marcellinus: literary manifestations of shifts in imperial policy.[43] The differing representations of Procopius and Jordanes likewise seem

from Scandza, which is *contemptus*, to the kingdom of the Ostrogothic king Theoderic in Roman territory; the word *gremium* here echoes the Gothic migration from Scandza in *Getica* 9). Note also Procopius, *Wars* 3.22: the Vandals retained rights to space in their original homeland, but failed to exercise them in order to avoid their imperial defeat.

38. Agathias: Goffart, *Narrators* 96.

39. Jordanes, *Getica* 27; Goffart, *Narrators* 92.

40. Trojan war: introduced at Jordanes, *Getica* 59. For Troy as conventional starting-point in fifth- and sixth-century eastern historiography: Zosim. 1.2, cf. Jordanes, *Romana* 38; Malal. 5. Cf. Jordanes, *Getica* 313 (the two-thousand year span of Gothic history underscored in the work's conclusion).

41. Jordanes, *Getica* 4–12, 16–18, esp. 5; cf. J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* (Princeton 1992) 21–3.

42. As Jordanes mentions in passing (*Getica* 266–7), many other Goths lived in the eastern half of the empire, serving loyally in the imperial army or otherwise harmlessly settled in imperial territories — models perhaps for the Goths of Italy.

43. Works intended for presentation or circulation at the eastern imperial court, in support of cooption: Themistius, *Oratio* XVI; in support of military exclusion: Synesius of Cyrene, *De regno*; *De rebus bellicis*. Other literary works supporting

to refract contemporary discussion, in the wash up of the Byzantine campaign against the Gothic regime in Italy, on what would constitute the most practical resolution of the conflict: absorption or expulsion of the defeated but tenacious Goths.

Jordanes' simile of the bees contributes modestly to this historiographic interchange. Bracketing his account of the *origo* of the Goths, the simile sets up an assumption: even before reading Jordanes' ethnography of Scandza, the idea has been established that the Gothic departure from there is permanent.[44] The bees are not symbolic but a device of ellipsis, intended to lead the reader to presuppose, rather than to question, the permanency of the Gothic departure from their original clime. Jordanes often uses devices that mislead (rather than misinform) his reader into false conclusions.[45]

Why bees? Read in isolation, the simile is disruptive; the imagery seems to skip out of the register of Jordanes' chorographic and historical narration, derailing the function of the two passages. But the trope and narrative strategy make sense when read against earlier ethnographies, a literary hinterland that Jordanes vigorously invokes throughout the early sections of the *Getica* by repeated citations of named Greek and Roman authors.[46] Bees, their swarms, and their honey played their small role in classical culture.[47] Swarms of bees infesting military camps and other public places were significant prodigies, although, as is often the case with these things, of what was usually unclear until after the event.[48] More obliging were those swarms that settled on the lips of

military exclusion: Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* especially 16.8, cf. T.D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Reality* (Ithaca 1998) 185–6); Zosim. 5–6. See now M. Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic Wars from the Third Century to Alaric* (Cambridge 2006).

44. Noted also by Merrills, *History and Geography* 148.

45. E.g. in his presentation of literary authorities, regularly construed as if they had composed narratives of Gothic history (e.g. Josephus: *Getica* 29, cf. *Romana* 264); and in his chronology of events (e.g. his attribution to the reign of the Visigothic king Euric of earlier events leading to the collapse of the western Roman empire: *Getica* 235–44; and his anticipation of the destruction of both the Visigothic and the Ostrogothic kingdoms; above, nn. 23–4); Gillett, 'Jordanes and Ablabius' 487–9; idem, 'The Accession of Euric' *Francia* 26.1 (1999) 33–4.

46. Cf. Giunta and Grillone, 'Auctores antiqui' to Iordanes, *De origine actibusqe Getarum* 155.

47. An ancient overview is given by Columella, *Res rustica* IX.2. For bees in ancient thought: F. Olck, 'Biene' *RE* III (Stuttgart 1899) 431–50; A.B. Cook, 'The Bee in Greek Mythology' *JHS* 15 (1895) 1–24; H.M. Ransome, *The Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore* (London 1937); J.A. Kelhoffer, 'John the Baptist's "Wild Honey" and "Honey" in Antiquity' *GRBS* 45 (2005) 59–73. In late antique and medieval thought: M. Misch, *Apis est animale — apis est ecclesia: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Naturkunde und Theologie in spätantiker und mittelalterlicher Literatur* (Bern 1974); E. Wimmer, *Biene und Honig in der Bildersprache der lateinischen Kirchenschriftsteller* (Vienna 1993). In modern thought: C. Preston, *Bee* (London 2006).

48. E.g. Pliny, *Natural History* XI.18.55; Livy, XXVII.23.2; Cicero, *De divinatione* I.73; Tacitus, *Annales* XII.64.1; Valerius Maximus, I.6.12; Appian, *Civil War* II.68; Aelian, *Natura animalum* XVII.35; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, III.3.5; Amm.

infants of promise in their cradle, such as Plato and St Ambrose.[49] Honey, a key preservative for embalming, was known as a potent and sometimes dangerous substance; Jupiter was nurtured on it, but Xenophon's Ten Thousand, relaxing after their cries of '*Thalatta, thalatta*,' overindulged on the honey of Trebizond and went mad.[50]

Bees also had a specific association with ethnography in Roman times. In a variety of literary works, perceived characteristics of the communal society of bees were paralleled with human communities: division of labour and organization of work in food-gathering, construction of communal homes, militaristic organisation, patterns of behaviour approximating social *mores*, and particularly a monarchial social structure under the authority of a *rex*, who received the devotion attributed to oriental royalty.[51] In works on natural history, most notably Pliny's *Natural History*, bees' behaviour could be explained in terms of human activities. Conversely, bee society could be used as an analogy for Hellenistic and Roman public life. Examples appear in Varro and Cicero,[52] but the most fully developed is the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics*, which includes a lengthy description of bee society in the terminology of classical ethnography. *Georgics* IV, with its discussion of leadership, civil war, and regicide, is recognized as commentary on Augustan society, although in so allusive a form as to evade absolute interpretation.[53] (It is striking but perhaps

Marc. XVIII.3.1; Claudian, *Bellum Geticum* 241. Cf. Herodotus, V.114. Olck, 'Biene' 448; D. MacInnes, '*Dirum ostentium*: Bee Swarm Prodigies at Roman Military Camps' *Studies in Latin Literature* 56–69.

49. Cicero, *De divinatione* II.66; Pliny, *Natural History* XI.18.55 (Plato); Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 3. Similarly visited were Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Menander, Virgil, Lucan; references at Olck, 'Biene' 447–8; Cook, 'The Bee in Greek Mythology' 7–8, nn. 53–60.

50. Jupiter: Virgil, *Georgica* IV.149–52. Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV.7.24, 8.20–1; Kelhoffer, 'John the Baptist's "Wild Honey"' 65–8.

51. E.g. Pliny, *Natural History* XI.4.11–12. Cf. Varro, *Res rusticae* III.16.4; XI.9.1, 6, 11.2; Virgil, *Georgica* IV.1–7, 148–209, cf. *Aeneid* 1 421–37 (as simile for construction of cities, Dido's new Carthage and Aeneas' hoped-for Rome); Aelian, *Natura animalum* I.9, 59–60, V.10–13. Oriental monarchy: Pliny XI.17.52–4, 18.56; Virgil, *Georgica* IV.210–18. Olck, 'Biene' 446–8. Cf. the less anthropomorphising discussions of Aristotle, *Historia animalum* V.21, *Generation animalum* IV.10. On gender of 'kings': R. Mayhew, 'King-Bees and Mother-Wasps: A Note on Ideology and Gender in Aristotles' Entemology' *Phronesis* 44 (1999) 127–34.

52. Varro, *Res rusticae* III.16 (*natura...ut homines*); Cicero, *De officiis* I.157. Even Pliny's descriptive account adopts a moralising tone: *Natural History* XI.4.12.

53. Virgil, *Georgica* IV.4–5, 67–87 (civil war) 88–90 (regicide) 153–5 (*urbs, leges, patriae, penates*); cf. Servius, *Comm. in Verg. Georg. ad* IV.1 (*dicens apes habere reges, praetoria, urbes, et populos*); *ad* IV.219 (*quia est in apibus, sicut etiam in hominibus, namque metuunt, cupiunt, dolent, gaudentque*). Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* I.430–6, XII.587–92.

For the ethnographic basis of the *Georgics*: Thomas, *Lands and Peoples* esp. 70–92; see also W.R. Johnson, 'Vergil's Bees: The Ancient Romans' View of Rome' *Roman Images* ed. A. Patterson (Baltimore 1984) 16–20; D.O. Ross, *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the 'Georgics'* (Princeton 1987) 188–233; W. Batstone, 'Virgilian Didaxis: Value and Meaning in the *Georgics*' *The Cambridge Companion*

coincidental that Jordanes cites the *Georgics* as a source for the island of Thule, immediately before the first reference to Scandza and the bees.[54]) Seneca recast Virgil's image as an allegorical justification of Roman imperial monarchy in *De clementia*, a device in turn employed frequently under the Christian empire, by Lactantius, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose of Milan among others.[55]

Given this conventional context, in which bees serve as analogies for human societies, Jordanes' simile ceases to appear incongruous. It presupposes familiarity not with a specific text, but with a common trope. Like the survey of lands by compass direction or lists of peoples, comparison of human groups with the behaviour of bees was part of the conventions of ethnographic and geographic discourses. Its familiarity facilitated its function, leading Jordanes' reader to accept that the Goths, like bees, had relocated permanently from impossible climes.

Though the image invokes a convention rather than a specific text, was the simile suggested by a particular source? The positioning of the second reference to bees, noting their absence from Scandza, may have been suggested by Solinus, one of Jordanes' main (though unnamed) geographical sources. In a survey of islands near Britain, Solinus mentions that in Ireland, '[there are] bees nowhere.' The phrase is echoed in Jordanes; moreover, Solinus discusses both peoples and animals of this northern island.[56] But the parallel is not very close either in informational content or in structure. Solinus does not attribute the absence of bees to climate, but lists it as one of his *mirabilia*; he continues: 'Should anyone sprinkle dust or pebbles from there [sc. Ireland] on bee-hives, the swarms abandon their honey-combs.'[57] His discussions of animals and

to Virgil ed. C. Martindale (Cambridge 1997) 139–41; C. Nappa, *Reading after Actium: Vergil's 'Georgics', Octavian, and Rome* (Ann Arbor 2005) 12–16 (overview of scholarship) 160–86.

The image of bees as Romans had an afterlife: Sylvia Plath, 'The Arrival of the Bee Box' *Collected Poems* ed. T. Hughes (New York 1981) 212–13, stanzas 4–5.

54. Virgil, *Georgica* I.30 *apud* Jordanes, *Getica* 9 [8 GG].

55. Seneca, *De clementia* 1.19.2–4; Ambrose, *Hexameron* V.21.67–72. Misch, *Apis est animale* 34–51; Wimmer, *Biene und Honig* 26–32.

The apogee of the bee as Christian model was the thirteenth-century monastic moral analogy of Thomas of Camtimpré, *Les Exemples du 'Livre des abeilles': Une vision médiévale [Bonum universale de apibus]*, ed. and tr. H. Platelle (Turnhout 1997); Misch, *Apis est animale* 70–103. For allegories of bees in later thought, note their early eighteenth-century use 'as symbol of morally unbridled economic activity' in B. Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* ed. E.J. Hundert (Indianapolis 1997) xxii.

56. Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXII.4 (6); *apis nusquam*; cf. Jordanes, *Getica* 19: apium *ibi turba mellifica...*nusquam *repperitur*. Cf. Jordanes' relocation of arctic nights from Thule to Scandza; at n. 30 above. Incidentally, the collocation apium...turba appears to be unique to Jordanes (so CETEDOC and *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina*).

57. Solinus, XXII.4 (6): *apis nusquam: advectum inde pulverem seu lapillus si quis sparserit inter alvearia, examina favos deserent* (cf. Isidore, *Origines* XIV.6.6).

(unnamed) peoples, here and elsewhere, are intermixed, not structured as an ethnographic survey as in Jordanes.[58]

A closer analogy is a passage in Herodotus, *Histories*: cold climate, to which bees are intolerant, also precludes human settlement from northern Europa (here of lands north of Thrace and the Danube).[59] The observation forms part of a discussion of the limits not only of human settlement but also of human knowledge; the lands beyond the Danube were 'true *terra incognita*' to Herodotus.[60] Bees, barbarians, and climatic limitations are all associated here, as in Jordanes. Jordanes does not name Herodotus as a source, an odd omission given his proclivity to listing an imposing number of eminent Greek and Latin writers (sometimes misleadingly), and in view of the frequent citation of Herodotus by late antique authors.[61] But whereas Jordanes flags his use of sources that often have only superficial impact on the content of his work (such as Virgil and Josephus), he tends not to acknowledge texts that have a determining effect on his structure, including Solinus and Ammianus Marcellinus, who shape the geography, ethnography, and history of the *Getica*.[62] There is no argument *e silentio* that Jordanes necessarily used Herodotus, but it should perhaps be considered an open possibility.

Small but not insignificant, Jordanes' references to bees serve to reinforce his description of the Goths as permanent émigrés from a distant land. The image is

58. Several discussions on bees do mention the effects of cold, but with regard to the impact of seasonal change, not climatic limits; e.g. Virgil, *Georgica* IV.35–6, 156–7, 239–42; Pliny XI.5.13, 15.43; Columella, *Res rustica* IX.5.1. See following note.

59. Herodotus, *Histories* V.10. On the passage: Thomas, *Herodotus in Context* 150. Herodotus is explicitly contradicted by Aelian, *Natura animalium* II.53. Cf. also Pytheas, *apud* Strabo, IV.5.5 (honey occurs in some parts of Thule; Herodotus is not cited).

60. D. Asheri, 'Herodotus on Thracian Society and History' *Hérodote et les peuples non Grecs* ed. W. Burkert et al. (Geneva 1990) 166. On Herodotus, *Histories* V.9–10: Romm, *Edges of the Earth* 35–6; T. Harrison, *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* (Oxford 2000) 27 n. 111, 63.

61. Misleading naming of authors: see n. 45 above. Citations of Herodotus: the list of fourth- to sixth-century authors is extensive; examples include e.g. rhetoricians (Themistius, Libanius, Synesius, John Lydus, Ausonius, Macrobius), ecclesiastics (Eusebius, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, Jerome), and historians (Ammianus Marcellinus, Theodoret, Zosimus, Evagrius, Procopius, Agathias); *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*; CETEDOC.

62. E.g. Jordanes, *Getica* 126–9, 131, 134–8; cf. Amm. Marc. XXXI.2, 4, 5, 11, 12; Mommsen, 'Prooemium' to Jordanes, *Getica* xxxi (Solinus), xxxiii–xxxiv (Ammianus). Mommsen attributes such lack of named citation to transmission via Cassiodorus's lost *Gothic History*, but there is little evidence of Ammianus' text circulating in Italy, despite the possible original declamation of parts of the text in Rome; J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (Baltimore 1989) 8–13; but see Barnes, *Ammianus*, 54–8. Besides Jordanes, however, Ammianus is independently attested in early sixth-century Constantinople by Priscian (Barnes, *Ammianus* 30 and n. 41). Direct use of Ammianus by Jordanes seems more probable.

A significant exception to Jordanes' tendency not to name major sources is the fifth-century historian Priscus, used extensively on Attila and the Huns.

tributary to his fundamental meta-narrative: the Goths, if once alien to the Mediterranean world, were now so far removed in time and space from any original homeland, and for so long intimately tied to the Roman military and political system, that any realistic resolution of the Italian situation could not afford to indulge in the idea that the barbarians would 'go home.' At the level of composition, the coordination of imagery and narrative structure to create the analogy is an indication of the author's literary skill; not high art, perhaps, but the pursuit and achievement of purposeful aims through careful narrative strategy. To construct his effect, Jordanes drew on a long established and widespread trope from classical ethnography, without reference to which the image is meaningless. In doing so, he assumed his audience's familiarity with the common analogy of bee and human societies. Ethnography was a ready intellectual and rhetorical resource in Justinianic Constantinople as in earlier times, an old facility available to be reworked into something novel. It was not restricted to formal literary compositions but was a fundamental way of describing the world that could contribute to a range of discourses and discussions. In Jordanes' time, it was a tool of historiographic and perhaps public discussion, but it was to have a long afterlife in modern constructions of the barbarian world.[63]

Eamonn H.R. Kelly

From 'Fallen Woman' to *Theotokos*: Music, Women's Voices and Byzantine Narratives of Gender Identity

The role of convents in the Western musical tradition has become something of a hot topic in Medieval and Renaissance studies.[1] Many of the observations that have been made about Medieval and Renaissance nuns and their musical activities can also be seen in earlier, Byzantine contexts. Yet little work has been undertaken on this aspect of Byzantine musical and religious life, despite the growing evidence we have for musical nuns in Constantinople. Three centuries before the life of the now much-celebrated nun and composer Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), Byzantine nun-composers began to be recognized for their art by male writers. Four ninth-century female hymnographers are known by name and in two cases their work has survived in some form. Their musical involvement and public acknowledgement are all the more extraordinary when contrasted with the teachings of the Church Fathers in the fourth to sixth centuries, where women's voices were aggressively silenced.

This paper looks at the involvement of women in Byzantine musical culture and considers the broader impact this had on representations of gender identity in liturgy and society. In a society where women's identity was moderated by men and their means of expression limited by legal and normative restrictions, music offered women unique narrative avenues. However, in attempting to codify and restrict women's musical expression, whilst creating a polarized model of female identity, legislators and moralists inadvertently established a remarkable paradox. This paradox ultimately led to the emergence of prominent female composers in the ninth century, in whose work it is possible to detect a revisionist approach to prevailing models of female sanctity.

Recent Scholarship

In recent years there has been significant interest in the Byzantine composers responsible for the sacred chants preserved in some twelve to fifteen thousand

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1. Far too many to list here, but the following indicate the nature of this research: C. Reardon, *Holy Concord Within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575–1700* (Oxford 2002); R.L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford 1996); R.L. Kendrick, 'Feminized Devotion, Musical Nuns and the "new-style" Lombard Motet of the 1640s' *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions* ed. K. Marshall (Boston 1993) 124–39; C. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley 1995); C.A. Monson, ed., *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor 1992); A.B. Yardley, '"Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne": The Cloistered Musician in the Middle Ages' *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950* ed. J. Bowers & J. Tick (Urbana 1986) 15–38; A.B. Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Cultures in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York 2006). There are in addition many studies of individual nun-composers, most particularly Hildegard von Bingen, whose music has now found a large contemporary market.

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manuscripts and still performed in the modern Eastern Orthodox Church. The existence of female hymnographers in Byzantium has attracted the interest of scholars for over a century.[2] However, the state of our knowledge has improved over the last two decades and the focus has increasingly moved away from musical analysis of compositional technique towards consideration of these women's social milieu and the significance of their music. These developments have been championed by a number of female scholars, all from the Greek Diaspora in America.[3] Most prominently, the musicologist Diane Touliatos has written generally on the role of women in music in Byzantium, as well as providing detailed studies and critical editions of Kassia, the best-known and most remarkable female hymnographer recorded in Byzantine history.[4]

The Position of Women in Music from Classical Greece to the Byzantine Period

Touliatos has actively sought to trace a direct, unbroken line between Classical Greek musical culture and Byzantine musical culture, noting the misogyny present in both periods.[5] Whilst there are clear similarities, such a model of cultural continuity is incongruous with the extant evidence from the Hellenic and Roman periods. Musical opportunities for respectable women in the Classical period were limited to playing within the confines of the house (specifically within the women's quarters), with only the *hetairai* (the elite courtesans) allowed to practice music in a professional capacity and then almost exclusively within the context of male banquets and *symposia*. However, by the Hellenic period the situation had improved, both in Greece and in Southern Italy, with some women finding careers as professional musicians without being linked to

2.   Amongst others, see K. Krumbacher, 'Kasia' *SBMünch* 3 (1897) 305–70; H.J.W. Tillyard, 'A Musical Study of the Hymns of Casia' *BZ* 20 (1911) 420–85; E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd rev. and enl. ed. Oxford 1961); I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person: den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin 1967); J. Raasted, 'Voice and Verse in a Troparion of Cassia' *Studies in Eastern Chant*. vol. 3 ed. M. Velimirovic (London 1973).

3.   *Kassia: The Legend, the Woman, and Her Work* ed. and tr. A. Tripolitis (New York 1992); E. Catafygiotu Topping, 'The Psalmist, St Luke and Kassia the Nun' *ByzSt* 9 (1982) 199–210; E. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Thekla the Nun: In Praise of Woman' *GOTR* 25 (1980) 353–70; for Touliatos, see following note.

4.   D. Touliatos, *Kassia: Six Stichera* (Bryn Mawr 1996); D. Touliatos, 'The Traditional Role of Greek Women in Music from Antiquity to the End of the Byzantine Empire' *Muses* 111–23; D. Touliatos, 'Kassia' *Historical Anthology of Music by Women* ed. J.R. Briscoe (Bloomington 1987) 1–5; D. Touliatos, 'Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant' *College Music Symposium* 24.1 (1984) 62–80; D. Touliatos, 'Medieval Women Composers in Byzantium and the West' *Musica Antiqua: Acta Scientifica. Proceedings of the VIth International Congress of Musicology* ed. A. Czekanowska (Bydgoszcz 1982) 687–712.

5.   Touliatos, 'Traditional Role'. See a web article by Touliatos entitled 'Hellenism in Music: Lost Art and Culture Recovered' for an even more emphatic attempt to link Archaic through Classical Greek musical culture with Byzantine musical culture, and thereby prove the 'Hellenism' of the Western musical tradition:
       (http://www.geocities.com/hellenicmind/diane.html)

prostitution and with a degree of respectability. But it was in the Roman period that profound changes occurred, particularly in the first few centuries AD. The study of Roman musical culture has been unjustifiably limited; compared to our understanding of Roman literature, art and drama the little study granted to Roman music looks decidedly miserly and has left the area largely undeveloped.[6] However, it is now almost forty years since Günther Wille provided a virtuosic survey of Roman musical culture, showing it to be very significantly different to its precursors (including Greek and Etruscan musical cultures), despite showing certain theoretical and practical similarities.[7] In my own work I have shown that from the late Republic onwards opportunities for musical professionalism, expression, respectability and influence broadened for women at all levels of Roman society.[8] This was dramatically different to the situation in Classical Greece. Professional female musicians in Roman Italy were found performing in all manner of both private and public contexts, from the seediest *caupona* to the most luxurious *triclinium*, in the lewdest act at the *arena*, to the most highbrow competition of the *citharoedi*. Rather than being an amorphous group, professional female musicians occupied a wide range of social and economic positions. Indeed, in many cases music provided women with opportunities to improve their socio-economic position and increase their level of independence. Some professional female musicians seem to have enjoyed popular acclaim, gained handsome economic and social rewards and acquired social and political influence.

It is against this background of the Roman Empire, not Classical or Hellenic Greece, that Byzantine musical culture must be considered. In so doing, it is clear that the role of women in music during the Early Byzantine Period was radically different to the situation in the first three centuries AD. Crucial in defining this new musical culture were the Church Fathers, whose arguments regarding female identity and behaviour had a profound effect, producing legislative and normative changes at the social, political and cultural levels. The result was that women's involvement in Byzantine musical culture was starkly different to that of their Roman predecessors. In fact, the new standards were so regressive and restrictive that they more closely matched the situation a millennium earlier in Classical Greece.

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6.   The only major work devoted to Roman music (i.e. not discussing Roman music merely as an afterthought to a text on Greek music) was published forty years ago (G. Wille, *Musica Romana: die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer* (Amsterdam 1967)) and this has been followed by very limited study of the area (cf. A. Baudot, *Musiciens romains de l'antiquité* (Montréal 1973); A. Sendrey, *Music in the Social and Religious Life of Antiquity* (Rutherford N.J. 1974); G. Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture* tr. R.V. Munson (Baltimore 1989). The most recent text purporting to describe Roman music — J.G. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome* (London 1999) — offers no new material and is almost entirely devoted to Greek musical theory and organology.

7.   Wille, *Musica*.

8.   E.H.R. Kelly, *Maidservants to the Muse: Professional Female Musicians in Roman Italy, 200 BC–400 AD* (M.Mus. diss., University of Melbourne 2003).

The Church Fathers on Female Identity

For a range of political and theological reasons, the Church Fathers created a polarized model of female identity, with sexual experience acting as a central determinant. As one scholar has recently put it, to achieve sanctity in this model a woman could only aspire to one of two positions: 'repentant prostitute or ascetic virgin'.[9] Sexual experience as a defining feature was schematized in an Eve–Mary polarity. According to this scheme, Eve represented Original Sin, temptation, corruption, experience, physicality and earthliness, in many ways a similar character to the Classical Greek representation of Pandora, as Touliatos has noted.[10] Mary, the mother of Jesus, by contrast was a virgin, regal, a devoted servant of God and Jesus Christ, metaphysical and heavenly. Mary's prominence was recognized in 325 AD, with the Council of Nicaea agreeing to adopt the term *Theotokos* to describe her, recognizing her sanctity as the bearer of Christ. The Church Fathers placed great importance on her virginal status, virginity forming the basis of entire works by writers such as Augustine and St John Chrysostom. Accordingly they saw virginity as a co-requisite with piety and devotion as the key aspirational components for those seeking to find the Christian life. The *topos* of the reformed prostitute was a favourite alternative to the theme of the virgin saint, yet it was equally based on the premise that disavowal of the physical (i.e. sexual) was crucial in achieving sanctity. Women were credited with being the descendants of Eve, inheriting the greater responsibility for Original Sin and being the source of temptation and an unholy desire for physicality.[11]

In the Orthodox tradition, the importance of *theosis*, or the aspiration to become like God, is paramount. However, the Church Fathers had made the attainment of this goal all but impossible for women. Weighed down by their greater role in bringing Original Sin upon mankind, they would always be one step behind their male counterparts in the spiritual hierarchy. For the vast majority of Byzantine women, their lives could not live up to the Church's role models of virgin martyrs or saintly former prostitutes in denial of the flesh.

Put simply, the Church Fathers established polar models which equated the loss of virginity with an acceptance of the flesh, and virginity as a denial of the flesh, whilst human marriage involving sexual intercourse (even for procreation)

9. A. Walker, 'Home: A Space "Rich in Blessing"' *Byzantine Women and Their World* ed. I. Kalavrezou & A.E. Laiou (New Haven 2003) 161.
10. Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 115.
11. A.M. Cameron, 'The Early Cult of the Virgin' *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* ed. M. Vassilaki (Milan 2000) 3–15; A.M. Cameron, 'Virginity as Metaphor: Women and the Rhetoric of Early Christianity' *History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History* ed. A.M. Cameron (Chapel Hill 1990) 181–205; A.M. Cameron, 'The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople' *JTS* 29 (1978) 79–108, rp. *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London 1981) XVI; E.A. Clark, 'Ideology, History, and the Construction of "Woman" in Late Ancient Christianity' *JEChrSt* 2.2 (1994) 155–84; G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-styles* (Oxford 1993) 121–8; J. Herrin, 'In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach' *Images of Women in Antiquity* ed. A.M. Cameron & A. Kuhrt (London 1983) 182–3.

meant that one had been subsumed by the flesh as opposed to 'divine' marriage (i.e. to God) where one was above and impervious to the flesh. As is to be expected, the majority of Byzantine women became wives and mothers and so entered a more liminal position in the Church Fathers' aspirational model of sanctity. Hence, in a society where politically, culturally and socially women were placed in a subservient position to men, the Church's moral authority also denied them even the possibility of achieving spiritual equality or equality before God.

Legislation and Norms Relating to the Role of Women in Religion

In the pagan era, Roman women had played an active, dynamic and crucial role in religion, from the Vestal Virgins integral to the old state religion, to those who undertook sacred ministration within the popular eastern cults worshipping deities such as Dionysus and Isis. In the first few centuries A.D, the role of women in the new religion of Christianity was significant, although this varied according to each region of the Roman Empire. Once Christianity was adopted as the official state religion and the Byzantine Empire (as we define it) came into being, the opportunities for female involvement as celebrants and congregation began to decrease dramatically. Although some of the Church Fathers allowed for the ordination of deaconesses in the fifth and even sixth centuries, women were gradually excluded from all branches of the clergy responsible for ministering to the public faith. Wealthy women could act as patrons and some were even lucky enough to achieve sanctity through martyrdom. But by the sixth century, the only acceptable religious vocation open to women was to become a nun, living in a segregated female community that was physically separate from the secular domain. Although the convents were in theory egalitarian institutions, the majority of nuns were from privileged backgrounds, the prior wealth of an entrant expected to be donated to the nunnery.[12] For the vast majority of Byzantine women who were not nuns, involvement in liturgy was extremely limited, being allowed only a few responsorial opportunities and in some contexts facing segregated seating according to gender.

Legislation and Norms Relating to Women and Music

Byzantine secular music has not received the attention it deserves, primarily because it has left comparatively little notational evidence in manuscripts. The general details, however, are well known, as are the disdainful comments of the Church Fathers regarding secular music. From the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire, legislation barred respectable young women from instrumental musicmaking. There were professional female musicians, although evidence of their existence is rather scattered and (in the absence of any detailed, systematic study) still rather hazy. The Church Fathers argued forcibly in favour of vocal music over instrumental music. As a result sacred music of the Byzantine Empire was almost exclusively vocal and instrumental music was reserved for secular contexts such as dance, theatre, courtly entertainment etc.

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12. Herrin, 'Search' 181–2.

Whether instrumentalists or singers, professional female musicians working in the secular domain were marginalized by male Christian writers and the ancient *topos* of 'the female entertainer as prostitute' (i.e. πόρνη) repeatedly evoked.[13] The role of Byzantine women in secular musicmaking is certainly a subject that deserves attention in the future.

The evidence for Byzantium's sacred music culture is extensive and complemented by a considerable quantity of modern scholarly editions and studies.[14] Unfortunately, our knowledge of Byzantium's early sacred music is limited, with few surviving scores and those that do survive being in *adiastematic ekphonetic* (or lectionary) notation.[15] As already noted, Byzantine liturgical music was sung or, to be more specific, it was unaccompanied and monophonic (consisting of one melody line) rather than polyphonic (multiple melody lines which are independent but of equal importance) often with an improvised *isokratena* accompaniment (i.e. *ison* or drone singing) that gave a similar effect to later Western traditions of melismatic organum. This tradition of chant continues to the present day in the Eastern Orthodox Church, while a Western correlate can be found in Gregorian and other forms of chant. In the early centuries of the Byzantine Empire the debate regarding the sort of music appropriate for worshipping God was heated and extreme. Drawing on Biblical sources and contemporary arguments from Jewish scholars of the early Rabbinic period (ca 300-600 AD), the Church Fathers censured female involvement in the liturgy, especially the musical (i.e. vocal) component.

The Jewish writers excluded *kol isha* (Hebrew for 'voice of woman') using emotive quotations to support their argument, such as a pithy little phrase from 1 Samuel: 'Listening to a woman's voice is sexual enticement'. The Church Fathers borrowed these arguments and added the powerful weight of the New Testament writers, finding much currency in Paul's fairly direct comment in 1 Corinthians 14:34: 'Let your women keep silent in the churches, for they are not permitted to speak, but they are to be submissive, as the law also says'. As fourth-century Cyril of Jerusalem so gallantly put it, it was not a problem for women to pray but they really should do it so that 'their lips move, but the ears of others do not hear'.[16] The net result was that women were officially barred

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13. M.F. Heintz, 'The Art and Craft of Earning a Living' *Byzantine Women* 139–44; Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 116–8.
14. Good general texts on Byzantine music, though slightly dated in some areas, are Wellesz. *Music*, W.O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York 1977).
15. This being a system of graphic notation which suggested inflection and duration but did not indicate pitch height. It served as a mnemonic aid but is impossible to transcribe accurately into modern pitched notation. With the gradual emergence of melodic or diastematic neumatic notation in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries came a system of notation that can be transcribed easily and accurately into Western notation. Here neumes, or stylised contour shapes, were placed horizontally above the Greek text to indicate the rise and fall of the melodic line and show precise intervallic relations according to the modal system.
16. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatechesis* 14, tr. M. Slusser, 'Reading Silently in Antiquity' *JBL* 111 (1992) 499.

from liturgical ensemble singing. It must be noted, however, that this exclusion was neither immediate nor uniform amongst Christian communities. We know of several exceptions outside Byzantium in the fourth and fifth centuries and it is quite possible that at least some females were also playing some role in the liturgical music of this period in Constantinople.[17] But the rulings gradually took effect and formed the basis of liturgical practice for the remainder of the Byzantine period.

Nuns were the one group of women who were (notably) exempt from this ban on involvement in liturgical music. Whilst a male celebrant was required for Mass services, the liturgical chants needed to be intoned by the nuns themselves, who formed the convent's congregation. Reciting the Divine Office throughout the day would also have been the nuns' responsibility. Compared to their secular sisters, Byzantine nuns had unparalleled access to musical education and performance, within a respectable and sanctified environment.

Revealing the Nature of the Paradox

Here, then, was the basis of the paradox to which I alluded earlier. According to the Church Fathers, virginity/chastity, piety and devotion were to be the highest aspirations for women and men. This combination was best realized through isolation from secular society, observance of liturgy and strict vocation, in other words the life of the monastery or convent. The convents were almost exclusively female contexts and women had to be involved in the liturgy in a way that lay women could not hope for. Indeed, monastic women were expected to take as active a role in liturgy as their male counterparts in monasteries. Hence nuns were given opportunities to be involved in both liturgy and sacred music in a way that was impossible for other Byzantine women.

Anonymity was standard for hymnographers at this point in Byzantium, so the conditions were right for nuns to begin 'anonymously' contributing to the ongoing spiritual life of their convent by composing music.[18] No surprise, then, that it was in the field of liturgical hymnography that we later find the first evidence for *named* Byzantine female composers. In fact from the eleven hundred years of Byzantine history the only women composer's names and/or works to have survived are those engaged in writing liturgical chant. Who were these women? I shall look more closely at the two best known ninth-century female composers in just a moment, but the important point to restate here is that many of the women who entered the convents were from privileged backgrounds and their connections with the secular elite provided the nunneries with cash, prestige and powerful contacts. It is surely noteworthy that all four of the known ninth-century female composers were abbesses in Constantinople, the most elite group of nuns and also those closest in contact with secular leaders, this interaction being necessary for practical and philanthropic issues relevant to each abbesses' convent.

17. Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 116.
18. A.W. Carr, 'Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian' *ByzF* 9 (1985) 1–15; Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 118.

So here was a position where women, as nuns, had direct access to the performance and subtleties of liturgy along with some powerful and direct connections to (male) secular and sacred leaders. The potential for shaping liturgy within the convent also had a path whereby it could find its way back into the broader community. A similar, though much later, situation in early seventeenth-century Italy has been observed by American musicologist Robert Kendrick. He notes that a renewed emphasis by the Church authorities on separating nuns from the secular world in the Cinquecento and Seicento, when combined with the requirement that music play a central role in all liturgical activity, actually stimulated nuns' musical activity and prompted ideological and textual innovation, to the extent that 'music functioned as the literal and symbolic projection of nuns' voices into the world of the urban patriciate whence they had come.'[19] In Byzantium, through music, nuns similarly had the opportunity to shift ideology and popular Christian themes relating to women, if only their works could reach beyond the nunnery walls. I will return to this theme shortly.

The Evolving Model of the Good Christian Woman in the Ninth Century

Before considering the ninth-century composer-nuns in more detail, we need to look at their milieu and particularly at the ideological changes underway in the representation of gender and sexual identity.

To quote the eloquent summary of these changes by American scholar Alicia Walker in the recently published *Byzantine Women and Their World:*

> A marked transition in the character of feminine sanctity occurred
> in the ninth century with the emergence of the 'holy housewives',
> a group of pious women who replaced the early Byzantine model
> of the female saint as repentant prostitute or ascetic virgin with a
> mother-wife, who fulfilled her marital duties while remaining an
> exemplary Christian, particularly in matters of philanthropy and
> prayer.[20]

Like most lasting developments in human history, this change was not the isolated result of either legislative or narrative adjustment but of a dynamic and not particularly clearly defined combination of both channels. The *Ecloga* of 741, following some earlier precedents in Justinianic legislation, responded to the de facto realization that ratified Christian marriage was more desirable than the more common practice of concubinal cohabitation, which received only informal recognition by state and Church alike.[21] Of course, acceptance of marriage (ideally Christian) as the right and proper form of cohabitation meant

19. Kendrick, 'Devotion' 126.
20. Walker, 'Space' 161.
21. A.E. Laiou, 'Women in the History of Byzantium' *Byzantine Women* 27–28; C.N. Tsirpanlis, 'Marriage, Family Values and "Ecumenical Vision" in the Legislation of Justinian the Great (527–565)' *PBR* 15 (1996–7) 59–69; D. White, 'Property Rights of Women: The Changes in the Justinianic Legislation Regarding the Dowry and the Paraphema' *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 539–48; E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926) 78.

acceptance of sexual activity, albeit on the condition that it be for procreative reasons rather than for senseless and unholy enjoyment.[22] But this change was primarily legal and in itself did not celebrate the mother-wife as a figure whose family role could serve as a path to sanctity. Yet the 'holy housewives' of the ninth century and beyond were often represented in Byzantine texts as part of a husband and wife team, as spiritual guides for their children and as mainstays in domestic expressions of piety and devotion.[23] Obviously other factors were at work in altering the model of female sanctity from a model based around sexual activity to one that gave greater status to motherhood and marriage.

Reclaiming Women's Honour: Imperial Role Models and Music

There were few women in a position to prompt such normative change and few men who would have had reason to adjust the status quo. The most obvious women in such a position were members of the imperial family and urban patriciate. Their contribution in religion and the formulation of gender identity has been widely explored and I will only summarize the salient features here. Most importantly for the present discussion, these women were both in the public gaze and linked to the highest secular authority. As a result imperial women's behaviour was widely observed by the broader community and very frequently served as exemplary models for both men and women, particularly the latter. From the earliest days of the Empire there are examples of strong imperial matriarchs and aristocratic women deeply involved in promoting religious behaviour to serve as a model for society. This is nowhere more apparent than in the patronage of icons and churches, through which empresses fostered imagery of the Virgin Mary, promoting the concept of Marian intercession and the role of the *Theotokos* as 'protector' of Constantinople.[24] In the iconoclastic period it was the Empresses Irene and Theodora who reinstated icons, a tradition that has continued since Theodora's decree in 842. It has often been noted that icons were particularly favoured by women and with their many images of women

22. A. Walker. 'Wife and Husband: "A Golden Team"' *Byzantine Women* 218; Clark, *Life-styles* 83; J. Beaucamp. *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e-7e siècle)* (2 vols Paris 1990–2) 1:239–40; P. Brown. 'East and West: The New Marital Morality' *A History of Private Life*, vol. I, *From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* ed. P. Veyne tr. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge Mass. 1987) 304; A.E. Laiou. 'The Role of Women in Byzantine Society' *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 234. (cf. Justinian, *CI* 6.40.2, AD 531).

23. Walker. 'Space'; A.E. Laiou. 'Addendum to the Report on the Role of Women in Byzantine Society' *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 198–9; E. Patlagean, 'L'histoire de la femme déguisée en moine et l'évolution de la sainteté féminine à Byzance' *StMed* 17 (1976) 620–3.

24. E.A. Gittings. 'Dignity, Power, and Piety' *Byzantine Women* 70–3; C. Mango. 'Constantinople as Theotokoupolis' *Mother of God* 17–26; C. Mango. 'The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople' *Acta 13 Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split–Porec, September 9–October 1, 1994* ed. E. Marin & N. Cambi (2 vols Vatican City 1998) 2:61–76; N.P. Constas, 'Weaving the Body of God: Proclus of Constantinople, the Theotokos, and the Loom of the Flesh' *JEChrSt* 3.2 (1995) 169–94.

provided a type of 'feminized devotion'.[25] However, there were clearly other normative processes at work in the ninth-century transition to the ideal of the 'holy housewife', one of which, I suggest, is liturgical music.

The Nun-Composers

This brings us to the four known ninth-century nun-composers: Martha, Theodosia, Thekla and Kassia. Of these, we have only basic biographical details for Martha and Theodosia, none of their compositions surviving in textual or notational form.[26] I will not discuss these two composers further, except to note that recognition of their status as composers by male writers did not lead to their works finding a lasting place in the liturgical music culture of Byzantium. Thekla seems to have been more prominent and the text of a Kanon she composed as an *encomium* honouring the *Theotokos* has survived.[27] This remarkable and sophisticated work has been studied in detail by American scholar Eva Catafygiotu Topping.[28] Catafygiotu Topping masterfully illustrates the manner in which Thekla establishes the argument that the Virgin Mary, by enabling Christ to enter the world as the physical manifestation of God, has saved Byzantine women from the shame that Eve brought upon all womankind.[29] Thekla even suggests that the *Theotokos'* role in bringing salvation to man should be recognized by giving women greater respect and a place of honour in the Church. She is the only female Byzantine composer known to have written an entire hymn honouring the *Theotokos*. Yet Thekla's work did not find its way back into the liturgical mainstream, presumably because its progressive and challenging content was too emphatic, too aggressive, too much of a political hot potato.

That just leaves Kassia, who is undoubtedly the most important female composer of Byzantine chant.[30] Born of a noble family around 810, her father was a *Candidatos* at the imperial court. She showed precocious talent as a writer and as a teenager attracted the attention and admiration of the renowned hymnographer and abbot of the Studite Monastery in Constantinople, St Theodore. She is the only Byzantine female hymnographer whose works have survived in any quantity and the only one whose compositions continue to be

25. J. Herrin, 'Women and the Faith in Icons in Early Christianity' *Culture, Ideology, and Politics* ed. R. Samuel & G.S. Jones (London 1982) 56–83; J. Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London 2001) 166–7; P. Hatlie, 'Women of Discipline During the Second Iconoclast Age' *BZ* 89 (1996) 37–44; R. Cormack, 'Women and Icons, and Women in Icons' *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* ed. L. James (London 1997) 24–51; Gittings, 'Dignity' 72–3.

26. Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 118–19; C. Emereau, 'Hymnographi Byzantini' *EO* 23 (1924) 409; E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* (5 vols Vatican City 1960–6) 5:266; J. Szövérffy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography: A Classified Bibliography of Texts and Studies* (2 vols Brookline Mass. 1978) 2:48.

27. Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 119; G. Papadopoulos, Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς (Athens 1890) 253.

28. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Thekla'.

29. cf. Touliatos, 'Traditional Role' 119.

30. See Rochow, *Kassia* for a general biography of Kassia and overview of her works.

represented in the modern Eastern Orthodox Church. She was also a strong candidate at emperor Theophilos' bridal show (the ceremonial selection of a bride, in this case from six eligible women), until her wit ruined her chances. The story dates back to tenth-century sources, but it is told quite entertainingly by historian Edward Gibbon:

> With a golden apple in his hand Theophilos slowly walked between two lines of contending beauties; his eye was detained by the charms of Kassia, and, in the awkwardness of a first declaration, the prince could only observe that in this world, women had been the occasion of much evil [in reference to Eve] 'and surely Sir' Kassia pertly replied, 'they have likewise been the occasion of much good' [in reference to the Virgin Mary]. This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the imperial lover...[31]

And so Kassia ended up founding a convent rather than being empress. But Kassia's wit was not diminished by her new environment. Her secular poetry written whilst in the convent is powerful and often hard-hitting, but also filled with a dark, ironic observation of human behaviour.[32]

I cannot begin to consider all of Kassia's liturgical music texts here, but it is possible to observe some important revisions she offers to the polarized models of female sanctity discussed above. Most importantly, she does not present sexual behaviour as a central determinant of female sanctity, instead focussing on aspects of humanity and faith common to both sexes. Unlike Thekla, she does not try to claim that women have been freed from the stain of Original Sin on account of Mary's role in bringing salvation to mankind. Instead, Kassia draws attention to the physical and metaphysical strengths and weaknesses of the women portrayed in the conventional models of female sanctity, creating literary figures who are remarkable yet realistically human, capable of inspiring pathos and a sense of solidarity. By humanizing figures that had become stock paradigms of Christian teaching on women, she brought models of female sanctity closer to the real women of Byzantium, and presented a more attainable definition of the Good Christian Woman.

Partly, this involved addressing the way in which Mary was depicted, a subject that deserves further study in the future. A cursory look over Kassia's many references to the *Theotokos* suggests a clear emphasis on motherhood and the uniquely female nature of Mary's physical form. Whilst references to Mary's virginity are maintained, the literary focus is directed to presenting the *Theotokos'* body as a temple (making the physicality of the womb and birth

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31. E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* ed. J.B. Bury (7 vols London 1897–1920) 5:198–9. The story was first recorded in the tenth century by Symeon the Logothete and often repeated thereafter with minor variations (Rochow, *Kassia* 5–19). See also W.T. Treadgold, 'The Problem of the Marriage of the Emperor Theophilos' *GRBS* 16 (1975) 325–41; W.T. Treadgold, 'The Brideshows of the Byzantine Emperors' *Byz* 49 (1979) 395–413.
32. Nothing conveys this quite as effectively as reading a few lines of her poem 'On Stupidity' (cf. Tripolitis, *Kassia* 125).

aspirational and profoundly spiritual) and emphasizing her strength in motherhood, especially in guiding her child to his spiritual fulfilment.

Within the constraints of this paper, however, it is more rewarding to look in detail at one example of the way in which Kassia dealt textually with the 'reformed harlot' *topos*. The hymn which established Kassia's fame is generally known by the title *The Fallen Woman* (Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις); it is found in the *Triodion* (the Lenten liturgical book) and in the Orthodox Church remains the centrepiece of the *Orthros* of Holy Wednesday. A little over twenty years ago, Eva Catafygiotu Topping provided an analytical overview of this work and, more recently, Antonía Tripolitis has provided a helpful and generally accurate translation.[33]

The text is based on an episode recounted in Luke 7:36–50 where a nameless woman of ill-repute (ἁμαρτωλός) enters (uninvited) the house of Simon the Pharisee, where Jesus is a guest at table. To the shock and disdain of Simon and his guests, the woman washes Jesus' feet with her tears, dries them with her hair, covers them with kisses and finally anoints them with myrrh. Gently rebuking his host, Jesus notes that the woman's actions can be likened to the contemporary practices of hospitality and greeting (foot-washing, cheek-kissing, anointing) that Simon has failed to observe. He contrasts her great display of love with Simon's own behaviour, and argues that only one whose sins have been forgiven can show great love, before telling the woman that her faith has saved her and her sins are forgiven.

It was a well-known Biblical episode, frequently featured in Byzantine sermons, where generations of male preachers and hymnographers had elaborated the insinuation of sexual misconduct. From at least the fourth century, the ἁμαρτωλός recounted in Luke was erroneously identified as Mary Magdalene and invariably given the appellation 'harlot' (πόρνη).[34] Thus, Luke's anonymous woman with a local reputation as a sinner was transformed into a stock paradigm of the 'reformed harlot' *topos*, the imperfect, sexually experienced Mary (Magdalene) to balance the ideal, virginal Mary (mother of Jesus) central to the 'ascetic virgin' *topos*. Byzantine preachers and hymnographers effectively transformed a Biblical episode that highlights the importance of personal repentance and love in gaining forgiveness from sin, into a moralizing argument against sexual intercourse (where procreation is not the aim): the temptation Eve brought upon mankind through her role in Original Sin. Kassia treats the episode very differently, combining greater adherence to the original Lucan account with a dramatic literary presentation owing a good deal to the traditions of Classical tragedy and lyric poetry. The result encourages empathy with the woman's plight and draws attention away from salacious details of her sexual misconduct, instead highlighting issues of human frailty and faith that were common to all Byzantine Christians.

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33. Tripolitis, *Kassia* 76–9; Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist'.
34. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist' 202, 205 n.32. Unfortunately, Antonía Tripolitis perpetuates the error of associating the fallen woman with Mary Magdalene (Tripolitis, *Kassia* 76).

Firstly, it is important to note that Kassia gives both voice and dignity to a woman who in the Biblical story (and consequent Christian works) is completely silent and entirely reliant on Jesus' words to defend her. Kassia ingeniously begins the hymn with a form of post-event narrator's petition to Christ on the woman's behalf, considering the specific Biblical episode in the broader context of Jesus' life and, in so doing, finding cause for the woman to be forgiven even before she utters a word. Specifically, Kassia introduces the novel idea that the fallen woman recognized Christ's divinity and ultimate fate before all others, anointing him while alive with the same costly myrrh that will be used in his burial ritual; indeed, she is the only one to follow the ritual anointing, as Christ's body is not in the tomb when the devout female followers of Jesus go to anoint his body and so become the first to learn of his ascension.[35] Further, by attributing to the woman prescience of Christ's Divinity, Kassia claims the 'fallen' woman has 'risen' to the almost sacerdotal status of the devout women who went to anoint Jesus' body after his execution.[36] From line 7 to the end of the poem, Kassia changes the narrative voice and style, with a series of first person, present-tense petitions from the fallen woman to God. The fact that a silent Biblical character is given a voice is in itself an act of empowerment, allowing the fallen woman to provide her own explanation of her past sins, her faith, and her repentance. But Kassia goes further, presenting the fallen woman's narrative voice with exquisite poetic lines, filled with metaphorical allusions and poignant images. With Kassia so obviously 'handing over' the narrative voice from the third person of the introduction to the first person of the monologue, the poet's eloquence becomes that of the fallen woman and allows the same sort of theatrical insight into her psyche that a soliloquy offers. The style is strongly influenced by the form of the Penitential Psalms, being addressed to God and comprised of three key elements: confession, petitions and doxology. As Eva Catafygiotu Topping has demonstrated, this personalized communication intensifies during the hymn and the woman's voice comes into a close and relatively informal relation with the God she addresses. By personalizing the fallen woman's story, Kassia allows the reader/listener to empathize with her, particularly by identifying elements of the fallen woman's story common to their own stories. This is heightened by the fact that the woman's specific sins are dealt with obliquely while the more universal issues of temptation to sin (ll.7-11), the pain and desolation of recognizing one's sin (ll.7, 12-18), and the desperate need for repentance and God's forgiveness (ll.12-31) are dramatically brought to life through vivid language, passionate expressions of humility and the woman's fragile mortality being contrasted against God's all-encompassing power.

Secondly, whilst Kassia does not ignore the sexual element of the fallen woman's sin, she avoids the generic caricatures of female sexual transgression favoured by earlier Byzantine Christian moralists. In particular, she counters the idea that sexual transgression is an inherited female trait that owes its origin to Eve's greater role in Original Sin. For a start, Kassia does not follow her male

35. Mt 28.1–10; Mk 16.1–10; Lk 24.1–10; Jn 20.1–10.
36. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist' 204–5.

predecessors in using the explicit and derogatory word πόρνη to describe the woman. Instead she reflects the more ambiguous Lucan appellation of ἁμαρτωλός, simply noting a woman 'fallen into many sins' (ll.1-2: Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις περιπεσοῦσα γυνή), one of which is succumbing by night to the temptation of licentious behaviour (ll.8-11). Kassia does not linger over details and the oblique references to licentiousness do not, in themselves, indicate a professional prostitute or even a woman delighting in multiple sexual partners. Instead, Kassia gives the focus to the woman's own confessional assessment of the cause and effect of her sexual transgressions. In lines 7 to 11, the details of the fallen woman's past sins are presented in an entirely unprecedented manner; this is the most original section of what is already a progressive, revisionist text. Here sin is identified as an aggressive and cunning external force that causes pain and harm to the victim, using the cover of a moonless night to confuse the woman and insidiously tempting her into acts that she would otherwise desist from, knowing them to be wrong. Whilst this might not be immediately apparent for a modern reader (especially if solely reliant on an English translation), closer investigation of the language and images used makes Kassia's intended meaning relatively clear, especially when one identifies the quite specific classical allusions Kassia employs.

As narrator, the fallen woman speaks in the present tense, but in lines 7 to 11 she places her confession in some inexact place between the present and the future, giving the sense that this situation has existed in the past and at least the stimuli to sin continue to exist. This implies that she has become aware of her sins whilst committing them, perhaps even from the first time she transgressed. This in conjunction with the language and imagery used conveys a painful and difficult struggle with an enemy *whilst* sinning, not simply recognition after the fact. Thus she begins her confession with a cry of pain, Οἴμοι!, an expression used in earlier Lenten hymns, but also with strong Classical overtones thanks to its prominent use in Classical tragedy and lyric poetry.[37] This pain is not merely expressed after the event but contemporaneously with the transgressions, this being indicated by the use of the expression οἶστρος ἀκολασίας, for which there is no precedent in Christian literature.[38] Individually, the words are extremely rare in the Byzantine context, but are more common in Classical Greek texts and also feature in conjunction with one another in IV Maccabees 2.3, 3.18 and 13.7 (texts recognized in the Orthodox Christian tradition).[39] In the context of Kassia's hymn, Antonía Tripolitis has offered the translation 'The ecstasy of intemperance', however this gives the impression of the woman delighting in licentiousness (at least while engaged in sexual improbity).[40] In fact, both Classical references and the lines of IV Maccabees unambiguously present οἶστρος as indicating a painful catalyst which overpowers rational thought and drives one to madness. The word itself also carries the meaning 'gadfly', Classical texts strongly associating οἶστρος with the story of Io: here, a gadfly

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37. *LSJ*, s.v. (cf. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist' 206 n.39).
38. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist' 206 n.41.
39. *LSJ*, s.v.
40. Tripolitis, *Kassia*, 77.

was created by the jealous goddess Hera to sting, pursue and madden the metamorphosed bovine form of Io (the latest subject of the serially unfaithful Zeus' affections), forcing her on a long and exhausting journey across the world. Thus 'ecstasy' seems a misleading translation of οἶστρος in Kassia's hymn, the real sense being something more like 'the painful, maddening sting of licentiousness'.

Of course, this insinuates the involvement of an external force, and this insinuation is developed by the imagery of the following line, ζοφώδης τε καὶ ἀσέληνος. Having already given the setting as night, it might seem at first glance that Kassia is simply adding to the drama with this further description of it being gloomy and moonless. However, Kassia again uses two uncommon words, ἀσέληνος being a particularly rare adjective not found in earlier Christian writings (others later followed Kassia's lead) although common in Classical texts.[41] The usage of ἀσέληνος in Classical texts, often in conjunction with some indication of poor visibility (such as ζοφώδης), is therefore of great interest and importance. It appears to have been used exclusively in describing the use of darkness in military contexts. Specifically, moonless nights are used by military commanders in order to gain the element of surprise through night attacks/raids, with lowered defences and subsequent confusion amongst their enemy providing a tactical and strategic advantage. Night is obviously the time when sexual behaviour might logically be located, but Kassia makes it clear that for the fallen woman the nights of her sin place her at a strategic disadvantage to counter the external force which stings her into licentiousness. The lines do not necessarily indicate that these nights were actually limited to specific times when it was moonless and with poor visibility. Instead, they create a metaphorical association between the physical, temporal location in which the sins take place and the metaphysical, psychological landscape the fallen woman uses to express the external forces which assail her.

Returning to the expression οἶστρος, we can find further evidence for this externalization of the fallen woman's temptation to sin. Plato (*Laws*, 9.854b) specifically identified οἶστρος as being an unholy, evil force that is external to the individual, of neither human nor divine origin, but rather a form of inherited social evil that attacks the individual. In IV Maccabees (2.3, 3.18, 13.7), the expression οἶστρος ἀκολασίας indicates a force that attacks the rationality of the individual and can only be overcome with devout reason.[42] Returning to the metaphorical battle created in the hymn, the fallen woman indicates that her enemy comes when she is unprepared, gaining the advantage of surprise to confuse and disorient her, while giving her a painful and maddening sting so as to prompt a passionate love/desire (ἔρως) to perpetrate the actions which will lead to her own defeat (ἁμαρτία). In other words, her enemy's tactics and strength are given as reasons why she has been unable to defend herself with devout reason.

41. *LSJ*, s.v. (cf. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Psalmist' 206 n.40).
42. Cf. Plato, *Laws* 6.783a.

This use of imagery and language not only gives an epic rendition of the woman's 'fall' into sin, but evokes the central elements of Classical tragedy, almost as though Kassia was following Aristotelian guidelines. The fallen woman is first made a heroine in Kassia's introductory petition, as a woman whose prescience and repentance have gained her an exalted rank and the personal understanding of Christ. Like the hero of a Classical tragedy, she shows goodness yet also possesses elements of human fallibility that will, under certain circumstances, act as a fatal flaw by precipitating her downfall. Like the tragic hero, Kassia's fallen woman has not personally transgressed against her God, but is ultimately the victim of an ancestor having brought divine wrath upon her descendants (i.e. Eve, cf. ll.22-25). The fallen woman's confession begins with an evocation to her God, the cry of pain — Οἴμοι! — directed to the heavens, just as in Classical tragedy and lyric poetry. Like the hero of Classical tragedy, the fallen woman's flaw is unexpectedly but inevitably exposed by a catalyst outside the character's control (although sometimes *temporarily* avoidable in hindsight). Having followed a path that irrevocably leads to his total demise, the hero of Classical tragedy finally comes to full recognition of his downfall and the cruel fate the gods sometimes determine for men, finally leaving the hero's tragic fall to serve both a cathartic and pedagogic role for the audience. Likewise, Kassia's fallen woman looks back at her fall, the poem beginning when she has already reached complete degradation and has begun petitioning her God. Unlike the pragmatic gods of the Greek pantheon, however, the Christian God has infinite mercy, and the Lucan story recounts how the woman is granted forgiveness by Jesus himself. Thus, it can be argued that Kassia turns the fallen woman's story into a Christian tragedy, making the woman a symbol of universal human fallibility and prompting the reader/listener to both catharsis and insight into the human condition.

Certainly, female identity is less polarized in this hymn than had previously been the case in Byzantium. For although Kassia follows standard convention of the 'reformed harlot' *topos* by associating the woman of Luke's story with Eve, she contrasts the two women exclusively on the basis of their *response* to recognition of sexuality and sin. The apparently incongruous reference to Eve fleeing God's wrath (ll.22-25) can easily be understood as the inverse of the fallen woman's actions; whilst Eve ran from God, shamed by her new awareness of sexual identity and sin, the fallen woman recognizes the external temptation that has drawn her into sin and, becoming aware of human weakness and fallibility, runs to God seeking forgiveness through faith. Earlier male preachers and hymnographers had invariably seen the most important part of the 'reformed harlot' *topos* as being the fact that a promiscuous woman had ceased sexual behaviour and asserted an outwardly asexual identity. Kassia's fallen woman, in contrast, expresses the depth of her repentance and faith through sensual gestures (kissing, revealing hair and touching another with it, rubbing scented ointment onto the body) that show the same physicality as Eve and are potentially sexual, but are here shown as tender, innocent and almost maternal. The implication is that these traits and gestures alone do not predestine womankind to be sexually transgressive. Thus the fallen woman does not desperately cover Jesus' feet with obsequious kisses as in the Lucan account, but asserts that she will recognize their sanctity and kiss them tenderly (l.19); she recognizes them as the same feet

Eve ran away from when faced by a similar recognition of transgression. Byzantine attitudes towards female hair are well known, it being seen as sexually enticing and therefore something to be concealed before male strangers by respectable women. Thus the fallen woman's flaunting of her hair (II.20-21), especially *touching* a male with her hair, would normally be seen as extremely sexual; Kassia instead presents it as an act of humility, a combination of servility and tenderness. The fallen woman does not mention the act of rubbing myrrh into Jesus' feet, but in the opening lines of the poem Kassia emphasizes this aspect of the story. Again, whilst such an act on a dead body would be acceptable, a woman rubbing scented ointment into a live man's skin would have been explicitly sexual. Kassia's emphasis on this being an act of piety, however, suggests that this is yet another sensual act that becomes good and holy when conducted in the right circumstances. Even the fallen woman's call for Jesus to bend down to her (1.15) is not presented as an attempt to gain illicit intimacy, but more like the cry of a child to a parent. Kassia's shift is therefore subtle, but very significant. Her fallen woman is sensual and physical; she makes no promise to reform her sexual behaviour, nor does she offer proof of having already done so. The female body, sensuality and physical intimacy are not made a source of guilt before a God whose own son has faced the weakness of human physicality. Instead the fallen woman shows God her repentance for past failings, her desire for forgiveness and her conviction that he can grant her the latter.

While the hymn begins with a petition to God from Kassia on the fallen woman's behalf, the hymn ends with a rhetorical question that, whilst spoken by the fallen woman, throws down the gauntlet on Kassia's behalf to those who would support the traditional rendition of the Lucan story. Lines 26 to 29 present with conviction the idea that final judgement can come from God alone. The fallen woman has developed a personal relationship with God and there is no doubt that she has as much status as any other human being before God; no man or woman can prejudge her. Of course, this recalls the aspect of the Lucan account that had previously been ignored; the fallen woman is exalted by Jesus above the male dinner-party guests and even the religious official and host, Simon the Pharisee. Kassia ends the hymn with a final petition by the woman not to be forgotten, for she has made herself a servant to one who has infinite mercy. And while the hymn leaves the story unresolved, the Christian would know that the Biblical episode ended with the woman indeed forgiven, while the men of lesser sin but also lesser repentance received no such blessing or reassurance.

So in this compact and brilliantly structured hymn Kassia not only restores the humanity of the fallen woman but gives her a voice through which she can reduce the emphasis on her sexual activity and identify temptation as an external force. The epic language and structure make the Fallen Woman Everywoman, and her assertion that none can judge her but God must apply for all penitent women. For though Eve ran from God in shame, the Fallen Woman ran to Him declaring her shame but finding forgiveness because of her deep faith and ability to recognize the saviour's destiny before anyone, not least the males in contact with Jesus. In Eve, woman had led man from God, but the fallen woman had recognized Christ's divinity and become a myrrh bearer, a woman bringing man back to God. All this was far more subtle than Thekla's exaltation of the

Theotokos but a far more valuable mechanism for addressing gender identity, given that its extraordinary pathos and expressive language have ensured it a place in the Holy Wednesday Orthodox service for over eleven hundred years.

Concluding Thoughts

In conclusion, the involvement of Byzantine nuns such as Kassia and Thekla in liturgical music provided them not only with a channel for musical expression but also with possibilities for addressing models of female sanctity. I would suggest that, along with other means for effecting normative change, sacred lyrics by these women played a role in adjusting the definition of a Good Christian Woman, from a sexually-determined character (ideally a reclusive virgin entirely devoted to prayer and God) to a devout but realistically imperfect character, whose faith and desire for repentance absolve her of her sins (including Eve's inheritance) and whose possible role as wife and mother brings her closer to the exemplary mother who gave Heaven a human form: Mary mother of Jesus (*Theotokos*). From the early days of the Empire, the vast majority of Byzantine women had been liminal in the spiritual hierarchy on account of their being mothers and wives rather than virgins and nuns. By presenting the reproductive potential of women as natural and godly and highlighting Jesus' own willingness to forgive female sexual transgression for which repentance has been shown, salvation was presented as being within reach of all women, without demanding adherence to the extreme models of ascetic virgin or reformed harlot. A remarkable paradox was created in the early years of the Empire; by the ninth century it had been revealed and acted upon. Music had become a tool for directing normative change. The 'fallen woman' of Kassia's powerful composition becomes 'Everywoman', possessing human fallibility and the inheritance of Original Sin, yet beyond the judgement of human males and females and answerable only to God, who sees all and forgives all in the faithful and repentant sinner.

Nick Nicholas

How the *Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds* became a Tale: Grafting Narrative

One of the characteristics of Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature, though hardly unique to it, is its propensity to recycle earlier material in new forms. *Metaphraseis* adapted texts to simpler or more complex language (e.g. the paraphrases of Komnenian histories in Palaiologan texts or the saints' lives worked on by Symeon Metaphrastes). Texts were transposed to verse from prose or vice versa, as in the Homeric treatment of the Gospels, the classical dramaturgy of *Christus Passus*, the prose Petritzis version of the *Digenes* romance and the verse version of the *Physiologus*.[1] In the sixteenth century, Byzantine blank verse was transposed to rhymed versions, as was characteristic of the transition of these works into print (e.g. the rhymed romance of *Imperios* or the *Fair Tale of the Donkey*). In each case we have the literary and linguistic characteristics of an extant work modified to match the demands of a new audience.

Another means of such recycling was to turn a non-narrative text or genre into narrative — to add a plot to a text where it was previously absent. This is a more thorough kind of adaptation in that it adds a new structural element. The instance I consider here, the *Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds*,[2] is the first text of its genre to be narrative. There is no known earlier, non-narrative version of the text but, as the title *Diegesis* makes explicit, introducing narrative to the genre was a conscious process of restructuring.

Since Krumbacher,[3] the *Tale* has been placed in a group of vernacular Palaiologan and post-Byzantine poems called Beast Epics. This genre embraces two kinds of poem that are distinguished by their narrative structures. The *Donkey Tale*[4] and the *Cat and Mouse*[5] are elaborations of fairy tales involving animals and were conceived from the beginning as stories. They are narratives with a beginning, a middle and an end and a plot that is propelled by the interaction of the participants and their changing situations. The other works are not so conceived. The *Book of Fruit/Fish*[6] and the *Book of Birds*[7] have framing stories — the grape brings a lawsuit against sundry fruit, the eagle invites the birds to his son's wedding — but these framing stories are only a pretext for the real point of the text. The *Book of Fruit/Fish* is a parody of court ritual in which

1. F. Sbordone, *Physiologus* (Rome 1936).
2. N. Nicholas & G. Baloglou, *An Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds* (New York 2003).
3. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (2nd ed. 2 vols Munich 1897) 2:873.
4. C. Pochert, *Die Reimbildung in der spät- und postbyzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Cologne 1991).
5. C. Luciani, 'L'apologo cretese del Κάτης καὶ ὁ Μποντικός' *RSBN* n.s. 38 (2001) 195–230.
6. H. Winterweb, *Porikologos* (Cologne 1992).
7. I. Tsavare, *Ὁ Πουλολόγος* (Athens 1987).

the lawsuit is an excuse for the parodic speeches. In the *Book of Birds*, the wedding is merely an opportunity for pairs of birds to compare themselves to each other vituperatively.

As Prinzing[8] has pointed out, the *Book of Birds* belongs to a literary tradition of debates over precedence, *Rangstreitdichtung*, which encompasses most poetry of debate [*Streitdichtung*] featuring non-human participants. This is a tradition as old as the Sumerians.[9] At a further remove, the Byzantine vernacular poems in this tradition also belong to the Hellenistic and Byzantine *Synkrisis*.[10] The point of the *Rangstreitdichtung* genre is to make a comparison between entities in agonistic, rhetorical terms, thereby showing off the writer's command of oratory. *Rangstreitdichtung* intrinsically involves conflict through debate, and thus dramatic interaction. This sets *Rangstreitdichtung* apart from purely descriptive or expository writing: an *ekphrasis* or moralising oration features only the narrator's voice and viewpoint, whereas *Rangstreitdichtung* presents a fiction of multiple discordant viewpoints on the same subject. Unlike an *ekphrasis*, *Rangstreitdichtung* has both a protagonist and a deuteragonist; introducing a deuteragonist situates the work in a time and place, making necessary a framing story for bringing them together. The framing story typically involves adjudication, an appropriate setting for a formal debate, which is why most such poems feature some sort of arbiter. One can contrast the *Book of Birds* with its ultimate forerunner, the *Physiologus*. The latter is only expository in its allegorical treatment of animals, with no need for a narrative scheme to tie together its descriptions of various beasts: it features no voice other than the author's, and does not need a framing story to justify itself. The *Physiologus* is description, and part of the very medieval genre of encyclopaedic catalogues; the *Book of Birds* is a debate (or rather a sequence of debates), which makes it conceptually dramatic and closer to a narrative (for which protagonists and deuteragonists are a precondition). In fact, it has been argued that the Western *Rangstreitdichtung* is one of the origins of modern Western drama.[11]

Yet the purpose of the *Rangstreitdichtung* drama is still deliberative, not narrative: the speeches themselves are not part of a story and do not build on each other except as a debate. In the *Book of Birds*, the pairs of speeches could be rearranged without disruption. Even the debate and response are independent speeches, with the second bird often not bothering to refute the points raised by the first. The speeches in the *Book of Birds* do not fit into a greater whole. This is characteristic of the poetical convention of *parlements* in general, ranging from

8. G. Prinzing, 'Zur byzantinischen Rangstreitliteratur in Prosa und Dichtung' *RömHistMitt* 45 (2003) 262, 267. Günter Prinzing's work on the Byzantine *Rangstreitdichtung* appeared independently of my work with George Baloglou on the *Tale* and the *Book of Birds*; we have often reached the same conclusions.

9. E. Wagner, *Die arabische Rangstreitdichtung und ihre Einordnung in die allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 8 (Wiesbaden 1962) 22–3.

10. For medieval Latin poetry of debate see H. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1920, rp. Hildesheim 1984); for Arabic poetry see Wagner, *Rangstreitdichtung*.

11. Walther, *Streitgedicht* 30–1.

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Chaucer's *Parlement of Fowles* to Sachlikis' *Parliament of Whores*[12] (although
they are quite infrequent compared to one-on-one *Rangstreit* poems in both the
medieval Latin and Arabic traditions). *Parlements* are a special case of
Rangstreitdichtung involving multiple participants in formal debate. *Parlements*
also have a framing story — in the case of Sachlikis, a petition to the city of
Candia for working space — but the narrative does not intrude on the speeches
themselves. The same holds for *Streitdichtung* in general, where the debate is
presented at face value as a debate.

The *Tale* is different. It is still very much a *Rangstreitdichtung* poem, as
Prinzing[13] has argued, and there are some striking similarities between it and the
best example of the genre in learned Byzantine literature, the tenth-century
pseudo-Nazianzan *Debate between the Land and the Sea*.[14] Like other
Rangstreitdichtung poems, the *Tale* has animals arguing before an arbiter for
their superiority and for the inferiority of their opponents, typically in utilitarian
terms.[15] But the *Tale* gives its framing story, the negotiations leading to the
parliament and the battle that follows it, unusual prominence — almost a quarter
of the work, against a thirtieth in the *Book of Birds*.[16]

Moreover, the speeches themselves are incorporated into several narrative
schemes. One such scheme is quite straightforward and programmatically set in
the framing story (*Tale* 564–8): the discourses go from smallest animal to
largest.[17] The alternation between kinds of beast — herbivores and carnivores —

12. S.D. Papademetriou, *Stefan Sakhlikis i ego stikhotvorenie "Αφήγησις Παράξενος'*
    (Odessa 1896).
13. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 284.
14. E.g. Ἐγὼ καλλιοτέρα σου ὑπάρχω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἕως ἄρτι (T. Sinko, *Studia
    Nazianzenica*, vol 1, *De collationis apud Gregorium Nazianzenum usu et de Terrae
    et Maris contentione quadam Pseudo-Gregoriana* (Cracow 1906) 309; κάλλιον
    εἶμαι παρὰ σὲν εἰς ἅπασαν δουλείαν (*Tale* 594).
15. Cf. for example the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, a medieval Latin debate between sheep
    and flax — in reality, of course, between wool and linen (Walther, *Streitgedicht* 55–
    8). This utilitarian orientation inevitably gives rise to commonalities between
    Rangstreit poems involving animals (which of course do not prove any closer
    relation). For instance, Neckham's Fable 32 has the horse boasting to the donkey of
    how beautiful and fast it is, with the donkey retorting that when the horse is past its
    prime and forced to drag a cart of manure, its erstwhile honour is of no help to it
    (Walther, *Streitgedicht* 14); cf. the exchange of the horse and the donkey, and of the
    horse and the camel, in the *Tale* 752–67, 784–93.
16. The conclusion of version AZ of the *Book of Birds* is also rather expansive but it has
    clearly been influenced by the *Tale*. The conclusion of the *Tale*, with its surprise
    herbivore victory, has been a major reason why the *Tale* is considered to be a
    political allegory. P. Vasiliou, 'Κριτικές παρατηρήσεις στην *Παιδιόφραστο
    Διήγηση*' *Ελληνικά* 46 (1996) 59–82 has argued that much of the conclusion is a
    later interpolation and that the original battle narration was only 11 verses long (992–
    1002) rather than 91. Nicholas & Baloglou (452–60) are not convinced by his
    arguments.
17. Καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τὸ εὐτελές, τὸν ποντικὸν καὶ κάτην,
    ἤρξατο ἡ διάλεξις καὶ ἦλθεν μέχρις ὧδε
    καὶ ἔνι χρεία νὰ ἐλθοῦν οἱ ἔριδες καὶ λόγοι
    ἕως τῶν μεγιστάνων μου κἀμοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.

is a second such scheme, brought into effect through overt attacks by the hare and the wolf, who shame the fox and the horse (and by extension their camp of animals) off the stage. This scheme relies on narrative events.

Yet the speeches are also informed by a global narrative in which the authority of the lion as arbiter is questioned three times, making him intervene and set the stage for transitions between speeches. The lion's interventions serve a purely structural purpose: they set the midpoint of the poem, with the move from small to large beasts, and they introduce the largest beast, the elephant, whose contribution is climactic to the plot, and also the concluding battle. Yet the interventions also set the lion's character in relief, casting into doubt his fairness.[18] This does relate to the framing story but is not an aspect of the poem required by the sequencing of speeches. And if the *Tale* were merely a *synkrisis*, we would not have had grounds for speculating on whether the lion is a tragic figure — again, a conclusion for which narrative is a prerequisite.

Incidents of disputation (i.e. the narrative underlying the debate) also determine the sequence of speakers within stages of the poem. Whereas the *Book of Birds*, as a *synkrisis*, alternates its two camps pairwise in strict sequence,[19] the *Tale* has a rather messier sequence.[20] This demonstrates that the speeches are not there simply to compare pairs of animals but also to advance a plot featuring defeats, victories, alliances and misunderstandings. As a result, not all speeches involve pairs; not all animals participate in only one dispute; and some animals' speeches do not engage in *synkrisis* but are there purely to advance the narrative. Instances of non-syncritic speeches include the ox and the buffalo addressing the entire assembly, and the leopard's and the monkey's brief contributions. The leopard and the monkey do not describe themselves at all, so they do not fit into the expected model of *synkrisis*. In the case of the monkey, this makes narrative even if not syncritic sense: the monkey derides the elephant, who has praised his own usefulness extensively, as the *synkrisis* requires, but who has not been agonistic since he does not compare himself with any one beast but addresses the entire assembly.[21] Failing to compare oneself with an adversary is not how a *synkrisis* is supposed to work; this is why Prinzing calls the elephant's monologue 'a kind of solo *Rangstreit* speech before everybody else' and notes perceptively[22] that the elephant–monkey exchange is not a true *Rangstreit* but 'a grotesque caricature of the *Rangstreit*', leading inexorably to the cataclysmic battle. So to further the ends of the narrative, the author has turned the *synkrisis* on its head.

A similar disregard for the conventions of *Rangstreitdichtung* is noted by Prinzing[23] in the *Tale*'s violation of Focke's rule. Focke[24] observed that the

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18. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 95–6.
19. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 264.
20. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 274–7.
21. Τότε ἐλθὼν ὁ ἐλέφας ἐστάθη εἰς τὸ μέσον
    καὶ ταῦτα προσεφθέγξατο πρὸς τὴν κοινότην ὅλην. (904–5)
22. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 283–4.
23. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 280.
24. F. Focke, 'Synkrisis' *Hermes* 58 (1923) 331.

losing party in a *Rangstreit* is the party that speaks first, the aggressor. This is consistently the case in the *Book of Birds*[25] but it is not how the author chooses to organise the *Tale's* speeches into a narrative. Were that rule upheld in the *Tale*, animals would have to leave in orderly pairs (as in the *Book*) and no animal could barge in to shame a speaker off the stage. When one animal shames out another, Focke's rule and the conventions of *Rangstreitdichtung* are over-ridden.

Bound to an underlying narrative, the speeches in the *Tale* are not disconnected, as in other examples of the genre. On the contrary, they are interdependent. An animal comes on stage to debate another not only because its turn has come according to size but because, in most cases, it has been referred to in a comparison by the current speakers.[26] This makes the following speech contingent on the preceding — speeches follow each other as part of a story. And the speech is linked to the preceding through speakers taking the initiative to speak up in response to what others have already said. Actions and consequences, unforeseen disputes and unexpected reversals — these are the hallmarks of narrative rather than deliberation. And they are unique to the *Tale* — they are not characteristic of *Rangstreitdichtung*.[27]

Prime among the unexpected reversals is the monkey following the elephant, a deliberately scandalous move on the part of the author and one which has a clear moral (and, some have argued, political) motivation.[28] Another reversal is the use of flashback by the narrator as a device in setting up the interaction of sheep, goats, and boar.[29] This was previously dismissed by scholars as the author failing to keep track of events in the poem — they did not expect flashback in so

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25. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 267.
26. Ὁ κύων δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν τοῦ ποντικοῦ λαλοῦντος
    τὸ ὄνομα, τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην φήμην (181–2),
    Ὁ λαγωὸς ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐκεῖ τὸ ὀνομάν του (267),
    Ὡς ἤκουσεν ἡ κάμηλος φθεγγόμενον τὸν ἵππον
    καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῆς ἀπέτεινεν ὕβρεις καὶ λοιδορίας (776–7),
    Ὁ λύκος δέ, ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐκεῖ τὸ ὀνομάν του (809), etc.
    Cf. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 88; Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 278–9.
27. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 284 says that the *Tale* 'cannot be called a *Rangstreit* poem in its entirety', though he believes the label appropriate to the internal story (the debate) and the main point of the text. He identifies parody, satire and didacticism as the elements interfering with the pure *Rangstreit*, these being usually identified in criticism as the secondary themes of the *Tale* (Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 442, 446–7). Though his analysis of the structure of speeches has led me to read the *Tale* as grafted narrative, the conclusion is my responsibility.
28. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 447–50.
29. Ὁ χοῖρος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν τὰς ὕβρεις τοῦ προβάτου
    καταισχυνθεὶς καὶ ἐντραπεὶς ἀπέφυγεν μακρόθεν,
    τὸ πρόβατον δ᾽ ἀπόμεινεν στέκοντα εἰς τὸ μέσον.
    Ἡ αἴγα δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ τράγος,
    τοῦ χοίρου πρὸς τὸ πρόβατον τοιαῦτα φθεγγομένου,
    ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἐστάθησαν μέσον τοῦ συνεδρίου,
    οἱ δύο ὁμοθυμαδὸν νὰ ποῦν καὶ νὰ λαλήσουν. (450–6)
    — but the sheep has forestalled them by already expelling the boar; cf. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 462–5.

seemingly artless a work.[30] These turns in the narrative are not motivated by *synkrisis* but subvert it. The effect is that the *Tale* can be read both as a *synkrisis*, for the preoccupations of *Rangstreitdichtung* still occupy most of the text, but also as a story with twists and turns. Since a narrative schema is foreign to the speeches in *Rangstreitdichtung*, this represents a conscious innovation.[31]

Either element — the narrative or the encyclopaedic — could logically have been prior in the *Tale*, with the other element added by the author as an innovation. In either case, the resulting poem would still be aligned with the *Rangstreitdichtung* tradition. Nicholas and Baloglou[32] consider the interleaving of narrative and catalogue and allow that the *Tale* originated as a narrative of a conference of animals and that the utilitarian catalogues were interpolated as appropriate, since they are what a human would find interesting to say about an animal.[33] The reasons I now believe the narrative rather than the catalogues to be the innovation in the text are as follows:

- The established presence of utilitarian catalogues in animal *Rangstreitdichtung* poems. The *Tale* is not doing anything the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* is not already doing, so the catalogues are following precedent.

- The stronger presence of narrative in the *Tale* than in the earlier *Book of Birds*. It is the narrative element that is more developed in the *Tale* and this represents an advance on the *Book*.

- The established tradition of *Streitdichtung* in Byzantium, the Middle East, the West, and Antiquity. This was a well-established, conventionalised literary genre, used in education, and recognisable for its rhetorical comparisons. In contrast, there is no literary precedent for the narrative component of the *Tale* — an epic of a convention among animals, with escalation and an ensuing battle (the *Batrachomyomachia* is not at all similar).

- Animal conventions certainly appear in folklore. Nicholas and Baloglou[34] discuss the likelihood of contemporary Cypriot folksongs about animal conventions pointing to source material for the *Tale*. Yet even in folklore, the point of the convention is the *Rangstreit*, more explicitly than in the

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30. The same charge against the transition between the dog and the fox may be more realistic: Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 460–2.
31. Tsavare, *Πουλολόγος* 111 considers the *Tale* an awkward imitation of the *Book*: 'the structure of the latter is more complex and simultaneously looser, that is, it does not have the succinctness, clarity, and consistency of structure of the *Book of Birds*. This determination leads us to two possibilities: either the *Tale* is older and thus more "primitive", or it constitutes a not particularly successful attempt to imitate the *Book of Birds*.' Prinzing, on the contrary, finds the *Tale* 'considerably more refined than the *Book of Birds*, being richly varied, composed, and structured' (279) and speaks of the *Tale* as representing the artistic pinnacle of Byzantine *Rangstreitdichtung* (285). The complexity and flexibility in the dialogue structure is the result of the addition of a narrative scheme to the poem's debate.
32. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 86–7.
33. The authors also consider whether the digressions in the *Tale* and *Book* are deliberate concealment but find no conclusive evidence.
34. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 57–60.

Tale. The animals present themselves to a judge or to God and compare their meat and dairy produce and their services and disservices to Man. Of the framing story, with its negotiations and battle, there is no trace in the songs. So neither the folk nor the literary tradition provides a good precedent for the narrative, though they do provide a good precedent for the *Rangstreit*.

• Moreover, the convention of the framing story explains the presence of narrative in the *Tale*. The narrative is an elaboration of the framing story but the framing story itself — an assembly for the purpose of adjudication — remains recognisable. On the other hand, the utilitarian catalogues conventional in animal *Rangstreitdichtung* are hard to account for in an established narrative. In such a context, the catalogues come across as digressions without clear motivation.

The author's imposition of narrative onto the genre reveals itself in several other ways. Since there is now a narrative distinct from the sequence of speeches, there is a narrator's voice distinct from those of the animals and distinguished from them in several ways. Linguistically, the narrator is clearly less vernacular than the animals and markedly so at the conclusion of the poem.[35] In a few instances (although not indisputably), the narrator also adopts a different point of view from the participants — e.g. at the entrance of the donkey,[36] or when repeating (579) the goats' description of the ewe (540) as λωλοπρόβατα 'crazy ewe'.

Since the narrator has a more important role than in normal *Rangstreitdichtung*, the transitions between speeches, which are the narrator's responsibility, also take on greater weight. Normally in *Rangstreitdichtung* such transitions are perfunctory, as they would otherwise get in the way of the speeches. In the *Book of Birds* they are reduced to a single two-verse formula repeated on each occasion.[37] They are formulaic in the *Tale* as well, though not always with the same single formula. But they also have a function important to the global narrative: they indicate the participants' reactions to speeches, thus accounting for the changes of participants.[38] Inasmuch as there is a narrative

35. Ἡλίου βασιλεύοντος ὁ πόλεμος ἐπαύθη
    καὶ ἡ σκοτία τῆς νυκτὸς ἔσωσεν τούτους ἔξω.
    Καὶ ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ ὑμνογράφου:
    «Ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ σώζεται ἐν πολλῇ τῇ δυνάμει
    καὶ γίγας οὐ σωθήσεται ἐν πλήθει τῆς ἰσχύος.» (1075–9)
    Cf. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 119–20.
36. Ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ γάδαρος βοὸς τὴν καυχησίαν,
    πῶς ἐν τὸ νεῦρον τοῦ μακρὸν καὶ ἐξεπυρωμένον,
    δαμὶν ἐτζιληπούρδισεν, ἐγκάρισεν ὀλίγον,
    πορδοκοπῶν εἰσέδραμεν, ἐστάθη εἰς τὸ μέσον,
    ὀμπρὸς τ' ἀπτία του ἔστησεν καὶ πρὸς τὸν βοῦν ἐλάλει. (644–8)
37. Transitions between speeches are of course formulaic even in the explicitly narrative vernacular romances; this is a general principle of how to manage dialogue.
38. Ὁ χοῖρος δὲ ὡς ἤκουσεν τὰς ὕβρεις τοῦ προβάτου
    καταισχυνθεὶς καὶ ἐντραπεὶς ἀπέφυγεν μακρόθεν,
    τὸ πρόβατον δ' ἀπόμεινεν στέκοντα εἰς τὸ μέσον (450–2).
    Τότε ἐκατεντράπησαν ἡ αἶγα καὶ ὁ τράγος
    καὶ τἄλλα ζῷα τὰ μικρὰ καὶ ἡ λωλοπρόβατα·
    ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐστάθησαν μὲ πάντας εἰς τὴν τάξιν (578–80).

within the *Tale*'s speeches, it is the narrator's formulas which make it explicit; this is why, for example, humiliation is emphasised so frequently.[39]

The interventions of the animals that mark structural transitions in the poem, such as the switch from carnivores to herbivores and back, are themselves marked linguistically and metrically: the intervention of the wolf by a surfeit of anapaests;[40] that of the wolf and the hare by a greater density of invective and repetition.[41] Again, if the speeches were not integrated into a narrative, there would be no reason to mark one speech off against another.

One may retort that the *Tale*, for all its anapaests, flashbacks and solo speeches, is still not much of a story. There is little narrative in enumerating the uses to which wool is put or the ways pork is cooked. But the yielding of the narrative to the encyclopaedic catalogues makes sense if we regard the narrative as grafted on to the catalogue genre. The enumerations and lists which normally feature in a medieval *synkrisis* are present; they have been written as they always would have been and have not been extensively restructured. What has changed is that, within a global narrative, the enumerations are connected to each other through narrative devices which appear at either end of the speech but leave the body of the speech as it always was.[42] In any case, it is well known that medieval narrative was more tolerant of what we would now regard as digression. A *Rangstreitdichtung* poem with a narrative grafted on would not be understood differently from a romance with *ekphrases* interspersed.

Nevertheless, the results are uneven when the narrative is foregrounded in the *Tale*. The introduction, which presents the diplomatic negotiations leading up to the parliament, is adroit but the introduction is itself speech-driven, though not *synkrisis*-driven, and the verisimilitude of the negotiations may be motivated by parody. So the author is not relying on the narrator's voice alone to carry the narrative through. The concluding battle, where the narrator's voice does have to carry the story, is action-packed but not as successfully told. While the author has been artful in setting up and sequencing speeches, he is rushed when it comes to telling the story directly, mechanically listing which animal has disembowelled which, with little in the way of suspense or pacing.[43] There are other possible reasons for this weakness: the poem gives the impression of being rushed after the entrance of the leopard and cheetah, which may show the narrator's attentions flagging in general; an allegorically-motivated prejudice against carnivores; or unfamiliarity with the more exotic beasts. The weakness of

Ἐντράπηκεν ἡ κάμηλος, φεύγει ἀπὸ τὴν μέσην,
τὸ δ' ἄλογον ἀπόμεινεν μόνον καὶ μοναχόν του (807–8), etc.

39. Prinzing, 'Rangstreitliteratur' 281.

40. ἐξέβη καὶ ἐστάθηκεν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ μέσον (810)
    ὠνείδισας δὲ καὶ ἐμὲν πὼς ἐσθίω τοὺς ὄνους (814).

41. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 125, 156.

42. For example, invective against other beasts, which characterises their challenges to each other and also allows the transitions between participants, occurs usually only within the first and last 10 verses of a speech (Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 93).

43. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 89. An acquaintance to whom I had shown a draft translation commented that the story maintained its interest until the end and then stopped abruptly.

the narrative at this point is part of the reason many scholars have not realised that the herbivores win the battle in the *Entertaining Tale*. This shows that the author was not a sure practitioner of the on-record narrative craft — at least, he could not talk his way through a good battle.

There is reason to suspect that other works of the late Byzantine vernacular also adopted narrative into what was a non-narrative genre. The *Erotopaignia* is a sequence of love poems which appear to be structured into an overall narrative of love known and lost. This structure is so subtle that the work's first editor published the poems in alphabetical order[44] and other scholars have likewise dismissed it. It is certainly not clear whether the ordering of the poems into a narrative was the responsibility or even the intention of an original author, a compiler, or a subsequent scribe. If it really is a case of a narrative being imposed on a collection of songs, however, it would represent a deliberate innovation comparable to that of the *Tale*. The *Rime of the Maiden and the Young Man*,[45] an assembly of couplets into a similar story, has the same use of an overall narrative. Although the texts still belong recognisably to the established genre, what these instances have in common is the imposition of a narrative schema on texts that are traditionally autonomous and where the narrative schema was previously unknown. This imposition of narrative over debate poems and love poem collections is reminiscent of the use of narrative to convey moralising messages through allegory, in such works as *On Sorrow and Happiness*[46] and *Ptocholeon*.[47] But there is precedent for the allegorical use of narrative as far back as Aesop, and the allegorical works are intrinsically narratives. In the *Tale*, the narrative provides an overall structure but it does not pervade the entire work; the non-narrative component is still strongly in place.

Beaton[48] has characterised the Beast Epics as popularisations of the *Physiologus* and other such natural histories. Nicholas and Baloglou[49] dismissed this characterisation, and I do not believe that the *Tale* was intended as a popularisation of Physiologan subject matter. There is little in the *Tale*'s barnyard setting that would be unfamiliar to its readers. But adding narrative to a genre that previously lacked it does count as a popularisation — or rather, a response to the needs of an audience which would find the text more palatable within a narrative framework. Such a response becomes all the more necessary because of its barnyard setting: there is little that is exotic in the *Tale* and even that is handled cursorily (unlike its precursors, the *Book of Birds* and the

44. W. Wagner, "Ἀλφάβητος τῆς ἀγάπης', *das ABC der Liebe: Eine Sammlung rhodischer Liebeslieder* (Leipzig 1879, rp. Athens 1973).

45. H. Pernot, *Chansons populaires grecques des XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1931) 12–14, 72–86.

46. S.P. Lambros, `Λόγος Παρηγορητικὸς περὶ Δυστυχίας καὶ Εὐτυχίας κατὰ τὸν κώδικα τῆς Λειψίας' *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 3 (1906) 402–32δ.

47. G. Kechagioglou, *Κριτικὴ Ἔκδοση της Ἱστορίας Πτωχολέοντος'* (PhD thesis, Aristotelian University of Thessalonica 1978).

48. R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (2nd ed. London 1996) 232.

49. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 148.

Physiologus).[50] Without exoticism, the author needed some other means of maintaining audience interest. The precedent of animal fable, and the established necessity in the genre of a framing story, would have suggested that the author further emphasise the narrative element of the text.

This imposition of narrative onto encyclopaedic catalogues, *synkrisis* and *Rangstreitdichtung,* which makes the works more pleasant to read, is reminiscent of the early use of political verse in overtly didactic subject matter.[51] This use was explicitly justified in the Comnenian era as being for mnemonic reasons, but also to make the task of learning more entertaining. There was an extensive tradition of debate poetry used for educational purposes, in particular for training in rhetoric.[52] The prologue of the *Tale* declares it to be a *diegesis,* a narrative, with a similar duality of purpose.[53] Though there is evidence that the prologue is spurious, and the *Tale* does not seem like much of a textbook,[54] the connection between narrative, entertainment, and pedagogy was certainly made at some point in the transmission of the poem.

Even though narrative was alien to the genre he was working with,[55] the author of the poem recognised the importance of narrative in making his text palatable. Given how much we are in the dark about who read such works and why, it is difficult to explain what made the author write this as a 'minor Iliad', as Gidel[56] had called it, rather than a 'minor Britannica' — just as we cannot be sure what underlay the *Erotopaignia* (although at least there we can appeal to a parallel with the Western *tenson*). Nicholas and Baloglou[57] speculated, building on Makris,[58] that the *Tale* was written in a monastic environment, although the evidence for this is sketchy. But the audience was clearly expected to have some learning in order to appreciate the allusions that occur in the work.[59] Günter Prinzing[60] goes further, believing that the formal experimentation of the *Tale*

50. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 84–5.
51. M.J. Jeffreys, 'The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse' *DOP* 28 (1974) 141–95.
52. Walther, *Streitgedicht* 10; Wagner, *Rangstreitdichtung* 22.
53. Στίχοι ἀστεῖοι πρὸς τὸ περίχαρον γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
    Καὶ οἱ μῦθοι ἔνι περιχαρεῖς πάνυ (Title, mss. CV);
    Διήγησις παιδιόφραστος περὶ τῶν τετραπόδων
    Ἵνα ἀναγινώσκωνται καὶ χρῶνται ταῦτα παῖδες
    Οἱ φοιτηταὶ καὶ νεαροὶ διὰ τὴν εὐγνωστίαν. (1–3)
54. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 71–3.
55. Or at best incidental: see the use as *exempla* of fables within the *Tale* and the *Book of Birds* and, to some extent, the *Physiologus.*
56. A. Gidel, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne: Imitations en grec de nos romans de chevalerie dépuis le xiie siècle* (Paris 1866).
57. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 69–70.
58. G. Makris, 'Zum literarischen Genus des *Pulologos*' Αρχές της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικά του δεύτερου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου 'Neograeca Medii Aevi' (Βενετία, 7–10 Νοεμβρίου 1991) ed. N. Panagiotakes (2 vols Venice 1993) 1:411.
59. Nicholas-Baloglou, *Quadrupeds* 73.
60. Personal communication.

must have been intended for an audience that could appreciate it as such, an audience of connoisseurs of literature — which likely leads to the court.

We have established opportunity for the author's venture into narrative in the proximity of *Rangstreitdichtung* to narrative and drama, though there is no sure way of divining a motive. That said, the 1360s, when the *Tale* was likely written, was the period when the vernacular novel tradition was being consolidated. It was also when Stephen Sachlikis initiated the Cretan tradition of eponymous personal narrative poetry (a tradition that was not followed up on the mainland). It was a time when narrative verse was reasserting itself in Byzantine literature, after its earlier resurgence in the Comnenian era. So it was as propitious a time as any for the author of the *Tale* to make his formal experiment.

Vicky Panayotopoulou-Doulavera

Lamenting the Fall or Disguising a Manifesto?
The Poem *Conquest of Constantinople*

Ironically, among the best-known events in Byzantine history are those associated with the fall of the capital, the city of Constantinople, to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The most authoritative contemporary Greek narratives are by four historians: Georgios Sphrantzes, who was also an eyewitness, Doukas, Laonikos Chalkokondyles and Michael Kritovoulos of Imbros.[1] On the literary side, there are numerous archaising and vernacular compositions in prose and in verse, which began to appear immediately after the fall, echoing the shock, despair and disillusion of the Greek people. All these are threnodies or lamentations — a popular genre with a very long tradition in Greek literature.[2] They are emotionally charged texts, and in their majority relatively short and anonymous.[3]

One of these texts is an anonymous poem entitled in the manuscript *Conquest of Constantinople* (῞Αλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως).[4] This is the first known

1. For Sphrantzes: *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477* ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966); tr. M. Carroll, *A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople 1453: The Sphrantzes Chronicle* (Amsterdam 1985). For Doukas: *Ducas, Istoria Turco-Bizantină (1341–1462)* ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958); tr. H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit 1975). For Chalkokondyles: *Laonici Chalcocandylae historiarum demonstrationes* ed. E. Darkó (2 vols Bucharest 1922–7). For Kritovoulos: *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* ed. D.R. Reinsch (Berlin 1983); tr. C.T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos* (Princeton 1954). One other witness account of equal importance is that by the Venetian Nicolò Barbaro: *Nicolò Barbaro, Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli, 1453* ed. E. Cornet (Vienna 1856); tr. J.R. Melville Jones, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453* (New York 1969).

2. See M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (2nd rev. ed. by D. Yatromanolakis & P. Roilos, Lanham MD 2002) 83–101. For an outline of texts of this kind in learned Byzantine literature see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich 1978) 132–45; tr. I.V. Anastasiou et al., *Βυζαντινή Λογοτεχνία: Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών* (2nd ed. 2 vols Athens 1991) 1:213–29.

3. See S. Lambros, 'Μονωδίαι καὶ θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως' *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 5 (1908) 190–269 and G.T. Zoras, ed., *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις* (Athens 1956) 37–42, 117–221. On editions of individual texts see E. Kriaras, *Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης* (2nd ed. Thessalonica 1965); D. Michailidis, 'Un lamento inedito sulla caduta di Constantinopoli' *BZ* 65 (1972) 303–26; F. Dimitrakopoulos, '"Κατελογάδιν λυπηρόν": Ο ονομαζόμενος θρῆνος επί Αλώσεως της Πόλεως του δῆθεν Paris. Gr. 1238' *Diptycha* 6 (1994–5) 137–46.

4. The exact title in the ms (Parisinus gr. 2909, fols 41r–68r, dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century) is ᾽Αλωσις Κονσταντινουπόλες. I would like to thank my colleague Tina Lentari for providing me with a reproduction of the manuscript. The poem was published with German translation by A. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur* (3 vols Leipzig 1857) 3:97–249 and edited by É.

work written shortly after the fall, most likely within the first two years (see e.g. line 688).[5] In comparison to other texts of its kind, this is surprisingly a very lengthy one (1045 lines). Is this work really a lament or is it a political document in disguise? It is true that the poem has scholars puzzled; the date of its composition, its historical references and especially its author's identity have been the subject of serious discussion.[6] Hans-Georg Beck has touched upon the nature of the text and has described it as a kind of 'proclamation' aimed at mobilising the West against the Sultan Mehmet II.[7] I would like to contribute to this dialogue by placing more weight on its poetical form, hoping to demonstrate that its author uses a popular genre to deliver his messages to the West and to cover his clandestine activity from the Turkish authorities.

The practice of camouflaging the content of a manuscript is known. Often, scribes would arrange the order of the texts by placing those with religious content before secular literature (i.e. love and satirical poetry). For the same purpose, they would also manipulate the titles of secular texts by offering general and vague descriptions.[8] But I am not aware of this practice in an individual text by the author himself.

The poem's title suggests that its content is associated with the events of the fall. We are not sure who was responsible for formulating its title. In the manuscript it appears as a later addition, written as an afterthought in the top margin of the folio, above a simple decorative band. Hence we assume that it was written by the scribe or even a reader, who was perhaps influenced by the poem's opening line. However, the title and all the other references to the text as a 'lament' by the poet himself (mis)led scholars to believe that this is what he was trying to write. For example, Voutieridis wrote: 'Although the poet wants to lament the great national calamity of the Greeks, he is not successful; the greater part of the poem is composed of pleas to the powerful of Europe to rise and fight the Turk so as to liberate the City and all the Greek places...'.[9]

Legrand, Ἐμμανουὴλ Γεωργιλλᾶ, "Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως᾽ *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* (10 vols, Paris 1880–1913) 1:169–202.

5. See also 461.

6. See S. Lambros, 'Der Codex des Gedichtes über die Eroberung von Konstantinopel' *BZ* 9 (1900) 161–9; B. Knös, 'Autour du poème appelé La prise de Constantinople ("Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως)' *Hellenika* 20 (1967) 311–37; C. Merrone, 'Il problema della paternità della "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως᾽ *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Napoli* 21.9 (1978–9) 199–217. For the most recent discussion on the poet and the poem see R. García Ortega & A.I. Fernández Galvín, *Trenos por Constantinopla* (Granada 2003) 45–59.

7. See H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich 1971) 164; tr. N. Eideneier, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς δημώδους λογοτεχνίας* (Athens 1988) 260.

8. See H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (2nd ed. Munich 1986), tr. I. Dimitroukas, *Βυζαντινόν Ἐρωτικόν* (Athens 1999) 245–6; also my forthcoming article: 'Λόγος πάνυ ωφέλιμος και περιχαρής: The Title in Early Modern Greek Literature' *AXION ESTI to timema: Homenaje a la profesora Olga Omatos* ed. J. Alonso Aldama (in press).

9. Ἀγκαλά κι᾽ ὁ ποιητής θέλει νὰ κλάψη τὴ μεγάλη ἐθνικὴ συφορὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, δὲν τὸ κατορθώνει ὅμως· τὸ περισσότερο μέρος τοῦ ποιήματος εἶναι

In an introductory paragraph in prose the poet outlines the content of the text, revealing a skilled writer who has carefully thought out his project. This kind of introduction is typical of chronicles, but unusual in other genres:

> Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ἠχμαλωτίσθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἔτει ‚αυνγ΄, μηνὶ μαΐῳ κθ΄, ἡμέρα Τρίτη, ὥρα πρώτη τῆς ἡμέρας. Λόγος θρηνητικὸς καὶ θλιβερὸς καὶ πολλὰ πονετικὸς καὶ ἀναστεναγμένος περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ περὶ τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, ῥητόρων, ψαλτῶν, ὑμνοποιῶν, διδασκάλων καὶ ἀρχόντων, καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ αἰχμαλωσίας, ὁποῦ ἐσυνέβη τῆς ταπεινῆς τῆς Πόλης, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθεντῶν τῆς Φραγκίας καὶ ὅλα τὰ κουμμούνια· ἀρχομένου ἀπὸ τὸ παρόν, Φραζζέζους, Ἀγγλέζους, Πορτουγαλέζους, Σπάνια, Κατελάνους, Ταλιάνους, Ἀλαμάνους, Οὐγγάρους, Ρωμάνους, Βενετίκους, Γενουβήσους, Σέρβους, Βλάχους, Βουλγάρους, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς, τὰ ὁποῖα ῥήματα γράφουνται διὰ στίχου.[10]

Immediately after there is a two-line subtitle in verse, where the poet presents his work as a kind of lament:

> Διήγησις πάνυ θλιβερή, πονετικὴ καὶ πλήρη,
> βαβαὶ παπαὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλης.[11]

The composition then begins with an extensive prologue (1–43), where the poet asks the Creator and other holy persons for assistance in collecting his thoughts to write τίποτε μικρόν, θλιβερὸν διὰ τὴν Πόλιν ('something brief, painful about the City'). He further elaborates on this, asking God to assist him to write his composition in verse, hoping that his readers will appreciate it and shed many tears for the City. Now the poet turns to the readers and addresses them directly and, out of fear that they might dismiss it at an early stage, he asks them in advance to read the entire poem. He then adopts a position used also by copyists, requesting not to be criticised for possible faults or errors.[12] He concludes by anticipating the readers' emotional reaction, once they read about the capture of

παρακάλια στοὺς δυνατοὺς τῆς Εὐρώπης νὰ σηκωθοῦν καὶ νὰ πολεμήσουν τὸν Τοῦρκο γιὰ νὰ ἐλευτερώσουν τὴν Πόλη κι᾽ ὅλες τὶς ἑλληνικὲς χῶρες [...]' I.P. Voutieridis, *Σύντομη ἱστορία τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας (1000–1930)* (3rd ed. with suppl. by D. Giakou, Athens 1976) 145–6.

10. 'Lament on Constantinople. It was captured by the Turks in the year 1453, on the 29th of the month of May, a Tuesday, at the first hour of the day. A mournful, sad, very painful and sorrowful discourse about Constantinople, and on the emperor and about the monasteries and the sacred relics, about the orators, the cantors, the hymn-composers, the teachers and the nobles and about the catastrophe and captivity, which came upon the miserable City, and about the rulers of the West and all the republics; beginning now with the French, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Catalans, Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Romans, Venetians, Genoese, Serbs, Vlachs, Bulgarians and so on. All these are written in verse.'

11. 'A tale most mournful, painful and complete; / alas! of what befell Constantinople.'

12. See: V. Doulavera, 'Demotic Verses in Colophons of Post-Byzantine Manuscripts' *MGS* 5–7 (1997–9) 27–49.

the 'City of Constantine' by 'impious hands' and the magnitude of its destruction, presenting its current condition as that of a complete wasteland (ἐὰν γὰρ νὰ μὴ ἔμεινε πέτρα πρὸς ἄλλην πέτρα, 'not even one stone remained in its place', 39). Earlier he has equated the events with the Biblical Flood (20). Up to this point, in other words, the poet promises to his readers a highly emotional text on the events of the conquest of Constantinople.

He proceeds with a lament on the emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, addressing him directly: Ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε βασιλεῦ, κακὸν ριζικὸν ποῦ 'χες ('O, emperor Constantine, you had an evil fate', 46).[13] We should note that variants of this line echo throughout the composition, adding a tense and tragic tone to its content. The poet expresses the popular belief that Constantine was an ill-fated emperor, and curses the day Constantine came to the throne, using traditional formulaic expressions.[14] He interprets the emperor's past decisions and actions as signs of impending doom to Constantinople.[15] He even implies that nothing of what followed would have happened had Constantine remained Despot of the Morea (66). Moreover, the death of Constantine's brother and predecessor, John VIII, is interpreted as another omen foreshadowing disaster (101–4). The interpretation of events seems to be influenced by a belief in the prophecies that circulated for many decades prior to the fall, predicting that the end of the Byzantine Empire would come with the reign of a Constantine whose mother was a Helen, just as its founder was a Constantine and Helen was his mother.[16]

Having said this, the poet changes his tone and proceeds with words of praise for Constantine, describing him as 'the most prudent and brave' emperor (164), whom no-one should blame for what had happened. He openly declares that the emperor was simply deceived into believing in assistance from the West. He refers in general to 'all the kings of the West' (176), but more specifically to the king of 'Alamania', the Serbians, Russians, Vlachs, Hungarians and so on (178–83). The poet concludes this section by emphasising that Constantine's faith in the West had cost him his life, and he laments the Emperor's death, mentioning

13. Constantine is presented mostly as βασιλεύς but also as 'Dragazis', his Serbian mother's hellenised surname, which was the name by which the emperor preferred to be known (e.g. 45, 246, 276, 371, 824); D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (2nd ed. Cambridge 1993) 369 and D.M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos, Last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge 1992) 22, 36.

14. Νά 'χεν ἀστράψειν οὐρανός, νά 'χε καῆ ἡ ὥρα ('the sky should have filled with lighting, the hour should have been burned', 49). See also 47–8, 107, 114, 117–19.

15. He refers to Clarentza and the wall of Examilion. In fact, he states that Constantine brought much destruction upon the castle of Clarentza and its people (52–62), and that the construction of the wall at Examilion resulted in a great loss of lives (67–72). See Nicol, *Last Centuries* 346; S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge 1990) 50–1.

16. See M.-H. Congourdeau, 'Byzance et la fin du monde: Courants de pensée apocalyptiques sous les Paléologues' *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Istanbul, 13–14 avril 1996* ed. B. Lellouch & S. Yerasimos (Paris 2000) 63.

the prevailing view that he committed suicide: καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ σπαθίν του ('he died, it is said, [falling] on his sword', 190).[17] Although he makes it clear that he only speaks of what 'is said', it is significant that he chooses this version over others, presenting the emperor as having a noble death comparable to that of Roman generals.[18] By this point, the reader relates these passages to the initial paragraph of the poem and assumes that the poet is taking a stand against the Western rulers, scorning them for their inaction. His criticism of the West is not further developed here; he will resume it on line 231 where he explicitly defends the emperor's stance and places all blame on the Western leaders. But he also maintains that the fall of the City is a punishment for sin, which the narrator ostensibly describes as his own (e.g. 162, 230). Later on, he will also name the sins of his fellow Greeks; these include all sorts of 'deviousness', 'intrigue', 'cunning', 'envy', 'avarice' and 'false hope' (664–6, 834–6).[19]

An issue of concern prior to this is the fate of the holy relics and icons of Orthodoxy (136–43). His thinking here rests on two popular beliefs. The first is that they ascended to Heaven. The poet, in other words, tries to avoid thinking about them left to the mercy of Muslims. Interestingly, this is one of the very few instances where he appears to make a claim to know the truth. The second belief is that the sacred objects had abandoned the City, especially the icon of the Hodegetria Theotokos, who in previous times was regarded as the protector and saviour of Constantinople.[20]

17. Since the emperor's body was never found, there was a lot of speculation and various 'interpretations' began to circulate immediately after the Fall. Georgios Sphrantzes, who was at the emperor's side almost until the last moment, briefly states that he was killed, but Sphrantzes did not witness this, nor did he see the emperor's body. The same position is also held by the other three Byzantine historians. Doukas, however, adds more tragic detail on the emperor's last moments and death. He describes how Constantine, deserted and alone, cries out 'Is there no one among the Christians who will take my head from me?' (39.13).

18. I would like to thank my colleagues Alfred Vincent and Geoff Nathan for the information on this issue. The fate of the emperor's body after the Ottomans entered the City seems to puzzle the poet throughout the poem. The tales and prophecies about it have caused him a great deal of confusion, obscuring reality from fiction, fact from rumour. On one other occasion he asks the emperor: εἰπέ μοι, ποῦ εὑρίσκεσαι· ἐχάθης; ἐκρυβήθης; / ἢ ζῆς; ἢ καὶ ἀπέθανες ἐπάνω στὸ σπαθί σου; ('tell me, where are you? did you disappear? did you hide? / or are you still alive? or did you die upon your sword?', 825–6). He then proceeds to present one more testimony, according to which Mehmet II was searching for the emperor's head (827–33). Finally, towards the end of the poem he refers to rumours which immortalise the emperor (1014–18). For the various versions of Constantine's death see Nicol, *Immortal* ch. 5.

19. Doukas (41.19) expresses the same views.

20. The icon of the Hodegetria, which was attributed to St Luke, was destroyed by the Turks; see Nicol, *Last Centuries* 389. The view of it ascending to heaven is to be found in another lament known as *Dialogue between Venice and Constantinople* (63–9); see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως' *BZ* 12 (1903) 267–72. The Catalan traveller Pero Tafur, who had visited Constantinople in 1437, gives a description of the icon as he found it in the church of 'St Mary, where

Ποῦ 'ναι λοιπὸν τὰ λείψανα, ποῦ αἱ ἁγίαι εἰκόνες;
Ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια ἡ κυρά, ἡ δέσποινα τοῦ κόσμου;
Λέγουσιν, ἀναλήφθηκαν στὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπάνω
τὰ λείψανα τὰ ἅγια καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ Πάθη·
οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ πήρασιν ἐμπρός εἰς τὸν δεσπότην.
Καὶ τοῦτο ἔνι ἀληθινόν, ὡς δοῦλοι τοῦ δεσπότου
εἰκόνες τε καὶ λείψανα ὅλα ἀναλήφθηκαν
εἰς οὐρανούς, εἰς τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης. (136–43)[21]

Constantinople, for the poet, was above all the heart of Christianity; he calls it the 'God-built city', the 'house for all Christians', the 'seat of the apostle Andrew the First Called', the 'ecumenical throne' and so on (234–9). This image of the City belongs to the past, before the Turks made their entrance. Rhetorical questions using the 'where is' formula build on the image of disaster, but also suggest an entirely different present disposition of the city, a total change beyond recognition.[22] Its Christian citizens have been robbed of their religious traditions and practices and, in the guise of a complaint, he manifests his protest against the Turks worshipping God in the Church of Saint Sophia:

Ποῦ εἶν' τὰ μοναστήρια, ποῦ ἡ Ὀρθοδοξία;
Ἀφῆκες, ἐξαπόλυκες, πανύμνητε, τὸν κόσμον;
Οἱ ὕμνοι ποῦ 'ναι τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ποῦ αἱ ψαλμωδίαι;
Καὶ ποῦ εἶν' οἱ δομέστικοι, ἡ μελωδιὰ ἀγγέλων,
ὁ ὕμνος τῆς ἁγιᾶς Σοφιᾶς, οἱ μυρωδιές, θυσίες;
Τί ἐγίνετο ἡ ψαλτική, οἱ καλὲς προσωδίες;
Ποῦ ἔναιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ρητορικοί Ρωμαῖοι;
Ποῦ οἱ νηστειὲς Ρωμαίων τε, παπάδων, ἡγουμένων,
νέων, γερόντων ἀληθῶς, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ Λατίνων;
Τὰ τρίμερα τῶν χριστιανῶν, Θεέ μου, δὲν τὰ θέλεις;
Νὰ σὲ δοξάζουν ἀσεβεῖς στὸ ἅγιόν σου σπίτιν.

the body of Constantine is buried'. Tafur was fascinated by the icon; he states that 'While I was at Constantinople I did not miss a single day when this picture was exhibited, since it is certainly a great marvel' (*Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures 1435–1439* tr. M. Letts (New York 1926) 141–2 and n.3).

21. Where are the relics, where the holy icons?
    Our Lady of Guidance, the Lady of the world?
    They say, all these were taken up to heaven,
    the holy relics and the Passion of Christ;
    and that the angels took them before the Lord.
    And this is true, like servants of the Lord,
    icons and relics all were raised to heaven,
    raised up before the Christ, the lord of glory.

22. This is a popular motif with a long tradition in Greek as well as western literature. For its use in medieval Greek texts see M. Lassithiotakis, 'Τὸ λογοτεχνικό μοτίβο ubi sunt σε πρώιμα δημώδη νεοελληνικά κείμενα' *Ἀρχές τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας. Πρακτικά τοῦ δεύτερου Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου 'Neograeca Medii Aevi' (Βενετία, 7–10 Νοεμβρίου 1991)* ed. N. Panagiotakes (2 vols Venice 1993) 1:438–452; A. Vincent, 'Byzantium regained? The *History, Advice* and *Lament* by Matthew of Myra' *Thesaurismata* 28 (1998) 335.

ἀπέσω στὴν ἁγιάν Σοφιάν, στὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων; (144–55)²³

The poet builds on the climax of the tragedy, referring directly to the events that took place during the 'cursed' day of Tuesday and specifically to the dispersion of the people of Constantinople. In thirty-one lines he recalls vividly the horror, pain and wailing of the imprisoned population. He focuses especially on the women, describing the reaction of heartbroken mothers who are separated from their children, sisters from their brothers, daughters from their fathers, friends and neighbours, and their humiliating treatment. The images speak directly to those who had experienced the events, but also touch those who did not:

Ἐκείν' ἡ μέρα σκοτεινή, ἀστραποκαημένη

...

ἐχάσε μάνα τὸ παιδὶ καὶ τὸ παιδὶν τὴν μάναν,
καὶ τῶν κυρούδων τὰ παιδιὰ ὑπὰν ἀσβολωμένα,
δεμέν' ἀπὸ τὸν σφόνδυλα, ὅλ' ἀλυσοδεμένα,
δεμέν' ἀπὸ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὸ 'οὐαὶ' φωνάζουν,
μὲ τὴν τρομάραν τὴν πολλήν, μὲ θρηνισμὸν καρδίας.

...

Οἱ μάνες οἱ ταλαίπωρες ὑπὰν ξεγυμνωμένες,
τῆς Πόλης οἱ πολίτισσες ἐξανασκεπασμένες,
πλούσιες, πτωχὲς ἀνάκατα, μὲ τὸ σκοινὶ δεμένες,
τῆς Πόλης οἱ εὐγενικὲς οἱ ἀστραποκαημένες·

...

νὰ κλαίουν, νὰ θρηνίζονται, νὰ μεγαλοφωνάζουν,
ἐκ τὴν μεγάλην συμφορὰν πικρᾶς αἰχμαλωσίας. (194–224)²⁴

23. Where are the monasteries, where is Orthodoxy?
    Did you, most praised [Mary], leave, did you abandon the world?
    Where are the hymns and where the psalmodies?
    Where are the cantors, the melody of the angels?
    the hymn of Hagia Sophia, the essences, the sacrifices?
    Where is the chanting and fine prosody?
    Where are the philosophers, the Roman rhetors?
    Where are the fasts of Romans, priests and abbots,
    of young and old and even of the Latins?
    My God, don't you want the Christians' three-day feasts?
    To have infidels praise you in your holy house,
    in Hagia Sophia herself, in the Holy of Holies?
24. That dark day, burned by the lighting bolt
    ...
    the mother has lost her child, the child its mother,
    the ladies' children walk in misery,
    bound at the ankle, all of them in chains,
    bound from the neck, crying out in their woe
    trembling in fear, lamenting from the heart
    ...
    The wretched mothers walk stripped naked,
    the women of the City are exposed,
    the rich the poor are all in bonds together,
    the City's noble women, all struck down

Up to line 246 the poet keeps his promise and uninterruptedly covers the topics he outlined in the initial paragraph. The reader who has reached this far is convinced that the poem is about the conquest. This is one aspect of the composition; on line 247 the poet writes: Ἂς ἔλθω εἰς τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ πονεμένου θρήνου ('Now let us come to the subject of the painful lament'). What is the προκείμενον and why the use of the term 'lament'? First, the word προκείμενον suggests that the author has not yet dealt with the main issue and that until now we were reading a 'prelude'. In fact, I will argue that the προκείμενον of the *Conquest of Constantinople* is the poet's appeal to the West to unite and march against the Muslims. By stating this I do not mean that the first part of the poem is purely a pretext, nor that the poet is not serious about all he has presented so far. Elsewhere he describes the nature of his text as λόγοι θλιβεροί, θρηνητικὰ γραμμένοι / μὲ θρῆνον ἀνυπόμονον ἔνι περιπλεμμένοι ('sorrowful words, written in lamenting / intertwined with an uncontrollable lament', 706–7). He tells us he finds it hard to collect his thoughts, for the pain he feels about the events disturbs him physically, emotionally and mentally. The most important passage is perhaps when he describes his struggle with memory and writing:

> Θαυμάζομαι, ξενίζομαι, ἐκπλήττομαι μεγάλως,
> πῶς ἐβαστᾶτο μου ψυχὴ καὶ ἔγραφα τοὺς λόγους,
> καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξεριζώθηκεν ἐκ τὸ ἐμόν τε σῶμα.
> Γινώσκει το ὁ Κύριος, Θεὸς ὁ καρδιογνώστης,
> τὴν νύκταν ἐσηκώνουμου συχνῶς ἐκ τὸ κρεββάτιν,
> ἀναθυμῶντα τὸ κακὸ τῆς Πόλης ἐθρηνούμην,
> ἐτρέχαν καὶ τὰ δάκρυα μου ὡς τρέχει τὸ ποτάμιν,
> κι ἐμάχετό μοι λογισμὸς νὰ γράψω τὰ συμβάντα,
> τὰ ποῖα ἐσυνέβησαν τὴν ἄτυχον τὴν Πόλιν.
> καὶ ἐγερνόμην κι ἔγραφα καὶ μετέπιπτον πάλιν,
> καὶ πάλιν ἐσηκώνουμου καὶ ἐγύρευα νὰ γράφω. (708–18)[25]

...
weeping, lamenting, calling out aloud,
at their harsh fate of cruel captivity.
See also 256–9. The account by the historian Doukas does not differ much: 'So what tongue will be able to express the calamity which befell the city and the terrible captivity, and the bitter migration she suffered, deported [...] from Constantinople to Syria, Egypt, Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Africa, scattered throughout Italy, Asia Minor, and the other provinces. And in what way was this done? The husband was taken to Paphlagonia and the wife to Egypt. The children were dispersed in other places and they converted from one language to another, and from piety to impiety, and from sacred scriptures to strange writings' (41.18).

25. I wonder, find it strange, I am astonished,
how my soul could bear for me to write these words
and was not uprooted from within my body.
The Lord, the God who knows our hearts, He knows
how often at night I'd rise up from my bed,
and weep as I'd recall the City's suffering.
Fast as the river flows my tears would flow,
and my mind would struggle to write down the events.

The poet has now reached a critical point in his composition; if he is to mobilise the West against the Turks, a simple appeal for the liberation of Constantinople might not be sufficient. He knows that the Greeks' stance on the Union of the Churches has alienated many Western rulers. The poet also wants to present a real issue of concern, that of the Ottoman threat. Hence he begins by stating the importance of an immediate military reaction, if the Western peoples are to avoid a fate similar to that of the City. Although he does not mention the word 'crusade', his description is clearly that of a religious war between Christians and Muslims (on this occasion we note that he refers to the Turks by their religion).

The poet addresses each state separately, beginning with those who were immediately affected by the fall, the republics of Venice and Genoa, and focusing mainly on their financial loss. The Venetians are also reminded of their previous loss of Thessalonica (302). Using once more the familiar literary device of 'where is', he describes their financial loss in mythical sums. For the Genoese the impact of the loss of Constantinople is even more devastating; he reminds them of the loss of their colony in Galata and the humiliating treatment of their female population by the Turks (296–328). The appeal to other republics is a challenge. The poet seems well-informed about the current political instability all around Europe and has a good knowledge of its equally turbulent recent past.[26] He alludes to their wars as civil strife, describing the spilling of blood of Christians by Christians as a 'curse' (247–51). He pleads with them to unite, because the real enemy is the Turk. He advises them not to enter into a peace treaty with Sultan Mehmet, for he is not to be trusted (493–9). The Sultan's initial tactics by which he had deluded everyone into believing he was seeking peace cannot be ignored.

The poet warns the West about the significance of the fall of Constantinople, stating that the Turks, if not stopped now, will take over the rest of Europe like a river of fire (618–29). On three different occasions (519, 612, 909) he also emphasises: Ἀπεὶν ἡ Πόλις χάθηκεν, ὁ κόσμος ἂς προσέχη ('Since the City was taken, the world must be cautious'). The language he uses for the Turks, especially in the appeal, refers to a savage enemy with bestial traits, as in the related laments. Throughout the poem we find extended similes of them as 'wild dogs', 'bloodthirsty' 'lions', 'cheetahs', 'leopards' or 'wolves', which underline the threat to Christianity. Furthermore, the distinction between a Turk in general, Sultan Mehmet II in particular and a Muslim in general is not always made clear. This is not because of ignorance, but because for the poet there is no difference.

The poet in this appeal takes a step further; he lays the groundwork for the crusade by providing precise figures of the Turkish military forces and their exact locations. This is presented as another προκείμενον (747–79). By contrast to the Christian world, these forces are fully subject to Mehmet, and are ready to die for their faith (780–92). But a unified Christian world under the leadership of the pope or somebody else could achieve victory (800–8). Also, the 700,000

which have befallen the unfortunate City.
I'd rise, and write, and then lie down again,
and then get up again and seek to write.

26. E.g. the one hundred year war between England and France; cf. 345–51, 353–4.

Christian Orthodox families under Ottoman rule will willingly assist the crusaders (944–55).[27] Furthermore, he provides a carefully organised plan of how a venture of this kind could be successful, outlining the route the crusaders should take (964–84). Having stated this, the poet then proceeds to provide the answer to the second part of our question set above, that is about the use of the term 'lament' in line 247. We read:

Ἠξεύρετε, αὐθέντες μου, τὲς χῶρες ὁποὺ εἶπα
ὅλες τὲς εἶδα, ἐπάτησα πεζὸς καὶ καβαλλάρης·
διὰ τοῦτο τὲς ἐσύνθεσα μὲ θρῆνον διὰ στίχου,
διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα ἔγραψα κι ἀνεσκέπασά τα,
νὰ τὰ διαβάσει ὁπόχει νοῦ καὶ νὰ μετρᾶ τὰ πάντα. (985–9)[28]

There is no doubt that the poet is trying to conceal his appeal and all related information from the wrong eyes. This suggests that the Sultan had Greek spies or employees who would look through written matter, trying to track down illegal activities of this type. Moreover, the content of the appeal explains why the poet requested his readers in the prologue to read the entire text. Also, later on, to ensure that his text will not be distorted or even part of it left out, he appeals to possible scribes, requesting them to copy it as it stands (837–44). Finally, for the benefit of all, he asks readers to have it copied out and to circulate it in the West (1008–13).

It is not surprising that on completing the text the poet consciously omits to sign his name. He does this tactfully: in the final lines he states that he does not wish to disclose his name to the wider public, but people close to him will be able identify him, as he reveals two distinct marks of his body, that is 'a black mole on his right little finger' and another one in the palm of his left hand (1021–4). Unfortunately, these details do not help us today to identify the man, and the suggestions by some scholars that he is the Rhodian writer Emmanuel Limenitis are not well founded.[29] It is also evident that the poet lives in an

27. We note that the poet states that he had been 'ordered' to gather this information (940), which he received from the Sultan's tax collectors (943). He further assures the reader of the 'accuracy' of his information by stating that οἶδα καὶ κατέμαθα ὑπό πιστῶν ἀνθρώπων ('I know this, I have found out from trustworthy people', 946–7). For the person/s who commissioned him Beck states that they were probably from 'circles with political interests, who were not thinking of cooperating with the Turks, but did not have diplomatic connections which would allow them to have direct communication with Western leaders' (Beck, *Volksliteratur* tr. Eideneier 260).

28. Know then, my lords, the places I have mentioned
     I've seen them all, travelling on foot and horseback.
     And thus I've placed them in my versed lament
     and this is why I've written and shown all these,
     so that those with wits may read, and weigh it all up.

29. G. Chatzidakis convincingly demonstrated that this was not the case: Εἶναι ὁ Γεωργιλλᾶς συγγραφεὺς τῆς 'Αλώσεως' *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα 'Ελληνικά* (2 vols Athens 1905–7) 2:537–60; this is a reworking of his earlier article 'Ist Georgillas der Verfasser des Gedichtes von der Eroberung Konstantinopels?' *BZ* 3 (1894) 581–98. Limenitis is the author of another lament on *The Plague of Rhodes* (see Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1:203–25), which he witnessed and which lasted for 20 months (October 1498–June 1500). To the same author is also attributed a version of the

Ottoman ruled area, is greatly distressed by the changes brought by the new regime and alludes to a climate of fear and distrust among the Greek folk. This is the uneasy, critical period just after the fall during which the division between the Unionists and anti-Unionists continues to be strong, and as the *Conquest of Constantinople* is more than a 'harmless' reaction to the events, the poet does not wish to be discovered by the authorities, which could also lead them to his network of informers or even associates. Politically, he favours the union of the churches although he does not openly admit this; his manner in addressing the pope is a clear indicator of his support.[30] He also stands on the side of all those who believed that the West would assist in restoring the empire. From his treatment of the events and his view of the causes of the fall, however, we may conjecture that the poet is nurtured by popular beliefs about the fate of the Byzantine Empire and, like most of his fellow Greeks, is trapped in the fatalistic climate of the period, attributing Constantinople's capture to the sins of its people, as a divine punishment. But his sense of his Roman background and heritage is deep, and hence he manifests a strong opposition to commingling with the Ottomans.

In conclusion, the poem *Conquest of Constantinople* is a valuable document not because of its historical information but because it is one of the earliest testimonies of clandestine activity in the Ottoman-ruled Greek world. Its author uses a popular style to conceal his information, but equally he uses the opportunity to reflect on the events and to offer his own interpretation of them.

Belisariad (see W.F. Bakker & A.F. van Gemert, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου* (Athens 1988)). The opposite view is held by G.S. Henrich, 'Ὁ Κορνάρος ποιητής και της Θυσίας — η μαρτυρία των «κρυπτοσφραγίδων»' *Η Ελλάδα των νησιών από τη Φραγκοκρατία ως σήμερα. Πρακτικά του Β΄ Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Ρέθυμνο, 10–12 Μαΐου 2002* ed. A. Argyriou (Athens 2004) 1:85–94.

30. The poet refers to the pope as the 'head of the Christians' (281), 'leading light of the Christians' (540), 'prop of the [Christian] faith' (539) and even more directly as the 'head of the Church' (604).

Dean Sakel

A Probable Solution to the Problem of
the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*

In his preparatory work toward a comprehensive study of the post-Byzantine chronicle tradition, Lambros noted the differences between the recently discovered *Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Graecus 111* (hereafter *Barberinus gr. 111*), or, to give it the name by which it was to be known almost exclusively, the *Imperatorum Turcorum Historia* or *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, and both the *Ekthesis Chronike* and the *Chronicle of 1570*,[1] the two most prominent works of their type in manuscripts of the period.[2] Overwhelmed by other commitments in addition to his academic responsibilities, Lambros (†1919) was prevented by death from seeing the fulfilment of his research, and today, almost a century later, the state of our appreciation of the post-Byzantine chronicle tradition has remained essentially where Lambros left it. Today both the *Ekthesis Chronike*, which contains the post-Byzantine world's statement on the transition from the Byzantine to the Ottoman world, and the *Chronicle of 1570* (into which the *Ekthesis Chronike* has been incorporated), a world history of the traditional Byzantine type and the central historical text of the post-Byzantine era, remain insufficiently studied and essentially unappreciated.[3] The former work is anonymous, while the latter, which survives in a number of different versions, has been attributed to Manuel Malaxos, the late sixteenth-century book-writer and author of the well-known (and also highly variant) *Nomocanon*.[4] I shall demonstrate the accuracy of this attribution below.

1. The *Chronicle of 1570* is still often referred to in the literature as the chronicle of Dorotheos (or Pseudo-Dorotheos) of Monemvasia, e.g. *ODB* 1:654.
2. S. Lambros, Ἀωροθέου βιβλίον ἱστορικόν᾽ *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 16 (1922) 137–90 at 140, 188–9. Also S. Lambros, Ἱερί τινων Βαρβερινῶν κωδίκων᾽ *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 5 (1908) 451–67 at 454–5. Lambros had by this time already published the *Ekthesis Chronike* (on the basis of what is today only a section of its manuscript tradition), though not the more prevalent and diverse *Chronicle of 1570*: viz. S. Lambros, ed., *Ecthesis chronica and Chronicon Athenarum* (London 1902, rp. Amsterdam 1969) 1–84. The first formal recording of *Cod. Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 111* as the *Imperatorum Turcorum Historia* was in the work's initial cataloguing, viz. S. de Ricci, ῾Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina᾽ *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907) 81–125 at 91. Previously Krumbacher, *GBL* 397 had referred to the work as a ῾Turkish History from 1373 to 1512᾽.
3. Recent literature on the *Ekthesis Chronike* is best left uncommented upon. Steps toward a meaningful study of the *Chronicle of 1570* over time, by a line of individuals that includes such names as Adamantiou, Bees, Dercsényi, Zachariadou, Lebedeva, Markopoulos and Stanitsas, did not lead to fruition. On the tradition of the Byzantine world chronicle, see C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980) 189–200.
4. On the *Chronicle of 1570*, see most basically G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1, *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkenvölker* (2nd ed. 2 vols Berlin 1958, rp. Leiden 1983) 1:412–14. Malaxos᾽ authorship of the *Chronicle of 1570*, of the original composition as well as of its variants, was argued by C. Papadopoulos,

Interest in *Barberinus gr. 111* persisted despite the absence of further work on the more central chronicles of the period.[5] This interest quickly led to the production of a number of 'high-profile' editions of the text, first of the Greek original, then of several translation-editions into various modern languages.[6] All these publications, in which the text is accompanied by lengthy prolegomena and copious annotation, unreservedly attribute a high value to a work whose literary and cultural context none the less they are unable to explain.[7] The work is indeed peculiar. It was, for instance, composed in Greek at the time when the Orthodox Patriarchate had to take administrative responsibility for Greek Christians through the Ottoman millet system, which thus placed the Patriarchate at the very centre of political life. Yet, despite this, the work contains nothing but narrative on Ottoman affairs structured according to the succession of Ottoman sultans, and treats the Patriarchate as if it were non-existent.[8]

'Περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ ις΄ αἰῶνος' *Ἐκκ.Φάρ.* 9 (1912) 410–54. Papadopoulos' conclusions were based on the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle of 1570* in the light of the evidence of contemporaries of Malaxos on his authorship of the *Patriarchal History of Constantinople* in particular (on which see below), and of his authorship of 'books' in general. There are other indicators as well, and Papadopoulos' thesis, while not wrong, may be a little oversimplistic. The most recent statement on the life and career of Manuel Malaxos is in G. de Gregorio, 'Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: I. Ancora Manuel Malaxos' *RömHistMitt* 37 (1995) 97–144.

5. Notably by Moravcsik who began study of the work in 1926: G. Moravcsik, '"Ἄγνωστον Ἑλληνικὸν Χρονικὸν περὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν σουλτάνων' *AkadAthPr* 5 (1930) 447–50. Substantial portions of the manuscript were already published by 1939 by F. Vicchio serially in issues of *Ράδιο-Ἐπιθεώρησις* for that year.

6. The full publication of the text (with 'corrections' to its Greek) was by G. Zoras, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (κατὰ τὸν Βαρβερινὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 111)* (Athens 1958). The translations were the following: *Leben und Taten der Türkischen Kaiser (Die Anonyme vulgärgriechische Chronik Codex Barberinianus Graecus 111 [Anonymus Zoras])* Germ. tr. intr. and comm. R.F. Kreutel. Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber 6 (Graz 1971); Ş. Baştav, *16. Asırda Yazılmış Grekçe Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi: Giriş ve Metin (1373–1512)* (Ankara 1973) and *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373–1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (Codex Barberinus Graecus 111)* tr. and ann. M. Philippides. Late Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 4 (New Rochelle 1990). Baştav and Philippides had dealt with the work in several articles prior to these publications. Zachariadou had dealt with the chronicle as part of her doctoral studies, and its publication was another 'high-profile' work; viz. E. Zachariadou, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων καὶ τὸ ἰταλικό του πρότυπο.* Society for Macedonian Studies supplement 14 (Thessalonica 1960).

7. For the ongoing perception of the unique place of the chronicle in post-Byzantine letters, see most recently: A. Pippidi, 'Une nouvelle chronique post-byzantine' *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire* (Bucharest 1995) 41–50 (arguing for a 'second' work of the type of the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* based on a supposed mid-seventeenth century Romanian translation).

8. Another problem for some has been the allegedly unliterary nature of the work's language (which form however is the very same one present in other contemporary works, the *Chronicle of 1570* most notably). The characteristics of the work were

There is a reason however for this apparent discrepancy. All studies of the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* have judged it in isolation from all contemporary works of its type, and in particular from the *Chronicle of 1570*, of which it is simply one more variant, as we shall show in what follows. A connection between *Barberinus gr. 111* and the more mainstream *Chronicle of 1570* was in time found, but it was assumed to be no more than a source, and an insignificant source at that, while the *Barberinus gr. 111* was accepted as being totally original in terms of contemporary works of its type.[9] In fact *Barberinus gr. 111* is just one variant of the multi-variant *Chronicle of 1570*, a work written by the same circle of individuals and saying the same thing in its various forms, of which one form, of an admittedly special type, is that represented by *Barberinus gr. 111*. So it emerges that the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* has no independent value other than as a particular expression of the all-encompassing *Chronicle of 1570*.

Before proceeding, it is worth reviewing the terminology used for the collection of post-Byzantine chronicles. The *Chronicle of 1570* is used to cover a range of manuscripts containing a chronicle which in its full form covers the period from Creation to at least 1570. Several of these manuscripts include just portions of the whole work, seemingly selections made to suit a particular patron or audience. Most, if not all, the manuscripts, as I shall be arguing elsewhere, come either directly from the workshop of Manuel Malaxos or indirectly as continuations of his chronicles. One of the more detailed versions of the *Chronicle of 1570* was eventually printed in Venice in 1631 but under the title of *Biblion Historikon* and attributed to one Dorotheos of Monemvasia who in fact never existed.[10] This version was reprinted numerous times and became in fact the main historical text for the Greeks for the next two centuries. The *Chronicle of 1570*, or alternatively the printed *Biblion Historikon*, thus provide the standard conventional traditional version and it will be convenient to use these terms (the former in particular) to refer to their account.

Barberinus gr. 111, dating from the earlier part of the seventeenth century and written by an unidentified scribe, survives today in 86 folios, from a point in the reign of Sultan Murat I (1360–89) on what is numbered as folio 11, to a point in that of Sultan Selim I (1512–20) at the end of folio 97.[11] In addition, three folios originating from *Barberinus gr. 111* are to be found today in *Vaticanus*

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brought out by the work's students (Zachariadou in particular) and will be dealt with in what follows.

9. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 64–71; the use of the *Chronicle of 1570* being dealt with in the chapter entitled 'Παρεμβολὴ ἀπὸ τὸ Χρονικὸ τοῦ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου'.

10. Dorotheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν, Περιέχον ἐν Συνόψει Διαφόρους καὶ Ἐξόχους Ἱστορίας... (Venice 1631). On the *editio princeps* of the *Biblion Historikon*, see É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-septième siècle* (5 vols Paris 1894–6, rp. Brussels 1963) 1:290–9.

11. On the manuscript, see V. Capocci, *Codices Barberiniani Graeci*, vol. 1, *Codices 1–163* (Vatican City 1958) 157–8. Zoras, cited above, provides facsimiles of a selection of folios from the manuscript.

Barberinus gr. 598 (folios 21, 22 and 23).[12] The first two follow on almost immediately, though in reverse order, from the end of *Barberinus gr. 111* in its present state. The third deals with the reign of Sultan Murat III (1574–95) almost in passing and includes the very basic error that Murat reigned only nine years (instead of the actual twenty-one) and started a war with the Habsburgs soon after ascending the throne (in actual fact two years before his death). The latter affair also goes on to occupy all that still survives on the reign of Murat's successor Mehmet III (1595–1603).

Within the narrative of *Barberinus gr. 111* there is a distinct and sizeable section dealing with the Ottoman-Venetian war at the turn of the sixteenth century which is derived from the *Chronicle of 1570* or rather, more specifically, its variant contained in *Oxoniensis Canonicus gr. 67*.[13] The identification was made by E. Zachariadou, based principally on this variant's similar inclusion of an account of the siege of Nafplion.[14] The correspondence between the two chronicles is rarely however exact, with *Barberinus gr. 111* usually being briefer than *Canonicus gr. 67*, while on two occasions it is more extensive. These two instances involve a flashback on the origins of Venetian sovereignty over the castles of Methone, Korone and Navarino, raised in the context of their Ottoman conquest, as well as a more elaborate account of the siege of Nafplion.

Canonicus gr. 67 has a distinct daughter variant in *Chiacus Bibliotheca Korais 161*[15] which corresponds completely with its parent manuscript in content

12. Published by G. Zoras, Ἱρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (Προσθῆκαι καὶ παρατηρήσεις)' Ἐπ.Ἐπ.Φιλ.Σχο.'Ἀθη. ser. 2, 16 (1965–6) 597–604.

13. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 64–71. On the manuscript, see H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford 1854, rp. 1969) pt. 3, 70. See also, however, Lambros, Ἀωροθέου βιβλίον ἱστορικόν' 142–74. The fullest treatment till now of the tradition of the *Chronicle of 1570*, still however insufficient, is that by I.N. Lebedeva, 'Поздние греческие хроники и их русские и восточные переводы' *Palestinskii Sbornik* 18.81 (1968) 31–61. On the representatives of the *Chronicle of 1570*, see my forthcoming study, 'The Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine World Chronicle in the Vernacular: Definitions and Preliminary Appraisals' *Early Modern Greek Folk Vernacular Literature: Language, Tradition and Poetics. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference 'Neograeca Medii Aevi' (Ioannina, 29 September – 2 October 2005* (in press).

14. On the identification, as well as for the convenient reproduction of the relevant texts of the Oxford manuscript, see Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 66–71.

15. On *Chiacus Bibliotheca Korais 161*, see K. Amantos, Ἱρεῖς ἄγνωστοι κώδικες τοῦ Χρονογράφου' Ἑλληνικά 1 (1928) 45–70 at 46–58 (which includes reproduction of the variant's title and some of its text). *Chiacus 161* and *Canonicus gr. 67* represent some of the more central representatives of the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle of 1570*. It is in the title of *Chiacus 161*, which was written five years after *Canonicus gr. 67*, that Malaxos explicitly claims authorship not only of the particular variant, but of the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle of 1570* as a whole. The dependence of *Chiacus 161* on the Oxford manuscript is, in fact, most basically in evidence from a comparison of their titles. The title of *Canonicus gr. 67* is missing along with much of this manuscript's early section, but it is none the less preserved in the copy of *Cairensis Bibliotheca Patriarchalis 97*, on which see N.S. Phirippides, 'Κατάλογος τῶν Κωδίκων τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Πατριαρχείου 'Αλεξανδρείας' Ἐκκ.Φάρ. 38 (1939) 203–19 at 214–5; also in T.D. Moschonas, Κατάλογοι τῆς

on the sections of interest to us here, apart from the same two occasions where *Barberinus gr. 111* gives a more extensive account than *Canonicus gr. 67*. For the first of these additions, *Chiacus 161* is even more detailed than *Barberinus gr. 111*, which accords with *Canonicus gr. 67*'s greater overall detail than *Barberinus gr. 111*.[16] For the siege of Nafplion, however, *Barberinus gr. 111* contains a more extensive text than *Chiacus 161*, which likewise is itself more extensive at this point than *Canonicus gr. 67*. That *Barberinus gr. 111* is definitely derived from *Chiacus 161* rather than from *Canonicus gr. 67* becomes clear from a comparison of the relevant passages (italicised for appropriate and easier identification):[17]

Chiacus 161	Barberinus gr. 111
Bold italics = om. Canon. gr. 67	Bold italics = Chiac. om. Canon.
	Plain italics = om. Chiac. Canon.

...ὑπῆγεν *σωματικῶς* εἰς τὸ ἀναύπλη *καὶ ἐτέντωσεν ἀπὸ κάτω εἰς τὸ ἄργος*.	...ἐδιάβη *σωματικῶς* εἰς τὸ 'Ανάπλι *καὶ ἐτέντωσε εἰς τὸ* "Αργος, εἰς τοὺς κάμπους. Καὶ
ἀπὸ δὲ ἐκεῖ ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸ βουνὸν τῆς γλυκαίας ὁποῦ εἶναι ὁ ἅγιος νικόλαος	ἀτός του ἐδιάβη *καὶ ἐτέντωσε ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ βουνὸ τοῦ 'Αγίου Νικολάου τῆς Γλυκέας*
καὶ εὔλεπεν ἀπέκεῖ τοὺς πολέμους. καὶ οἱ ρωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, δὲν ἔλλειπεν ἡμέραν νάμη δὲν εὔγουν ἔξω νὰ πολεμοῦν εἰς τὸν μουθουνιάρη με τοὺς τούρκους.	*καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐθεώρειε τοὺς πολέμους*, ὁποῦ ἐβγαίνανε ἀπὸ τὸ 'Ανάπλι ὁλίγοι καβελλάροι καὶ ἀπεζοί, 'Αρβανῖτες. Ρωμαῖοι, καὶ *ἐπολεμούσανε μὲ τοὺς Τούρκους*. 'Αμμὴ μικροὺς

Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, Τόμος Α´: Χειρόγραφα (Alexandria 1945, rp. Salt Lake City 1965) 68-9.

16. So for the relevant texts. beginning with *Chiacus 161* fol. 239r–239v: 'τοῦτα τὰ τρία κάστρη, τῆς μεθώνης, τῆς κωρόνης, καὶ τοῦ ἀβαρύνου. τὰ εἶχαν οἱ βενέτικοι χάρισμα ἀπὸ τὸν φράγκον τὸν πρίτζιπον τοῦ μωρέως. διότι ὅταν ἐπολέμα αὐτὸς τὸν μορέαν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τοὺς βενετίκους καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῦ κάτεργα καὶ ἐπερίλαβεν ὅλον τὸν μοραίαν. καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν βοηθείαν ὁποῦ τοῦ ἔκαμαν τοὺς ἐχάρισε αὐτὰ τὰ κάστρη'. For the case of *Barberinus gr. 111*: 'Έτοῦτα τὰ τρία κάστρη, ἥγουν ἡ Μεθώνη, ἡ Κορώνη καὶ ὁ 'Αβαρῖνος, ὁποῦ ἥτανε τῶν Βενετζάνω, τὰ εἶχανε χάρι παρμένα παλαιὰ ἀπὸ τὸν πρίντζιπο Γουλιέρμο, Φραντζέζη, ὁποῦ ὥριζε τὸν Μορέα.' Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 69. In this and the subsequent reproduction from *Chiacus 161*, I have retained the orthography and punctuation of the manuscript, except for having regulated the use of 'β' and diphthong 'υ' in line with modern practice, placed the occasional capitals as small letters. given all punctuation points as periods, given abbreviated words in full and avoided stylistic markers peculiar to the particular scribe. Reproductions of a sampling of folios of *Chiacus 161* can be found in the publication by Kosmas cited in the final footnote of the present article.

17. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 69-70; *Chiacus 161* fols 240r-241v.

ἡ δὲ ἀρμάδα τοῦ σουλτάνου ἄρμενα διακόσια ὀγδοήντα[18] ἐκλεκτᾶ καλλὰ ἀρματωμένα ὑπῆγε καὶ ἄρραξε τὰ μέρη τοῦ κυβερίου

καὶ ἀνεβοκατεύαιναν οἱ φοῦστες καὶ τὰ κάτεργα τὸν ἅγιον παντελεήμονα, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἄννα καὶ τὴν ἔξω μερέα τοῦ νησίου καὶ τοῦ κάστρου

καὶ ἕως εἰς τὸν καραθῶνα[19] καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸ γύρο στερέας καὶ θαλάσσης.

τὰ δὲ φουσάτα ὡς εἶδαν τὴν ἀρμάδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβαν χαρὰν μεγάλην καὶ ἦλθαν καὶ ἐτέντοσαν ἀπὸ τὸ παλαιόκαστρον καὶ μετὰ τὴν γλυκέα· τὴν ἄρειαν. τὴν ἁγίαν παρασκευήν. τὸν καραθῶνα.

τὰ περὶ βόλια τὸ γύρον· καὶ ἕως τὴν πόρτα τοῦ ἁγίου γεωργίου.[20]

τὸ ὁποῖον ἐρχόντησαν οἱ τούρκοι καὶ ἐπολεμοῦσαν εἰς τὴν ἔξω πόρτα τοῦ πύργου καβαλαρίοι καὶ πεζοί.

οἱ δὲ ναυπλοιῶται ἐσφαλίσθησαν μέσα εἰς τὸ κάστρον καὶ δὲν εἶχαν ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίναι εἰμὴ εἰς τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖραν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λιτανείας νύκτα καὶ

πολέμους ἐκάμνασι εἰς τὸ Μπουθουνιάρη λεγόμενον, τόπον ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀνάπλι. Καὶ ἡ ἀρμάδα τοῦ σουλτάνου, ὁποῦ ἦσανε κάτεργα καλὰ ἀρματωμένα ἕως διακόσα ὀγδοήντα, χωρὶς τὶς φοῦστες, καὶ ἀράξανε ἀπὸ τὸ Τζιβέρι ἕως εἰς τὰ Λιθάρια.

Καὶ οἱ φοῦστες ἐπηγαίνανε καὶ ἐρχόντησαν ἕως εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Παντελεήμονα, ἀγνάντια τοῦ Ἀναπλίου, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὄξω μερέα τοῦ νησίου ὁποῦ ἔναι τὸ καστέλλι, καὶ ἐπηγαίνασι καὶ εἰς τὸν Καραθῶνα τοῦ Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου. τόσο ὅτι ἀποκλείσανε τὸ Ἀνάπλι στερέας καὶ θαλάσσης. Καὶ τὰ φουσσάτα τοῦ σουλτάνου πὼς ἦρθανε, ἐλάβανε χαρὰν μεγάλην καὶ ἦρθανε κοντύτερα καὶ ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἄρεια καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια τοῦ βουνοῦ, κοντύτερα εἰς τὸ Ἀνάπλι καὶ ἕως εἰς τὰ περιβόλια καὶ ἕως εἰς τὴν ὄξω πόρτα τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου, τόσοι ἐχώρα ὁ τόπος.

Καὶ οἱ Ἀναπλιῶτες ἐκλείστησαν μέσα εἰς τὸ κάστρο καὶ ἔκλεισαν τὶς πόρτες. Καὶ δὲν εἴχανε ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴ κλίναι, εἰμὴ εἰς τὴν κραταιὰ χειρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

18. *Canonicus gr.* 67 continues: 'τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν μὲ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν'; Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 69.
19. *Canonicus gr.* 67 continues: 'Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ σουλτὰν Σελήμης τῆς στερέας διὰ γῆς, καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν βουνὸν ἀπάνω τῆς Γλυκαίας'; Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 70.
20. *Canonicus gr.* 67 continues: 'καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸ Ἀνάπλι διόλου στερέας καὶ θαλάσσης, καὶ ἔβαλαν λουμπάρδες τρεῖς ἔξω μερέα τῆς πόρτας καὶ τῶν περιβολίων καὶ ἔδιδαν εἰς τὸ χαντάκι καὶ εἰς τὸ τειχίον καὶ ἐμπῆκαν καὶ πολλὰ βόλια μέσα εἰς τὸ κάστρον· ἀμὴ τῇ βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τινὰς Ναυπλιώτης δὲν ἔπαθε κακὸν καὶ ἦτον μέγα θαῦμα'; Zachariadou *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 70.

ἡμέρα ἔκαμναν, καὶ τὸ κύριε ἐλέησον μεγαλοφώνος ἐβόων μετὰ δακρύων ἐξόλης ψυχῆς. καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρειώδει τοῦ πολέμου ἔκαμναν.

Καὶ ἐκάμνασι λιτανεῖες νύκτα καὶ ἡμέρα καὶ ἐκράζανε τὸ 'Κύριε ἐλέησον' μεγαλοφώνως, ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ χρειώδη τοῦ πολέμου ἑτοιμάζαν.

ἀλλ' ὁ ἀκοίμητος ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ δυνατὸς καὶ φοβερός διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἀπεδίωξε τὴν ἁρμάδα τῶν τουρκῶν μετὰ ἀνέμου δυνατοῦ

Ἀλλὰ ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ὁ ἀκοίμητος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ δυνατὸς καὶ φοβερός, διὰ πρεσβείαν τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς, ἀποδίωξε τὴν ἁρμάδα τοῦ σουλτάνου μετὰ ἀνέμου δυνατοῦ, ὁποὺ ἦρθε δυνατὴ φουρτούνα καὶ ἐκινδυνέψαν νὰ τὰ τζακίσῃ, νὰ τὰ ῥίξῃ ὄξω εἰς τὴν γῆ καὶ πνιγοῦσι.

καὶ ἐμίσευσεν εἰς τὰς τέσαρας τοῦ σεπτεβρίου μηνὸς ἡμέρα παρασκευή.

Καὶ ἤτονε τότε ἡ τέταρτη ἡμέρα τοῦ Σεπτεβρίου μηνὸς καὶ ἤτονε ἡμέρα Παρασκευή.

Quite apart from what was the derivation of each manuscript, it seems fairly clear, given both the method of composition and the knowledge of the facts, that the author of all three manuscripts must be the same individual. This individual is of course none other than the native of Nafplion and suspected author of the original *Chronicle of 1570* and most if not all its variants, Manuel Malaxos. That this is the case is confirmed by an examination of the principal features of the work. Consideration in what follows is restricted to factors of a more decisive nature and to problem cases.

Barberinus gr. 111's overwhelming derivation from Francesco Sansovino's *Gl'Annali Turcheschi* has been known ever since Zachariadou recognised that the former contains material from the *Chronicle of 1570*.[21] Zachariadou also

21. F. Sansovino, *Gl'Annali overo le Vite de principi et signori della casa Othomana ne quali si leggono di tempo in tempo tutte le guerre particolarmente fatte dalla natione de' Turchi in diverse provincie del mondo contra i Christiani* (Venice 1571). The discovery was accompanied by Zachariadou's precise determination of the author's debt to what turns out to be the second edition of the Italian work (Venice 1573); Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 22ff. Previously it had been known that *Barberinus gr. 111* was closely related to three works in particular, Chalcocondyles, Leonard of Chios and Paolo Giovio. The connection with Chalcocondyles and Leonard had been made by Moravcsik in '"Αγνωστον Ἑλληνικὸν Χρονικὸν' 447–50 and 'Bericht des Leonardus Chiensis über den Fall von Konstantinopel in einer vulgär-griechischen Quelle' *BZ* 44 (1951) 428–36. The connection with Giovio had been made by Zoras, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων Σουλτάνων* 320–1. All three works also turn out to have been the principal sources of Sansovino's history. G. Arnakis, *Speculum* 36 (1961) 709–12, in a review of both Zoras and Zachariadou, was critical of the latter's narrow range of exploration. This however was not warranted given the conclusive nature of her investigation. For reasons that are not clear to me, Philippides follows a pre-Zachariadou view of the sources: M. Philippides, 'The Fall of Constantinople: Bishop Leonard and the Greek Accounts' *GRBS* 22 (1981) 287–300; also *Byzantium, Europe and the Early Ottoman Sultans*

established that Malaxos (or rather the author of the *Chronicle of 1570*) had also used another Italian work dealing with Ottoman history, namely Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi*.[22] Not surprisingly the same features are imposed on the borrowed material in both cases. These include the occasional errors by someone who knows Italian well enough to translate though not to do so without fault;[23] the consistent and successful rendition of Turkish forms from the originals apart from the significantly unique case of 'sangiacco-sangiaccato', which in both accounts is given as 'φλαμπουριάρης-φλάμπουρο';[24] and, in relation to both sources, the correction or further explanation of Turkish customs, institutions and the landmarks of Constantinople.[25] There is also the distinct predisposition towards an inconsistent use of the Italian forms of place names.[26]

Zachariadou correctly stated that the insertion from the conventional chronicle account, being both in language and style the very same as that of the remainder of the work, is accordingly an addition to the ultimate Italian original made by the author-translator himself.[27] Despite this, it has never been observed

12–16. Of note here is the suggestion by Kreutel, *Leben und Taten* 15–16, that the existing Greek version was produced from a source that was itself built upon the two principal sources of Sansovino and the *Chronicle of 1570*. The point is in fact ultimately correct in terms of the relationship between the scribe of *Barberinus gr. 111* and the author of its history, though it constitutes an unnecessary complication given the context of Kreutel's discussion. Despite recognition of the work's definite secondary nature, it none the less continues to be used uncritically as if it were a fully 'original' composition. So for example most recently D. Ispiridis, ʻΠολιτικὲς καὶ Θρησκευτικὲς Σχέσεις Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Ὀθωμανῶν (ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ Βαρβερινοῦ κώδικος 111 τῆς Βατικανῆς Βιβλιοθήκης, ἐκδοθέντος ὑπὸ Γ.Θ. Ζώρα)' *ΑΝΑΔΡΟΜΗ, Τιμητικὸν ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος κ. Ἰάκωβον Βαβανάτσον* (Megara 1991) 173–81.

22. E. Zachariadou, ʻΜιὰ ἰταλικὴ πηγὴ τοῦ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν' *Πελοποννησιακά* 5 (1961) 46–59.

23. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 27; Zachariadou, ʻΜιὰ ἰταλικὴ πηγή' 51–2.

24. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 54. In the case of Giovio, the general tendency was admittedly never noticed or never brought out. *Ann Arbor 215* 1234 bears the single exception in the chronicle, given that otherwise, as in the single occurrence in the *Biblion Historikon*, the term is left in the Hellenised alternative form of 'σαντζάκμπεη' as present in the Greek source at that point. On the manuscript (listed when still *Washingtonianus Bibl. E. Kyreakou 2*) see S. de Ricci & W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (2 vols New York 1942) 2:2275.

25. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 54–6. F.H. Marshall, ʻThe Chronicle of Manuel Malaxos' *BNJ* 5 (1926) 10–28; most obviously, for the distinct feature pervading the entire text.

26. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 52. Also H. Ditten, ʻDie Namen für Venedig und Genua bei den letzten byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern (15. Jahrhundert)' *Helikon* 6.1–2 (1966) 51–70 at 58–9, 64. Zachariadou, ʻΜιὰ ἰταλικὴ πηγή' 50. For a contrast of the inconsistency between the variants, such as for example in the case of ʻΣικελία-Τζιτζίλια', see *Biblion Historikon* 383 and *Chiacus Bibliotheca Korais 162* fol. 185v in the very same context. On the latter manuscript, see Amantos, ʻΤρεῖς ἄγνωστοι κώδικες' 58–63.

27. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 19.

that the uniformity in both style and language of the entire *Barberinus gr. 111* in fact extends to a whole list of amazing features held in common with the parent variant itself.[28] In terms specifically of the dialectical peculiarities of this language, these have in fact been seen to derive from either the Ionian Islands or the western Peloponnese.[29] The latter immediately appears as the more likely case given the interests highlighted by the siege of Nafplion. In addition, the knowledge of Italian, combined with the sound knowledge of Constantinople, points to none other than a refugee, one who possibly made his way to Constantinople by way of Venice and its Ionian-Island Empire, as in fact actually occurred with Malaxos himself.[30]

Independently however of the more immediately observed direct borrowings from the standard chronicle (the *Chronicle of 1570*), the lesser divergences of the new Greek work in *Barberinus gr. 111* from its Italian base source also point directly to Malaxos as the author. Let us therefore note here the 'free' additions to the running text of Sansovino within the otherwise standard stories of the conventional chronicle: the despot Andronikos Palaiologos' sale of Thessalonica, which is in fact given twice, and the emperor Constantine Palaiologos' execution of his family.[31] There are the briefer references to or elaborations of specific figures of the wider chronicle, such as the Byzantine emperor Alexius V, the despots of the Morea in the era of the Palaiologoi, the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, and the Ottoman sultans.[32] The presentation of the classical past follows the normal conventions, being focused on Macedon, Rome especially, and Troy in particular.[33] In the standard chronicle account moreover, the affair of Troy centres heavily on the figure of Achilles, so it is not surprising to find that when Sansovino illustrates the last Byzantine emperor's bravery with a simile involving Heracles, Malaxos replaces the latter with the more appropriate Achilles.[34] There is, finally, as in the standard account, the ever-present concerns over the dwindling Byzantine and Venetian empires, together with the accompanying sentimentalities and lamentations, especially when these refer to the Peloponnese.[35]

28. The identical nature of both extends to variations within each account. So therefore for the forms 'ἐφαρμακίσουν' and 'ἐφαρμάκωσε' in *Canonicus gr. 67*, and 'ἐφαρμάκισε' and 'ἐφαρμακέψανε' in *Barberinus gr. 111*; texts in parallel in Zachariadou, Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων 67–70.

29. Ş. Baştav, 'XVI. asırda yazılmış grekçe anonim Osmanlı tarihine göre İstanbul'un muhasarası ve zabtı' *Belleten* 18.69 (1954) 51–82 at 54–5. Zachariadou, Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων 74–9. Baştav singled out the Mani as a specific place of possible origin for an individual with connections otherwise to Italy and Constantinople.

30. The last two points were well brought out by Zachariadou, Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων 18–19.

31. Zachariadou, Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων 61–2; *Biblion Historikon* 534; *Ann Arbor 215* 1060, 1184–5.

32. Zachariadou, Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων 57, 60.

33. Ibid. 19.

34. Ibid. 62–3.

35. Ibid. 58–60.

In line with *Barberinus gr. 111* being but another manuscript of the *Chronicle of 1570*, the more standard account has accordingly been reproduced not only in terms of content but also in terms of technique. One can here point to an identifiable third source of the new work. This is what we have elsewhere identified as a florilegium authored by none other than Malaxos himself, from whose Chapter 57 the author has in fact derived, directly or otherwise (given that its sources were also probably of immediate access), the material on the circumference of particular Mediterranean islands.[36] In the case of the conventional chronicle, this text was drawn upon for the circumference of Cyprus, and through *Barberinus gr. 111*, the borrowing was extended to include Lesbos and Euboia as well, cases never previously part of the standard work as it today survives.[37]

This feature as evident now in the *Barberinus gr. 111* is but an aspect of a wider tendency, ever present throughout the rewriting of the *Chronicle of 1570*, to add original material to particular versions. Elsewhere in *Barberinus gr. 111* we find the more extensive case of new and otherwise unique material on the contemporary state of the town of Mouchli (notably yet another Peloponnesian city) as well as on its Ottoman conquest.[38] More interesting however is the opportunity offered through the use of Sanosovino for commentary on the figure of Skanderbeg. This was something denied Malaxos in his standard account, given that figure's total absence from the sources, Italian or Greek, of the *Chronicle of 1570*. Now however, given the opportunity, he readily supplements his work using a tale he clearly only heard, or perhaps thought he heard, in Italy.[39]

Of equal interest is the response to the related situation arising out of a physical defect in the Italian original, where Malaxos' copy of Sansovino lacked an entire quire (corresponding to pages 89–96), as Zachariadou has pointed out. So Malaxos was faced with the necessity of adding material from elsewhere, which given the combined circumstances of the nature of the demand and his not particularly impressive abilities, he can hardly do.[40] Because these relevant pages were missing from Malaxos' actual copy of Sansovino, he was faced with a gap covering, to begin with, the Second Battle of Kosovo, an affair that again does not figure at all in the standard account. So Malaxos leaves the remainder of the reign of Sultan Murat I blank apart from a few words in excuse about the physical defect of his copy. For the later part of the gap, being the beginning of

36. On this florilegium, see my article 'An Unnoticed Theological Treatise of the Sixteenth Century' *Atti del IX Simposio Paolino: Paolo tra Tarso e Antiochia: Archeologia-Storia-Religione (Tarsus–Antakya, 26–8 June 2005)* ed. L. Padovese (Rome 2006) 233–48.
37. Zachariadou. Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 57; Marshall. 'Manuel Malaxos' 24 for the immediately accessible case relating to Cyprus.
38. Zachariadou. Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 63–4.
39. Ibid. 71–3. That the source is oral is suggested by its historical inaccuracy, something effectively confirmed by the itinerary Skanderbeg is said to have taken on his escape, which is the traditional shipping route Malaxos himself (a frequent traveller between Italy and the Balkan Ottoman realm) would have used on many an occasion.
40. Ibid. 30–2 for the description of the whole affair and the discovery of its cause.

the reign of Sultan Mehmet II, he is in fact able to supply some information, albeit in the briefest of summaries, and this indeed involves all the characteristic points of the much more extensive standard account of the *Chronicle of 1570*.[41]

In line, finally, with Malaxos' known practices, the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* has its own inconsistencies which might seem incredible elsewhere. For instance there is the insertion of a sizeable section from the standard account on Cem Sultan, on account of which Malaxos properly adapted some material previously dealt with by the text of Sansovino, and at which point he did rightly preempt his subsequent preferred inclusion from the standard *Chronicle of 1570*.[42] Despite such basic attempts at 'editing', Malaxos did however still leave the forms of the conventional account just as they were. So then, Sansovino's 'Zizinos' (as the rebel Ottoman prince, son of Sultan Mehmet II, is known in that history), is now referred to in the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* as 'Cem'; Creation dating is for once used in *Barberinus gr. 111* instead of the previously consistent AD method, while in terms of the insertion overall, it still lacks chronological continuity proper in terms of the wider narrative context. These inconsistencies figure in the standard account itself, although given the more conventional form of the text in the other variants of the chronicle, they are to be found there to a more limited extent.[43]

Further to this, in relation to some points of fact less tightly regulated by specific borrowings, there are the not unexpected inconsistencies between the new work and the conventional versions. So, in contrast to the standard account, Sultan Mehmet II is said on two occasions to have taken over the reins of power at the age of thirteen rather than at eighteen, and the 1471 Bosnian raids into Carniola are commented upon as an Ottoman defeat rather than as a victory.[44]

This 'casual' attitude to the work does have particularly serious consequences when numbering is concerned. Sansovino's account included a reign for Isa (one of the sultans during the 1402–13 period of troubles), which Malaxos, given both this figure's absence from the traditional account and his own quest for brevity, saw no reason to include.[45] Isa was Sansovino's sixth sultan, so Malaxos correctly numbers the next, being Musulman, as the sixth,

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41. The affairs here are: the Ottoman state being at peace with all its neighbours at the time of Mehmet's accession; a feigned march onto Hungary, 'northward', according to the much more unclear world-chronicle account; and a subsequent attack on the villages around Constantinople. *Biblion Historikon* 545.

42. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 64–5. More specifically, Malaxos departs from Sansovino's claims on Cem's flight to the West in favour of a statement more in line with the account of the *Chronicle of 1570*, as well as adding a statement on the manner of Cem's death (again according to the account of the *Chronicle of 1570*), together with a promise to relate it further along.

43. *Biblion Historikon*, 534–48 for the diversity as regards the two dating systems. Zachariadou, 'Μιὰ ἰταλικὴ πηγὴ' 49–50. Note the parallel observations; ibid. 49: "Ἡ ἔκθεση αὐτὴ ἔχει παρεμβληθῆ...μὲ τρόπο ἀρκετὰ ἀδέξιο..."; and Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 64: "Ἡ περεμβολὴ ἔγινε μὲ τρόπο ἀρκετὰ ἀδέξιο...".

44. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 61, 64. *Ann Arbor 215* 1153, 1234.

45. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 32–4 for here and what follows.

Musa in turn as the seventh, but only at the beginning of the relevant chapter. At the end, (and perhaps on the occasion of a new copying session), we find the form of the source again being followed, with Musa stated to be number eight, and with Mehmet I in turn, at both beginning and end, as number nine. Evidently soon remembering his previous intent, Malaxos numbers Murat II in the middle of his reign as ninth. By the end however he again forgets or relents and numbers him tenth. Mehmet II is accordingly numbered eleventh, and Bayezit II twelfth, except however at the end where Malaxos again remembers or relents, and in the added confusion numbers him surprisingly as thirteenth. Further confused by then, Selim I at the beginning of his reign becomes, as in Sansovino himself, number thirteen. It is such a lack of care that inevitably causes almost insoluble problems for the future observant and enterprising scribe of the work.[46]

All such faults are not really remarkable when viewed from the context of the conventional work. There is the case, for example, of certain versions of the *Chronicle of 1570* attributing the marvels constructed in the time of the Byzantine emperor Theophilos and destroyed by his son Michael III to Leo the Wise, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, while others attribute them to Leo the Wise the emperor, who lived and reigned long after Michael was dead.[47] There is also the case in *Londiniensis Harleianus 5632* of the possessed dog of Andrew in the time of the Byzantine emperor Justinian, who is said to pick out from the crowd holders of coins of the Ottoman Sultans Mehmet II and Bayezit II.[48]

The inconsistency in content also naturally extends to language, a feature not uncharacteristic of Malaxos throughout the length of his chronicle output. There is, for example, the particular case of inconsistency, previously seen to apply to the use of words of Italian origin, which is now found to extend also to place and proper names of ancient or foreign derivation.[49] Inconsistency of this type is seen by some as naturally precluding any literary activity, and as such extraordinary

46. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 33, needlessly attributes the omission of Isa to scribal error, when the enumeration further along again coincides with that of the source. It is this attempted correction by the scribe of the contradictory numbering of the sultans caused by a careless though definite use of the source which provides more secure proof, than does Zachariadou's assumption, based on the manuscript's bad orthography, that *Barberinus gr. 111* is in fact a copy and not the ultimate original. On the latter point; Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 12.

47. *Parisinus Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 1790* 678, 680, for example, attributes them to Leo the Metropolitan, and the *Biblion Historikon* 452, to Leo the emperor. Some variants, e.g. *Constantinopolitanus met. Sancti Sepulchri 462* fol. 167v, do not attribute them to anyone. *Parisinus gr. 1790* 720 makes the point (in a later context) that Leo the emperor learnt his magical abilities from Leo the Metropolitan. On these manuscripts see respectively H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements* (4 vols Paris 1886–98) 2:144 and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (5 vols St Petersburg 1891–1915, rp. Brussels 1963) 5:32–3.

48. Marshall, 'Manuel Malaxos' 13.

49. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 52–3, correctly attributing some at least of these to the author, and as such unavoidably to carelessness. Most glaring in the case of the conventional work are the cases of 'πελιγράδη' and 'πελεγράδι' only one and a half lines apart; viz. *Ann Arbor 215* 1232.

explanations have had to be advanced as the cause of cases which seem otherwise to defy common sense. For example there is the phrase 'ἡ Αὐρέα Πόρτα', which was taken as one piece of proof that the author of the chronicle could not have been a Greek, in full contradiction to all the other, independent evidence in the same work that he was nothing but a Greek.[50] For Malaxos however, inconsistent by nature throughout his scribal output and apparently, as we may note, not to the disapproval of his readers, the Latin form of the Golden Gate was just as legitimate and acceptable as the Greek.

The feature of inconsistency is not least evident in the reaction by the author to the physical defect of his Italian source. The claim that the lack of any inclusion from the eight pages missing from his text of Sansovino is attributable to the author's living far from Italy at the time of writing is in fact correct.[51] None the less, a definite factor here as well was the general negligence characteristic of Malaxos' work as a whole. Quite simply, as regards this particular instance that was in time to be *Barberinus gr. 111*, Malaxos could not have been bothered with spending money, time and effort on what was just one more variant of his chronicle and but another manuscript in his lengthy scribal career. Attention did none the less have to be given to accommodating the material available from Sansovino through abbreviation and relevant addition, in terms of the structure, content and purpose, which was characteristic of the wider work.

Accordingly, in keeping with the relevant passages in the more conventional representative, it is the earlier sultans that will have been particularly abbreviated in what are now the lost opening sections of *Barberinus gr. 111*.[52] In contrast, yet in keeping with the trends in the more conventional work, later times were given far greater coverage than anything offered by the Italian source, especially as these involve Venice and its ever shrinking empire, Nafplion here figuring most prominently of all. Without a doubt therefore, and by no means primarily on account of the outright deficiency of Sansovino after a particular point (Sansovino's account effectively breaks off with the year 1566), it would have been the now lost ending which would have had the greatest degree of dependence on the conventional work. There would accordingly have been at least the usual, if not upgraded, material on the Venetian wars of 1537–40, as well as those on the Ottoman conquest of Chios and Cyprus, as well moreover as

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50. The point is made by Kreutel, *Leben und Taten* 16–17. The claim that, given this point and a perceived clumsiness in the Greek, the author must be an Italian, is contradicted by the writer's insufficient knowledge of Italian, his use of dialectical forms of Greek, his sound knowledge of Ottoman institutions and of the topography of Constantinople, as well as his Orthodox faith, the usual anti-Byzantine attacks of the Italian source having been carefully omitted; Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 52 (on the final point).

51. The point is made by Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 32.

52. Zachariadou, 'Μιὰ ἰταλικὴ πηγή' 52–5; for the method of use in the standard chronicle, though only with clear indications as to preferences for the later parts of the source. Zachariadou, *Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων* 29–30 for the comparison of Sansovino and *Barberinus gr. 111* by bulk and the conclusion that the borrowings become progressively more detailed.

the text on the accession of Sultan Murat III, as these are to be found in *Chiacus 161*.[53]

The *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* in its surviving form extends far beyond the time of Malaxos himself, something also occurring in several manuscripts of the more conventional chronicle. In line with the trend evident in those continuations, the added material at the end of *Barberinus gr. 111* (now folio 23 of *Barberinus gr. 598*) is heavily concentrated at a point long after the original would have come to a stop, and it seems to be datable, much as in the other cases, to around the third decade of the seventeenth century.[54] In contrast however to the consistent evidence of the choice of content in most of those additions, and indeed in all those which derive from within the Ottoman realm, the fragments in folio 23 of *Barberinus gr. 598* clearly 'break the rules' in this regard and definitely point to a non-Ottoman environment in terms of the circumstances of the supplementation.[55] In the case of the original Greek work, its parent variant, *Chiacus 161*, as well as each of this variant's surviving representatives, these being *Tubingensis Mb. 18* (the *Patriarchal History of Constantinople*), *Constantinopolitanus met. Sancti Sepulcri 462, Harleianus 5632* and therefore naturally *Barberinus gr. 111* as well, had all left blank the

53. In the second edition of his work (which Malaxos used) Sansovino added two brief texts on the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus and the Battle of Lepanto. Malaxos would have had no use for Sansovino's text on the former as his own chronicle was sufficient, both providing more detail and being better integrated on the point. As for the Ottoman defeat at Lepanto, it evidently meant little or nothing to Ottoman Christians; the *Chronicle of 1570* at least does not mention it.

54. The continuations of the conventional chronicle representative of the particular point are contained in *Parisinus Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. gr. 112*, the sister pair *Atheniensis Bibliotheca Sp. Lambri 14* and *Parisinus Bibliothèque Nationale Suppl. gr. 467*, and *Atheniensis Ἐθνική Βιβλιοθήκη 1564*. The first extension concludes in 1624 or 1625, the second in 1623 or 1624, and the third in 1626 or 1627. There is also an extension in *Athous 2581 [Xeropotamou 248]* datable a little later, to the middle of the seventeenth century. Here we have had no alternative but to present the preliminary conclusions of an unconcluded study. On these manuscripts, see respectively Omont, *Inventaire BN* 3:218; S. Lambros, Ἱατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις Βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς Ἐθνικῆς. Δ': Κώδικες τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου' *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 17 (1923) 286–302 at 292–4; and Omont, *Inventaire BN* 3:265; I. Sakkelion, Ἱατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος (Athens 1892) 275; and S. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos* (2 vols Cambridge 1895, rp. Amsterdam 1966) 1:217–18.

55. The conventional extensions give relatively brief coverage to a number of specific political and every-day interests from within the Ottoman realm as seen ultimately from the vantage-point of the capital. It is perhaps in the light of the evidence for a non-Ottoman provenance of its extension that one should view the occasional though distinct Ionian Island dialectical features of *Barberinus gr. 111* that are never otherwise so strong in Malaxos' work. That these are derived from the scribe is supported by the fact that they are restricted to points of grammar and the particular form of words, not to features relating to syntax. Zachariadou, *Χρονικό τῶν Τούρκων* 74–8; for the full list of these features.

year of their last sultan's (Sultan Murat III's) accession.[56] This may perhaps have been the immediate cause on the part of a westerner responsible for the additional material of the otherwise inexplicable mistakes on some very basic points of relatively recent Ottoman history.

In terms therefore of the more categorical claims regarding *Barberinus gr. 111*, it is to be said that this variant derives not from some time in the seventeenth century, but from towards the end of the 1570s, most likely in the period of the year or so beginning with April 1577, which is the date of authorship of *Chiacus 161*.[57] Its author is a Greek, not a Greek-speaking Italian, as has been suggested, and indeed not an Italian spy.[58] His favourable attitude toward westerners, seen otherwise as something of a real problem, is in fact the normal attitude to be evidenced throughout the wider chronicle, and as such one would think that it was the normal and expected attitude of the day.[59] The author stands at the intellectual centre of his world rather than being a non-entity in this regard.[60] He pays scant though none the less particular attention to the classical past, not because he does not belong to the right circles, which he in fact very much does, but simply because it is of no interest either to him or to them.[61] The

56. Respectively for these: Amantos, 'Τρεῖς ἄγνωστοι κώδικες' 57; M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae Libri Octo* (Basel 1584, rp. Modena 1972) 182; *Met. Sancti Sepulchri 462* fol. 237v; and Marshall, 'Manuel Malaxos' 27. *Tubingensis Mb. 18*, the manuscript of the *Patriarchal History of Constantinople*, was personally 'copied' by Malaxos between January 21, 1578 and March 6, 1578, and derives directly from *Chiacus 161*. *Met. Sancti Sepulchri 462* and *Harleianus 5632* derive in part at least directly from the *Patriarchal History*, and so were written sometime after March 6, 1578.

57. The time of origin, even prior to the discovery of the final three folios now in *Barberinus gr. 598*, had been variously put around the turn of the seventeenth century even after recognition that the manuscript was only a copy. Malaxos was no longer alive by March 1, 1581, and he probably died not too long before this point. Prior to Zachariadou's study, the work was believed to derive from the earlier sixteenth century (despite the fact that this period is characterized by no historiographic activity of any meaningful type).

58. The latter idea comes from *Byzantium, Europe and the Early Ottoman Sultans* 118.

59. The sympathetic attitude to the West in the wider chronicle is most particularly and immediately evident in, for example, the *Biblion Historikon* 629, 630, 654, 656, 659–660 and 707ff. The wrong assumption was made not least by Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 18–19.

60. Malaxos had spent a substantial proportion of his life in the West in the period still coinciding with both the Renaissance and the Reformation. He was connected by family, home-town, professional and social relationships with all the figures independently recognised to be the intellectual 'leaders' of their time, the most prominent case here being that of Arsenios Apostolis, on whom see most basically K. Sathas, Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία (Athens 1868, rp. Athens n.d.) 126–30. Cf. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 20: 'Καταλήξαμε στὸ συμπέρασμα πῶς ὁ Χρονογράφος δὲν παρουσιάζεται κάτοχος τῆς παιδείας ποὺ θὰ περιμέναμε ἀπὸ ἕναν λόγιο τῆς ἐποχῆς' ibid. 17: '...ἡ λογιοσύνη του εἶναι ἀνύπαρκτη...' ibid. 81: '...ὁ συγγραφέας μας δὲν ἦταν μορφωμένος, μὲ τὴ σημασία ποὺ ἔδιδαν στὴ λέξη οἱ λόγιοι τῆς ἐποχῆς ἐκείνης...'.

61. Malaxos makes a conscious decision not to include material on the classical past as present in his chronicle sources other than that relating directly to Roman origins.

orthography of the vernacular text is particularly bad, not because Malaxos does not know the Greek of antiquity, which he sees himself very much as knowing, but because he makes a conscious preference to write in such a way.[62] He shows no interest in the world of the Patriarchate, not because no such interest exists, but only because it does not exist in the particular context of his immediate variant.[63]

More specifically in the case of the *Patriarchal History*, but more generally in the case of the wider chronicle, Malaxos emerges as nothing less than the basic historian of the Byzantine Patriarchate of the Ottoman world. The actual political Muslim element of that world had itself already been well dealt with in the context of the wider *Chronicle of 1570*, though more specifically in *Chiacus 161*. The interest there throughout however had always been the immediate relevance to the institution of the Patriarchate of the new political order, as the title of *Chiacus 161* in particular already stipulates and as any reading of its

The point has already been made by C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 54–5. rp. C. Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* (London 1984) article III. The same attitude toward the classical past present in Malaxos is to be found in the chronicle directly prior to his, written by someone with the same social and western connections as himself; viz. I. Kartanos, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη, ἤτοι τὸ ἄνθος καὶ ἀναγγαῖον αὐτῆς. ἔτι δὲ πάνυ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀναγγαῖον πρὸς πᾶσα χριστιανόν (Venice 1536) in easy association with the prolegomena (discreetly read) to the edition of the text by E. Kakoulidi-Panou ed., Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη (Thessalonica 2000). Cf. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 19: "Αν ἀναζητήσωμε ποιὰ τεκμήρια ὑπάρχουν στὸ ἔργο, ποὺ θὰ μπορούσαν νὰ φανερώσουν πῶς ὁ Χρονογράφος...εἶχε κάποια κλασσικὴ...παιδεία, θὰ δοῦμε πῶς αὐτὰ εἶναι λιγοστά.' The very criticism made of Malaxos has also been made of Kartanos, viz. Kakoulidi-Panou, *op. cit.*, 67–72 e.g. 72 (on account of Kartanos' Byzantine-style approach to the classical past): 'Θὰ μπορούσαμε να μιλήσουμε για μια γενικότερη ἔλλειψη επαφής με λόγιους πνευματικούς κύκλους.'

62. On Malaxos' justification for his use of the vernacular in the legal compendium and in the chronicle, see respectively K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, 'Die Handbücher des geistlichen Rechts aus den Zeiten des untergehenden byzantinischen Reiches unter der türkischen Herrschaft' *Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, ser. 7, 28.7 (1881) 4, rp. *Kleine Schriften zur römischen und byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte* (2 vols Leipzig 1973) 2:18; and Amantos, 'Τρεῖς ἄγνωστοι κώδικες' 46–7. Cf. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 17: 'εἴμαστε ὑποχρεωμένοι νὰ δεχθοῦμε πῶς δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι ἔργο ἀνθρώπου μορφωμένου, ἱκανοῦ νὰ γράψη στὴ γλώσσα ποὺ χρησιμοποιούσαν οἱ λόγιοι τῆς ἐποχῆς, ἀλλὰ ἔργο ἀνθρώπου ποὺ ἔγραψε στὴν καθομιλουμένη τοῦ καιροῦ του ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ μόνο γνώριζε.' A position closer to the truth had in fact been stated by K. Dimaras in his review of Zoras, Τὸ Βῆμα (5 December 1958) 2. Consequently there is no justification for Ph. Bouboulidis' subsequent criticism of Dimaras in his own review of Zoras in '"Ένα Παλιὸ Χρονικό"' Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 13 (1959) 468–9.

63. Cf. Zachariadou, Χρονικὸ τῶν Τούρκων 19: '...τὸ Χρονικὸ δὲν περιέχει στοιχεία ποὺ νὰ μαρτυροῦν πῶς ὁ Χρονογράφος εἶχε ἐκκλησιαστικὴ παιδεία οὔτε καὶ πῶς γνώριζε τὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.'

content will show.[64] What Malaxos however intended through the writing of the Ottoman history that was to be preserved in *Barberinus gr. 111* and was to be known in modern times as the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, not surprisingly at about the very time of the completion of the other work more immediately concerned with the Patriarchate (the *Patriarchal History of Constantinople* also being written within a year of *Chiacus 161*), was the production, in the context of the wider and consciously varying chronicle, of a specifically Ottoman-Muslim history from the Ottoman-Christian standpoint.

64. Sizable portions of *Chiacus 161* have been published. In addition to Amantos, Ἰρεῖς ἄγνωστοι κώδικες᾽ 46–58, there is N. Kosmas, Ὁ ἀνέκδοτος κώδικας 161 τῆς Χίου γιὰ τὴ σύνοδο τῆς Φλωρεντίας, τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 1430 καὶ τὴ μάχη τῆς Βάρνας (Athens 1975).

Felicity Harley

The Narration of Christ's Passion in Early Christian Art[*]

Tracing the genesis of a narrative tradition in Christian art is an inherently problematic undertaking, since the very issues of when and where the first illustrations of the Old and New Testaments were created remain moot points. While we know that a tradition of Jewish narrative art existed, the questions of when it began, whether it emerged in and was circulated via now-lost illustrated biblical texts, and whether those texts were subsequently influential on the development of Christian art still persist.[1] Taking the example of the Passion narrative and its pictorialisation in Christian art prior to the mid-fifth century, this paper works towards a reappraisal of these questions.

In this context, simple acknowledgement of the artistic and theological sophistication evident in the arrangement and use of Passion sequences by the fifth century must suffice to deflect the usual categorization of early Christian art as principally symbolic and conservative, and so to indicate the early formulation of a narrative tradition in Christian art.

Although no specifically Christian images survive from before the late second century, by the later part of that century Christians had begun to draw from sacred texts to furnish a small repertoire of narrative and symbolic iconography. By the early third century, a practice of placing New Testament scenes alongside those from the Old was established. The earliest dateable evidence for this practice includes the cycle of wall paintings executed around the 240s for the Baptistery of the Christian domus-ecclesiae excavated at Dura Europos.[2] The cycle centred on the miracles of Christ, his Resurrection and the promise of salvation, bringing together: the Good Shepherd (with Adam and Eve added later), on the west wall; Christ Healing the Paralytic, Christ Walking on Water and a paradisaical scene in the upper register of the east, south and north

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1. For the representative scholarship: K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978* (New York 1979) passim — particularly H.L. Kessler 'Christian Narrative Art' 449–512. Also K. Weitzmann, 'Narration in Early Christendom' *AJA* 61 (1957) 83–91. See also Kessler in K. Weitzmann & H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art.* DOS 28 (Washington 1990) 178–83 where he suggests that the Jewish images were created in response to the Christians; and H.L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia 2000). For the antithetical view, that Christian wall paintings stimulated the illustration of sacred texts in the fifth century: J. Lowden, 'The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration' *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* ed. J. Williams (University Park Pa. 1999) 9–59.

2. C. Kraeling, *The Christian Building.* The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report 8 pt. 2 (New Haven 1967) plates xvii–xlvi.

walls; and Christ and the Woman of Samaria, David and Goliath, and the Women at the Sepulchre in the lower register of those walls. These subjects, carefully selected from different narratives within the Old and New Testament and juxtaposed in order to suggest a single connecting theme, reveal not only a propensity to use art as a means of expressing theological ideas, but also a level of proficiency in doing so.

Individually, the scenes in the Baptistery demonstrate a strong concern with the recounting of story. Collectively, they testify to the use of different modes of narration to achieve that end in third century Christian art. For example, some are what Weidlé termed 'signitive',[3] evoking entire biblical stories with a minimum of text-based iconographic detail, as in the case of Adam and Eve). Others present more detailed visual elaborations of text-based stories, as extended figurations of the Women at the Sepulchre) or even multi-episodic ones, as for Christ's healing of the paralytic. The thematic coherence of the scenes attests to a high level of planning, not simply of the content of individual episodes but also in their placement according to the spatial and liturgical demands of the ritual context. For taken as a whole, as an integrated compilation of images, the Baptistery's pictorial scheme articulates a visual theology of baptism for viewers instructed both in the stories themselves and in their theological significance.

How they received this instruction, that is, from what sources the stories were known, and how their contents and their meanings were explicated within the community, are matters that still warrant further thought. The importance of such questions for the study of the emergence of narrative-based themes or cycles in Christian art is perhaps clearer when assessing the evolution of an individual theme or narrative sequence from the Bible.

Aside from the value of its pictorial programme for studying the origins of early Christian narrative art in general, the Dura baptistery cycle presents important evidence for the history of the pictorialisation of the Passion. Arguably the most well-known segments of the Baptistery's cycle are the fragmentary remains of the two-part frieze that originally extended across the base of the north and east walls depicting a procession of five women towards a white pedimental structure.[4] The frieze probably depicts the Women approaching and entering Christ's Sepulchre at dawn on Easter morning.

Kraeling posited a relation between the iconography, in its sequential nature and depiction of five rather than the one to three women specified by the canonical gospels and the Passion narrative of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (c. 150–160), a text conflating the canonical gospel accounts of the Resurrection. A Greek manuscript fragment of this Syrian work was thought to have been

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3. W. Weidlé, *The Baptism of Art: Notes on the Religion of the Catacomb Paintings* (London 1950) 10–11. Weidlé's term captures more adroitly, I think, the nature of abridged narrative imagery than do the classificatory terms 'reductive', 'condensed' or 'abbreviated'.

4. Kraeling, *Christian Building* 190–7, and plates xix, xx, xxiv, xxvi–xxviii, xlii–xlvi.

discovered outside the Christian building at Dura.[5] Kraeling wondered whether the original roll from which the fragment came had been taken from the Christian building itself, or from some private dwelling where it might have been read.[6] While the precise relationship between the images at Dura and specific Christian texts continues to be debated,[7] the sequence and its iconography has thus raised key questions about the relationship between biblical texts known and circulated within early Christian communities, and the visual cycles or art subsequently produced by those communities.

The rarity of episodes from the Passion narrative (or of Passion cycles *per se*) in Christian art before the sixth century, is well-known. It has given rise to positing not only a fundamental hesitancy on the part of Christians to approach this particular narrative, but also an inherent lack of creativity in formulating iconography for the representation of critical episodes from that narrative, such as the Crucifixion or the Resurrection. The Dura frieze of the Women at the Sepulchre, demonstrates clearly that episodes from the Passion were being illustrated in public ecclesiastical art in the East from as early as the 240s. Further, the monumental scale and multi-episodic form in which the sequence is portrayed lends significance to the scene's appearance here at such an early date.

The fresco therefore, taken with other indications of the iconographic developments that occur through to the fifth century regarding the depiction of Christ's Passion, raises questions about the origins of a narrative tradition in Christian art. For, from the prominent deployment of Passion episodes within pictorial schemes, and from the compositional and iconographic sophistication of those Passion episodes selected for representation in isolation, there appears to be sufficient evidence in the Dura Baptistery cycle to demonstrate the pre-fourth century development of a narrative tradition in Christian art in certain regions of the empire.

To begin a survey of this artistic evidence, it is fitting to proceed from a clear sense of what the Passion narrative was understood to be in the early Church.

Theologically, the word *passio* is used to refer to Jesus' redemptive suffering during the last days of his life on earth. In literary terms, the 'narrative' of the Passion thus begins with Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem, continues up to his Crucifixion and concludes with his Resurrection. In the four Canonical Gospels, where this sequence is most prominently preserved, there is a detailed

5. Recent scholarly discussion suggests that the text is not of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian but is of another Gospel harmony; this serves merely to emphasize the popularity of such Gospel harmonies. See D.C. Parker, D.G.K. Taylor & M.S. Goodacre, 'The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony' *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts: The Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* ed. D.G.K. Taylor (Atlanta 1999) 198–9.

6. Kraeling, *Christian Building* 114.

7. See A. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge 1995) 51–63, who challenges Kraeling and his specification of a text for the image; more broadly, Wharton questions the identification of either a particular moment of liturgy or a single text as the explanation of an image in early Christian art (60).

preoccupation with the unfolding of the Passion sequence, more space being devoted to its narration than to the recounting of any other event in Jesus' life. Given this prominence, and the preservation of the Passion as an extended narrative, we might assume that sequences of Passion episodes would make an easy transition from textual into visual formats. In art-historical terms, the definition of a Passion narrative is more elastic, denoting as it does either a full sequence of episodes (from the Jerusalem Entry through to the Anastasis, or Resurrection), or a reduced sequence (commencing with the Last Supper and carrying through to the Anastasis). The precise choice of episodes and iconographic emphases can vary according to context, spatial constrictions and even desire to express particular theological concerns. While Passion sequences do constitute the very core of post-Iconoclastic Byzantine imagery, explicit figurative representations of episodes from the narrative are regarded as among the most notable omissions from early Christian iconography, being depicted less frequently than Jesus' miracles, or episodes from his infancy.

In addition to the Dura Europos Resurrection fresco, it seems that in Rome prior to the fourth century, episodes from the Passion-narrative (such as Peter's Denial and the Soldiers' Casting Lots for Christ's Garments) were being inserted within soteriologically focused decorative schemes.[8] In addition, examples of the use of episodes in isolation, set neither beside other recognizable Passion scenes nor within general programmes of biblical stories for their subject or meaning to be understood, survive from before the fourth century. Such evidence is found for the depiction of Christ's Crucifixion.

The earliest example of a visual reference to the Crucifixion is the ostensibly blasphemous graffito of c.200 excavated on the Palatine hill in 1856. Depicting a donkey-man affixed to a cross and hailed by a bystander, the drawing is traditionally interpreted as parody of the Christian worship of a crucified deity.[9] It has a literary counterpart in the image of Jesus erected in Carthage around AD 197, described by Tertullian (*Ad Nationes* 1.114.1), which confirms both that the early Christians were accused of worshipping an ass and that caricature images of Christianity and its tenets were being executed around the turn of the third century. While there might be a temptation to interpret these drawings as imitations of images erected and worshipped by Christians in the third century, as in the case of the Palatine graffito and its depiction of a man striking the standard gesture of acclamation, with arm raised towards the cross, Balch suggests that the caricaturist may have been responding to a 'word picture' of

8.   J. Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London 1978) figs 80 (Commodilla) and 82 (Via Latina); whether a painting in the Catacomb of Praetextatus (fig. 81) depicts the Crowning with Thorns remains uncertain.

9.   Rome, Museo Palatino, Inv. 381403 (38 x 33 cms). R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, vol. 6, *Sculture non cimiteriali* (Prato 1880) tav. 483. For a short bibliography (and colour photograph, which should be compared with Garrucci's drawing for a clear apprehension of the iconography): M. Tomei, *Museo Palatino* (Milan 1997) 104 nr. 78.

Christ crucified, as is found at Galatians 3:1, rather than an actual cult image.[10] It is important to observe however, that although the Palatine graffito's iconographic reference to the Christian belief in and worship of a crucified deity is crude, it is remarkably prescient, exhibiting many of the rudimentary visual elements we find emerging for explicit representations of Jesus on his cross in Christian art after the fifth century — a fact which begs speculation with regard to iconographic models.

A similar care with iconographic detail is seen in an image of near contemporary date surviving from the Eastern Roman Empire. This second example, preserved on a second/third century engraved gemstone now in the British Museum, invokes rather than derides the crucified Jesus, using word (a magical inscription) and image to call upon his magical prowess. The image, carved on the obverse face of the gem, shows Jesus naked, with legs forced apart on the cross and wrists tied to the crossbar. The iconography is explicit, executed with evident attention to the specifics of crucifixion. Further to the graffito and the magical gem are two fourth century Christian gems whereon visual reference to the Crucifixion is made through abbreviated iconography more akin to the signification of the story and its interpretation than to its narration *per se*.[11] With the Palatine graffito and the magical gem, these two Christian stones constitute a small but important body of evidence testifying to the use of individual episodes from the Passion narrative as isolated images by the third century. This use of isolated images seems to occur concurrently with, and in addition to, the integration of episodes and their juxtaposition with other biblical stories in monumental cycles, as in the Dura Baptistery cycle. The indication from this evidence is that there was a high level of conversancy with textual content and meaning within the early Church, and significantly, a willingness to experiment with the visual expression of that knowledge at an earlier date than is customarily acknowledged.

On funerary reliefs, by the early fourth century, abbreviated representations of specific Passion episodes are incorporated into loose cycles of text-based images that suggest, in their arrangement, not just a thematic connection, as the Dura cycle does, but also sequential progression. Such a cycle survives in the

10. D. Balch, 'Paul's Portrait of Christ Crucified (Gal. 3:1) in Light of Paintings and Sculptures of Suffering and Death in Pompeiian and Roman Houses' *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* ed. D. Balch & C. Osick (Grand Rapids 2003) 103–4.

11. The Pereire gem (jasper; 3.005 x 2.49 x 0.56 cms): London, British Museum, P&E 1986, 5–1,1; Constanza gem (carnelian; 1.13 x 1.35 cms): London, British Museum, P&E 1895, 11–13,1; and the Nott gem (carnelian; approx. 1.19 x 1.4 cms), now lost: Garrucci, *Storia* 124, pl. 479.15. All three are reproduced in F. Harley, 'Invocation and Immolation: The Supplicatory Use of Christ's Name on Crucifixion Amulets of the Early Christian Period' *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 2 ed. P. Allen, W. Mayer & L. Cross (Everton Park Qld. 1999) 245–57. The text (with infelicities) is superseded by F. Harley, *Images of the Crucifixion in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of Engraved Gems* (PhD thesis, University of Adelaide 2001).

frieze of the sarcophagus of San Celso (dated c.350–80, Fig. 3),[12] which in five scenes adroitly evokes the span of Christ's earthly life, from Incarnation to post-Resurrection. Passion episodes also play a prominent role within such a complex typological arrangement of Old and New Testament scenes as occurs on the exceptionally carved two-register column-sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (AD 359, first published by Antonio Bosio: Fig. 4).[13] However, it is on another class of sarcophagi that we find a pointed advance towards the pictorialisation of a comprehensive and self contained Passion cycle. Between 340–70, on Passion columnar and tree sarcophagi, an increasing number of individual scenes preceding the Crucifixion were being arranged around a central triumphal motif. Typically, the episodes as we find them in such friezes, often compartmentalised within niches and abridged in narrative detail, are interpreted as being subordinated to the overall theme of victory, encapsulated in the motif. The motif itself was interchangeable without affecting the overall theme: most often it is found in aniconic form (the *crux invicta*), or figurative (Christ in the guise of Teacher, Philosopher, King or Giver of the Law and so forth), and more rarely, both [Fig. 5].[14] The most celebrated example of this type of sarcophagus is the Vatican's Domitilla sarcophagus, recorded in its unrestored state by Raffaele Garrucci [Fig. 6].

The impulse to see a gradual thematic consolidation with the production of the Passion sarcophagi, and a linear progression towards the refinement of a seamless Passion sequence, is ostensibly supported by the ensuing late fourth-century figurative cycles that survive from Italy. In these, the Passion narrative has expanded to cover the events between Gethsemane and Christ's Resurrection, possibly including the Ascension. Yet it is the perception of these events within the narratives, not just their broader episodic range, which has changed. The artist emerges more tangibly as raconteur, conceiving of the narrative as comprising more than one or two events of primary importance and so lingering intentionally, or seeming so to do, on the episodes leading up to the Resurrection. In this way, a different level of meaning begins to be asserted for each of these episodes. This assertion is made either within a depiction of the narrative as a succession of events, or within an arrangement wherein different events are juxtaposed with episodes taken from other biblical stories. The use of

12. Regione Lombardia et al., eds, *Milano capitale dell'Impero romano 286–402 d.c.* (Milan 1990) 333–4, nr. 5a.2g. H. Brandenburg, 'La scultura a Milano nel IV e V secolo' *Milano, una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi* ed. C. Bertelli (Milan 1987) 95–7, figs 107–11.

13. A. Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (Rome 1632, rp. Rome 1998) Libro. II, Cap. VIII, 45. E.S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus* (Princeton 1990) with bibliography.

14. There are exceptions to this rule: eg. a sarcophagus in Leiden, where Christ is shown in the central niche with Peter and the Cock, the Woman at Cana kneeling at his feet: G. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi* (2 vols Rome 1929) 1:159. The following remain seminal: H.F. von Campenhausen, *Die Passionssarkophage* (Marburg 1929); F. Gerke, *Die Zeitbestimmung der Passionssarkophage* (Berlin 1940). See also A. Saggiorato, *I sarcofagi paleocristiani con scene di passione* (Bologna 1968) bibliography ix–xi.

the Crucifixion becomes integral to this development, and the two earliest representations in a narrative context of Christ crucified survive from this period [Figs 8 and 11]. For while the symbol of the unvanquished cross is the visual and thematic pivot in the more 'symbolic' sarcophagi friezes [Fig. 6], it being a victorious symbol of the Christian Church as well as representative of Christ himself, the Crucifixion ultimately emerges as a mid-point in the narrative cycle (and in most subsequent Passion cycles as and when they appear more frequently after the sixth century in early Byzantine art).

In 1880, Garrucci published all three extant examples of the expanded-narrative type in his monumental study of Christian art:[15] the lid of the large ivory lipsanothek, a reliquary casket produced in a Northern Italian (possibly Milanese) workshop in the late fourth century and preserved now in Brescia [Fig. 7];[16] the sequential series of four ivory reliefs produced in Rome c.420–30, now in London [Fig. 8];[17] and the wooden doors of the Roman church of Santa Sabina, dated c.432–44, also considered to be products of a Roman workshop (panels from which are illustrated in Figs 9–12).[18]

Taking the earliest piece in this group: the entire surface of the lipsanothek's lid is devoted to what now survives as the earliest detailed sequential narration of the Passion in Christian art. On each of the vertical sides of the box, where Old and New Testament episodes are carved in relief, the themes apparently regarded as being of primary importance are represented within a central horizontal panel; themes of lesser significance are shown on a substantially reduced scale in the narrow friezes positioned above and below. This format is abandoned on the lid, where two entire registers of equal size present the Passion scenes prominently, in narrative sequence: beginning with the Garden of Gethsemane through Jesus' Arrest, Peter's Denial, the Judgement of Annas and Caiaphas, culminating in Christ's appearance before Pilate. This selection, while it leads up to the Passion, includes no denouement for the narrative in either a figurative Crucifixion or Resurrection. Typically, the single register Passion sarcophagi represented the episodes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection together in the cross-trophy — although the exceptional Borgo Vecchio sarcophagus, now lost but recorded by Bosio, indicates that narrative episodes, in this case the Appearance of Christ to the Women, could be used in conjunction with the aniconic symbol [Fig. 5].[19] The lipsanothek however, now presents both episodes typologically, in a series of Old Testament stories of salvation (such as the Three Hebrews, Daniel, and Jonah), which prefigure Christ's own death and resurrection and are dispersed elsewhere over the casket.

15. Garrucci, *Storia* pls 445, 446, and 499 respectively.
16. Brescia, Civici Musei d'Arte e Storia, Inv. Avori n. 1. Brandenburg 'Scultura', figs 143–6.
17. *Age of Spirit*. nr. 452.
18. J-M Spieser, 'Le programme iconographique des portes de Sainte-Sabine' *JSav* 21 (1991) 47–81, with the literature.
19. Bosio, *Roma* Libro II. Cap. VIII, 79.

In the wide range of biblical subjects depicted, and in their arrangement, the casket provided the educated viewer with a set of astute biblical exegeses.[20] And for these, art historians have celebrated the design of the casket. Yet aside from these, the reliquary has emerged in scholarship as a pivotal artefact both for our knowledge of the development of narrative in early Christian art, and specifically in the narration of the Passion. The very beginnings of the pictorial re-enactment of entire narrative sequences in Christian art are witnessed on this casket, as the depiction of the Passion on its lid attests: in the bold expansion of the repertoire of Passion episodes chosen for illustration; and in the simultaneous elaboration of those scenes that had previously been compressed (on such multi-themed sarcophagi as that of Junius Bassus or even on such Passion-specific sarcophagi as the example from the catacomb of Domitilla).

Thus, in the third century Baptistery-cycle at Dura Europos, and just over a century later on the sarcophagus of San Celso casket, we find Passion episodes deftly deployed amongst other narrative-based stories. On the engraved gemstones, individual episodes have been taken out of the Passion narrative as a whole and used to convey specific and significant theological meaning. And on the Brescia casket, we witness the existence, prior to the fifth century, of a highly evolved sense of design. Such evidence must contradict the notion of these narrative images and cycles as having no precedent in an earlier Christian tradition of illustration.

This contradiction is apprehended more clearly in the case of the Maskell Passion ivories [Fig. 8]. These four reliefs originally constituted an ivory box smaller in size than the Brescia casket but produced only forty or fifty years later, possibly for the storage or transport of a small portion of consecrated host. Each measuring 7.5 x 9.8 cms, the Maskell panels are exquisitely carved, in high relief, with a sequential cycle of seven episodes from the Passion. Here a cohesive passage from Arrest to Crucifixion and culminating in the Resurrection unfolds without interruption across the individual panels, thereby deviating from the pictorial custom of sarcophagi reliefs from the previous century, where individual episodes had been portrayed within brief life-cycles [Fig. 3], complex typological programmes [Fig. 4], or, more rarely, as individual units at the centre of a relief [Fig. 5], and with the Brescia casket [Fig. 7], where the scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection are omitted.

The Passion narrative on the Maskell ivories begins with the betrayal of Christ, showing three episodes compressed into the first relief: Pilate's Judgement, The Way to Calvary and Peter's Denial. It continues on the second relief with Judas' suicide and the Crucifixion. The Women and Soldiers at the Empty Tomb occupy the entire surface of the third relief before the cycle ends on the fourth relief with the Appearance of the Resurrected Christ to Four Disciples, incorporating the Incredulity of Thomas [Fig. 8]. Despite their more

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20. The exegeses are so subtle that the exact meaning of the casket, and of certain individual images, remains heavily debated. See C.B Tkacz, *The Key to the Brescia Casket: Typology and the Early Christian Imagination* (Notre Dame Ind. 2002) with bibliography. *Milano capitale*, nr. 5b.li, pp. 344–6, diagram 345, contains a helpful line drawing, with suggested biblical references for each scene.

detailed narration, like the broader yet still thematically sequential San Celso life-cycle (which begins with the Incarnation in order to consolidate the fact and import of Christ's resurrection, with which it ends), the pictorial and thematic emphasis of the Maskell series rests firmly on the Resurrection, not the events leading up to and including the Crucifixion. The effective integration of the two themes, Crucifixion and Resurrection, advances the iconography of the triumphal cross symbol on the Domitilla sarcophagus and supplants the triumphal iconographic unit of the Borgo Vecchio sarcophagus. The individual pictorialisation of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, presented side by side in detailed figurative scenes, also affirms that the two themes should be understood as a cause and effect, a pictorial interpretation that becomes the norm in Byzantine art. Moreover, the narration witnessed here, through iconography and composition, asserts more explicitly the power of Jesus as well as the triumph of the Church, encapsulated in the final panel of the risen Jesus appearing amongst his apostles and handing over to them the responsibility of teaching to the Church. In this way, the panels present a more highly sophisticated theological interpretation of the Passion events than is visually explicated either on the sarcophagus of San Celso, or in the shorter Passion sequence on the Brescia casket.

On the near-contemporary carved wooden doors of the Roman church of Santa Sabina, still to be found in situ, an even larger number of Passion episodes is used, being carefully selected and recalled not in sequence but integrated within a complex cycle of Old and New Testament scenes:[21] the Prediction of Peter's Denial; the Trial; Pilate Washing his Hands, with Christ Going to Calvary; the Crucifixion; the Angel Appearing to Two Women at the Sepulchre; the Resurrected Christ Appearing to Two Women; the Resurrected Christ Appearing to Three Disciples; and portrayed for the first time as the conclusion of the Passion cycle, the Ascension.[22] As in the pictorial programme of the Dura Europos Baptistery, more than one mode of narration is utilised, some scenes being signitive [Figs 9, 11 & 12], others fuller in their visualisation of a particular episode [Fig. 10]. Various iconographic or compositional features, perceptible on the doors, are related to pictorialisations of the same Passion episodes on the monuments previously discussed (such as the cock in the depiction of Peter's denial, the coins in the suicide of Judas, the brazier in the Judgement of Pilate), and on additional artefacts (the Resurrection on the early

21. The scheme must have been, as Spieser argued, meticulously devised. Spieser, 'Sainte-Sabine' passim. See L. de Maria, 'Il programma decorativo della porta lignea di S. Sabina: concordanza o casualità iconographica?' *Ecclesiae Urbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi sulle Chiese di Roma* ed. F. Guidobaldi & A.G. Guidobaldi (3 vols Vatican City 2002) 3:1685–99.

22. Given this and the pictorialisation of the Ascension or Maiestas on the Pola Casket (c. 430: Museo Archeologico di Venezia — see A. Donati, ed. *Dalla Terra alle Genti: La diffusione del cristianesimo nei primi secoli* (Milan 1996) n. 251), Gerke's suggestion that the subject may have appeared on the now missing lid of the Maskell casket is convincing: Gerke, *Passionssarkophage* 51–2

fifth-century Trivulzio ivory for instance).[23] Such pictorial correlations, like the iconographic details already noted as being carefully represented in the Palatine graffito image and the magical gem, prompt us to question whether the extant images and cycles represent the first attempts at pictorialisation of the literary Passion narrative and are not, more likely, products of an already established tradition.[24] Consideration of the existence of such a tradition can be initiated, I believe, without immediate recourse to direct speculation about the illustration of early Christian texts. It can begin with issues of text-circulation.

Scholars have accepted that Christians assembled to read and consider the scriptures from earliest times on the basis of Christianity's evolution and development out of the Jewish Synagogue, where the practice was already established.[25] On this assumption, Christian communities can be seen to have begun, in the late first and early second centuries AD, by making liturgical use primarily of Jewish scriptures. From writings attributed to Paul (Col 4.16) it appears that liturgical use of other Christian texts was taking place by the 50s AD. Although a canonical list of these scriptures was not established until at least two centuries after Christ, individual books had circulated in accepted editions for some time. Hence, by the end of the second century, Tertullian (*Apologeticus* 39.3) does not differentiate between Jewish and Christian writings when he speaks of reading the books of God in Christian worship.[26] It is plausible that of the individual books or small compilations circulating during the early Christian period, which included Genesis, Kings, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, some were illustrated. From this premise it is reasonable to assume that if an illustrated Passion narrative had been attempted prior to the fourth century, experimentation with iconography might have taken place within the context of a Gospel book wherein the narrative is preserved.

Given our current knowledge of reading practices in early Christian communities it is also thus possible to posit the use and subsequently the viewing of such a book within private as well as liturgical contexts. Initially, few people beyond the clergy had access to these texts in the early church.[27] For the literate and illiterate alike, the primary vehicle by which early Christians attained knowledge of scripture was through the regular solemn reading, hearing and experiencing of text in the context of public worship. As Lowden has argued,

23. Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Museo d'arte antica, Avorio 9. Brandenburg, 'Scultura' fig. 138.

24. While such details have been observed in individual contexts, a more comprehensive study of all of the artefacts and monuments remains to be undertaken (the existence of an illustrated Passion text as a model for the Brescia casket and the Maskell ivories has been suggested for example by L. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch in *Age of Spirit.* cat. 452, 504.)

25. J.T. Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church: Public Services and Offices in the Earliest Christian Communities* (Cambridge 1992) 272.

26. H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven 1995) 214–15.

27. According to Gamble, *Books* 4 and 231, a minority of about 10–15% (never exceeding 15–20%) of Christians were literate in the first few centuries.

these contexts were oral and improvisatory in nature and largely uncodified.[28] While the theoretical consequence of this lack of codification was a lack of purpose-made liturgical books, Lowden also speculates that early Christians must have had books for use in the liturgy, even if they chose to vary the lengths of the passages to be read.[29] Depending on regional variation with regard to the level of literacy, the availability of such books and their cost, it is also likely that some private reading took place outside of worship.[30] From Jerome we learn that by the late fourth century at the latest, scriptural texts were distributed for reading and keeping in private.[31] It can thus be assumed that even if a basic level of decoration, conceivably including illustration, was attempted in scriptural or liturgical texts, this illustration was being seen at very close range, in conjunction with the word (with its sacred authority) by literate and illiterate Christians. While this putative relation of text and image has an important bearing on the question of the utility of narrative imagery when it first emerges, pedagogic or otherwise, it is enough here to note the very likely possibility that such texts were illustrated. In raising this possibility, a further connection can be made between the appearance of complex cycles of images in newly completed basilicas by the fourth century and the production of biblical texts, which had reached a significant level at this time. The occurrence of both at the same chronological point, and importantly, in conjunction with the increased interest in the historicity of scripture,[32] is surely not a coincidence.

As the case of the illustration of the Passion prior to the fifth century attests, if headway is to be made in furthering our understanding of the development of iconography and pictorial methods for the narration of biblical stories in early Christian art, knowledge of early Christianity beyond the no-less important art historical parameters must be adduced and ultimately synthesised with that art-historical material. In addition to theological and historical matters, a process of this kind should involve tackling such primary text-specific issues as: the availability, form and content of scripture; the methods by which Christian communities were familiarized with the content of, and subsequently educated in, the significance of their stories; and the ways in which these factors, whether or not the texts were actually illustrated, subsequently influenced the use of increasingly sophisticated visual narratives by and after the fourth century. Due consideration of such questions is an integral part of developing what Baxandall calls the 'period eye': reconstructing a context to furnish the viewer's code of

28. J. Lowden, 'Illuminated Books and the Liturgy: Some Observations' *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy* ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton 2003) 17–53.
29. Lowden, 'Biblical' 19.
30. Gamble, *Books* 231.
31. A. Hilhorst, 'Biblical Scholarship in the Early Church' *The Impact of Scripture in Early Christianity* ed. J. den Boeft & M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk (Leiden 1999) 1–2.
32. H.L. Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-Century Churches' *Studia Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis* 2 (1985) 17–31, 18 rp. *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London 1994) 357–92.

reference for iconography and pictorial cycles rather than working from our own.[33]

33. M. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (2nd ed. Oxford 1988) ch. 2. A primary achievement of Mary Charles Murray was to outline a theological context for early Christian iconography: C. Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife* (Oxford 1981). Strongly influenced by her scholarship is R. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London 2000).

Matthew Martin

Observations on the Paintings of the Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis, Kharga Oasis, Egypt

The Bagawat necropolis sits on the southernmost slopes of the *Gebel El-Teir*, north of the ancient town of *Hibis*, the capital of the Great Oasis in antiquity. Extending some 500 m. north-south and about 200 m. east-west, the necropolis appears pre-Christian in origin, the earliest excavated burials showing no evidence of Christian presence.[1] Of the more than 260 mud-brick funerary chapels [Fig. 13][2] dating from the late third/early fourth to about the eighth century CE,[3] the Exodus Chapel is one of only two with surviving extensive decorative schemes of Christian painting.

Western explorers have commented on the necropolis since the early nineteenth century.[4] Between 1907 and 1932, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York conducted sporadic investigations, excavating a few burials, but the findings still await proper publication.[5] More complete is Ahmed Fakhry's *The Necropolis of El-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis*, published by the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1951, but it is selective in its use and treatment of the surviving material. Visits in each of the last seven years have revealed serious and irreversible deterioration. Comprehensive, detailed publication, incorporating French scholarship on the extensive epigraphic material and proper study of the materials excavated by the Metropolitan Museum, is now imperative.[6]

The type of the Bagawat necropolis, with its funerary chapels arranged into 'streets', is known from Roman and Byzantine Italy and best exemplified,

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1. W. Hauser, 'The Christian Necropolis in the Khargeh Oasis' *BMMA* 27 (1932) March Sect. 2:50. The continued presence of pagan burials alongside Christian interments is evidenced in Egypt up until the Arab conquest in the seventh century CE. See R. Rémondon, 'L'Égypte et la suprême résistance au christianisme (Ve–VIIe siècles)' *BIFAO* 51 (1952) 63–78.
2. A. Fakhry, *The Necropolis of el-Bagawat in Kharga Oasis* (Cairo 1951) 9.
3. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 2; Hauser, 'Khargeh' 50; P. Grossmann, 'Bagawat, Al-. Location and Architecture' *The Coptic Encyclopedia* ed. A.S. Atiya (8 vols New York 1991) 1:326–7.
4. For the early European bibliography on the necropolis see H. Stern, 'Les peintures du mausolée "de l'Exode" à El-Bagaouat' *CahArch* 11 (1960) 93 n. 3; M.L. Thérel, 'La composition et le symbolisme de l'iconographie du mausolée de l'Exode à el-Bagawat' *RACr* 45 (1969) 223–70 at n. 6.
5. A.M. Lythgoe, 'The Egyptian Expedition' *BMMA* 3 (1908) 84–6; 'The Oasis of Kharga' *BMMA* 3 (1908) 203–8; C.K. Wilkinson, 'Early Christian Paintings in the Oasis of Khargeh' *BMMA* 23 (1928) Dec. Sect. 2:29–36; Hauser, 'Khargeh'.
6. Greek inscriptions: G. Wagner, *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents Grecs* (Cairo 1987). Coptic inscriptions: G. Roquet, 'Les graffites coptes de Bagawat (Oasis de Kharga): Remarques préliminaires' *BSFE* 76 (1976) 25–49.

perhaps, by the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus Augusti north of Ostia.[7] The chapels, some of which still possess semi-circular *klinai* employed for the *cenae funebres*, evidence a range of floor plans, although the common basic plan is that of a domed *tetrapylon* with the side openings filled in [Fig. 14].[8] The wide variety of exterior architectural decoration includes engaged columns, blind arcades and ornamental niches [Fig. 15].[9] The burials are in shallow rectangular graves around the mud-brick chapels or beneath them, sometimes in multiple chambers, in subterranean *hypogea* accessed via vertical shafts.[10]

Fakhry lists twenty two chapels with painted decoration but only seven contain figurative art, the others evidencing just painted crosses or the like.[11] Only two possess extensive decorative schemes: chapels no. 30 and no. 80, known as the *Exodus Chapel* [Fig. 16] and the *Chapel of Peace*, respectively.

The Chapel of Peace

This chapel derives its name from one of three allegorical figures — ΕΥΧΗ, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗ and ΕΙΡΗΝΗ — which, along with representations of Daniel, Jacob, Noah, Mary, Paul, Thekla, Eve, Adam, Sarah, Isaac and Abraham, occupy a single register of painted images, all identified by Copto-Greek inscriptions, encircling the domed ceiling [Fig. 17]. The allegorical figures connect the paintings with the sophisticated, urban artistic style of Alexandria.[12] Their rather static *contrapposto* stance recalls the early Ptolemaic hemicycle of Greek poets and philosophers near the Serapieion at Saqqara,[13] or the style found in murals of Hellenistic[14] and Roman tombs in Alexandria[15] and the necropolis of Hermupolis West in Middle Egypt.[16] In addition, the static frontal orientation of the figures,

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7. Stern, 'Peintures' 94; J. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (Baltimore 1971) 82–7.

8. Grossmann, 'Bagawat' 326.

9. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 19–38.

10. Hauser, 'Khargeh' 40–2.

11. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 35.

12. C.M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie: Einführung in die Denkmälerwelt und Kunst des Urchristentums* (Paderborn 1913) 276–80.

13. J.-P. Lauer, 'Fouilles et travaux divers effectués à Saqqarah de novembre 1951 à juin 1952' *ASAE* 53 (1955) 153–66; 'Recherches et travaux effectués à Saqqarah (décembre 1954–juin 1955)' *ASAE* 54 (1956) 109–16; A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins* tr. T. Grabar (Princeton 1968, rp. 1980) pl. 137.

14. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* Series C: *Architettura* (Palermo 1966) 1:31–2.

15. E.g. the Tigrane Tomb (M.S. Venit, 'The Tomb from Tigrane Pasha Street and the Iconography of Death in Roman Alexandria' *AJA* 101 (1997) 701–29) and the now lost paintings in the Hall of Caracalla in the Kom el-Shuqafa catacombs: T. Schreiber, *Expedition Ernst Sieglin: Ausgrabungen in Alexandria. Die Nekropole von Kom-esch-Schukâfa I* (Leipzig 1908) pls. 61–2. These may be compared with the stucco reliefs in the principal tomb of the Kom el-Shuqafa complex: see Adriani, *Repertorio* 175–7; J.-Y. Empereur, *A Short Guide to the Catacombs of Kom El Shoqafa, Alexandria* tr. C. Clement (Alexandria 1995, rp. 2003) figs 7, 9, 11, 12–19.

16. Touna el-Gebel, located on the desert plateau above Hermupolis (Ashmunein): S Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupoulis ouest (Touna El-Gebel)* (Cairo

the cross-sectional interiors of the ark and the lions' den, the absence of background setting and the near-absence of perspective effects, all give the composition a hieratic effect which may be compared with the so-called 'Byzantine' style of painting represented in monastic settings of the sixth century onwards from Upper and Lower Egypt.[17] The most direct comparison is with the sixth- to eighth-century mural paintings at the Monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit and its associated necropolis, where series of saints and monks appear with biblical scenes, all depicted in a strictly frontal, juxtaposed fashion, lacking any perspectival devices or background detail.[18] Allegorical figures and personifications at Bawit demonstrate continuity with the Late Antique style of Alexandria.[19] The slightly later paintings from the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara[20] evidence a similar style (albeit more linear and two dimensional),[21] including a use of allegorical figures.[22]

The paintings in the Chapel of Peace reflect a level of technical skill far superior to the other surviving decoration of the necropolis. The artist responsible would appear to have had some formal training. Indeed, Badawy has identified these murals as one of the outstanding achievements of Early Christian painting in Egypt, comparing favourably with contemporaneous Early Christian art elsewhere in the Mediterranean basin.[23]

The Exodus Chapel

The crudity of technique of the Exodus Chapel paintings stands in marked contrast to those of the Chapel of Peace.[24] But for all the naiveté of their execution, they are of utmost iconographical interest. Furthermore, their style is

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1941). Tomb chapel M16 at Hermupolis West, showing the murder of Laios and Oedipus answering the riddle of the Sphinx, contains three allegorical figures: two female, representing *agnoia* (error) and *zetema* (problem), and a third male figure representing Boeotian Thebes: S. Gabra & É. Drioton, *Peintures à fresque et scènes peintes à Hermoupoulis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo 1954) 115; see Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 225.

17. Wilkinson, 'Khargeh' 29.
18. J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit* (Cairo 1999). See, for example, plates 28, 30–1, 80, 82–3, 105–15, 135–45.
19. For the personifications at Bawit see C. Hourihane, ed., *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton 2000) 161–2, 171, 193, 217–18, 221, 231, 263.
20. The Monastery of Apa Jeremiah is usually dated mid-6th to 9th century: G. Gabra, *Coptic Monasteries: Egypt's Monastic Art and Architecture* (Cairo 2002) 120.
21. E.g. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907–1908* (Cairo 1909) 4, 6, figs 1, 2, pls. XI, 1, 2.
22. E.g. the angels in Cell 709 of the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah, whose inscriptions identify them as personifications of virtues: A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology: The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Mass. 1978) 264.
23. Badawy, *Coptic Art* 245.
24. Stern, 'Peintures' 119.

quite different to the Alexandrian and its immediate monastic successor, with an indigenous tradition leaving a strong mark.

A. Iconography

The Exodus Chapel is named after the Exodus depiction dominating its dome. The field of the dome is divided into three concentric circular zones. A bird-inhabited grape vine occupies the central zone. The middle (and largest) zone is wholly occupied by the Exodus. The lower zone contains around fifteen episodes from biblical and pseudepigraphic sources [Fig. 18].

The Exodus is depicted in four sections [Fig. 19]. The first three show Moses leading the Israelites into a garden of fig trees [Fig. 18:2], the reclining figure of Jethro (Moses' father-in-law) [3], and the Israelites pursued by the Egyptian army across the Red Sea [4–7]. The fourth section portrays a figure approaching seven steps leading to a large monumental building [Fig. 20, Fig. 18:1]. This edifice has been variously identified as a building of the oasis itself,[25] the Heavenly Jerusalem,[26] the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem,[27] and as the Temple of Jerusalem[28] but independent of the Exodus.[29]

For the identification of this building an important parallel is Cubiculum C of the Via Latina catacomb in Rome, dating to the fourth century CE. Cubiculum C includes the Egyptians pursuing the Israelites to the Red Sea, Moses with lowered staff sending the waters to close over the Egyptians, and Moses at the head of the Israelites, staff raised, pointing at a temple-like building surmounted by a gable and approached by seven stairs.[30] Schubert argued that the juxtaposition of the scenes of Moses leading the people of Israel to the Temple, Moses on Mt Sinai and Abraham's offering of Isaac reflects a tradition identifying Mt Sinai, the Jerusalem Temple and Mt Moriah,[31] which is well attested in Rabbinic exegesis.[32] That the gabled *tempietto* represents the Jerusalem Temple is indicated by the sacrifice of Isaac immediately above it. The Temple, here, must represent the Promised Land to which Moses led the Israelites. At the heart of this identification lies the understanding that, whereas Mt Sinai was the place where the Law was given, the Temple of Jerusalem in the Promised Land was where the Law was enacted, and central to that enactment was the Temple's sacrificial worship prefigured by Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.

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25. W. De Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'Archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne* (St Petersburg 1901) 22.
26. O.K. Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* (2 vols Berlin 1914) 97.
27. A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (2 vols Paris 1947, rp. London 1972) 2:20ff.
28. J. Schwartz 'Nouvelles études sur des fresques d'El-Bagawat' *CahArch* 13 (1962) 3.
29. Ibid. 2.
30. N. Zimmerman, *Werkstattgruppen römischer Katakombenmalerei* (Münster 2002) Tafel VI, 30–1.
31. H. Schreckenberg & K. Schubert, *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Maastricht 1992) 191.
32. E.g. *Genesis Rabbah* 68.12 (on Gen 28:12): *Sifre* on Numbers, Korach 119; Tanhuma Buber Wayeitsei 7 (75a): Midrash on Ps 68.9 (159b): see Schreckenberg-Schubert 191.

The image of the Temple, then, becomes emblematic both of God's covenant with the people of Israel and of the Israelites' adherence to that covenant in the land promised to them.

There are reasonable grounds for a similar reading of the building depicted in the Exodus Chapel. Directly opposite the entrance, it is the first of the Exodus scenes to greet the viewer's eye. It is the primary reference point in the narrative sequence and occupies nearly a quarter of the register. Its relative importance in the series of images is clear, and that it forms an integral part of the Exodus sequence seems quite certain. Its identification as the Jerusalem Temple would therefore seem to be sound.[33]

The iconography of Cubiculum C allows a further refinement in 'reading' the Exodus Chapel. Immediately to the right of the Temple, Moses approaches a fig tree, which is usually interpreted as a garden-like Promised Land.[34] Immediately to the left of Moses, in the direction in which he is marching, stands a triangular field of reddish paint, a continuation of the line of red paint forming the ground level beneath the Israelites in the rest of the register. The large fig-tree is depicted at the foot of this triangular shape. I suggest that it is in fact a depiction of a mountain — more specifically, Mt Sinai, which Moses is about to ascend.[35] In Cubiculum C, Moses on Mt Sinai is construed with Moses approaching the Jerusalem Temple. Here in the Exodus Chapel, Moses ascending Mt Sinai is directly juxtaposed with the monumental Temple structure, so that Moses leading the Israelites to the foot of Mt Sinai to receive the Law, also leads them towards the Temple.

The third register, below that of the Exodus narrative, contains an assortment of subjects. The identification of these sometimes highly schematic representations is facilitated by inscriptions, in the Hellenistic fashion. A small number of other images are either clearly much later additions — including the boat on the pediment to the left of the North and South arches, and the Latin crosses around the lower edge of the North and East arches — or their preservation is so fragmentary that they, and their associated inscriptions, can no longer be read with any certainty.[36]

Above the North arch, and beneath the image of the Jerusalem Temple [Fig. 18:1] in the upper register, are Noah and his wife in the Ark [8]; above the East arch, the sacrifice of Isaac [13]; above the South arch, Jonah and the whale [18]; and over the West arch the three Hebrews in the furnace [23]. Each of these four images is flanked by further scenes. To the right of the three Hebrews is Daniel in the lions' den [24], while to their left is the Martyrdom of Isaiah [22]. Noah in

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33. The identity of the figure approaching the Temple is, however, difficult to ascertain. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 3, claims that old photographs reveal traces of at least two letters above the figure, the second of which appears to be an E, but no trace of any inscription is visible today.

34. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 56.

35. It is interesting, however, to compare this with Moses striking the rock with his staff from the Catacomb of Priscilla: see M. Gough, *The Origins of Christian Art* (London 1973) fig. 32.

36. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 2, 4.

the Ark, with the dove to the right of the Ark, is flanked on the left by Adam and
Eve fleeing the garden of paradise [25] and, on the right, by seven virgins
processing towards a gabled portico reached by a flight of seven stairs [9]. Jonah
being swallowed by the whale is flanked, on the right, by Jonah being cast to the
whale [20] and, on the left, by Jonah reclining beneath the gourd vine [14];
immediately below the head of the whale swallowing Jonah is Jonah being
regurgitated by the sea monster [19]. To the right of Abraham offering Isaac is
Jeremiah before the Temple of Jerusalem [15], to the left an *orans* [11] and then
the seven virgins [9], and above is a shepherd tending his flock [12] and, to the
left of this (and immediately above the last processioning virgin), St Thekla's
miraculous escape from the flames [10]. Let us discuss these paintings in more
detail.

1. The story of Jonah was the single most popular subject in pre-Constantinian
    Christian art but few post-Constantinian examples survive: the Via Latina
    catacomb, several fifth-century North African mosaics, and the Exodus
    Chapel. It here comprises three elements [Fig. 21]: Jonah cast into the sea
    [Fig. 18:20], swallowed [Fig. 18:18] then regurgitated [Fig. 18:19] by the
    sea monster, and reclining beneath the gourd vine [Fig. 18:14]. These three
    elements are paralleled in a third-century wall-painting in the catacomb of St
    Callixtus,[37] on a sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano,[38] and on the British
    Museum Jonah sarcophagus.[39] But Jonah in the Exodus Chapel is clothed,[40]
    as also in the four Cleveland Marbles statues (probably of Asia Minor origin
    and generally attributed to the third century but may be later; the fourth
    statue shows Jonah praying).[41] Prompted by the words attributed to Jesus in
    Mt 12:39–40, early Christian authors interpreted Jonah as a type of the
    resurrection: Irenaeus used the story of Jonah as a sign of bodily
    resurrection;[42] Tertullian cited the three youths and Jonah, whose bodies

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37. Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 4.
38. Item 119: see Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 3.
39. G.F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before
     Constantine* (Macon Ga. 1985, rev. ed. 2003) 78, pl. 14a.
40. Jonah reclining under the gourd vine, his right arm arching over his head and one leg
     drawn up, clearly conforms to the Endymion model of the reclining Jonah. The poor
     preservation of the Exodus Chapel figure, however, makes it impossible to tell if the
     figure is clothed or not. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 61, apparently following De Bock,
     incorrectly identifies this figure as the suffering Job. On the Jonah-Endymion
     iconographic parallels see M. Lawrence, 'Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art' *De
     Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* ed. M. Meiss (2 vols New
     York 1961) 323–34.
41. E. Kitzinger, 'The Cleveland Marbles' *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di
     Archeologia Cristiana [21–27 September 1975]* (2 vols Vatican City 1978) 1:653–
     75; W.D. Wixom, 'Early Christian Sculptures at Cleveland' *BCM* 54 (1967) 67–88k;
     idem, 'Portrait Busts, Good Shepherd, and Jonah Figures' *Age of Spirituality: Late
     Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century: Catalogue of the
     Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through
     February 12, 1978* ed. K. Weitzmann (New York 1979) 407–11.
42. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.5.2.

remained intact despite fire and sea monsters;[43] Basil of Caesarea interpreted Jonah's three days in the belly of the fish as a figure of the triple immersion in baptism, itself a symbol of Jesus' passion, death and resurrection.[44] Jonah's nudity symbolizes the nudity of baptismal candidates. The clothed Jonah stands apart from this tradition. Other subjects normally nude, such as Daniel in the lions' den, also appear in clothed forms (as in the Exodus Chapel).[45] The clothed forms are generally of eastern origin and often associated with Syria.[46]

2. The second most frequently occurring subject in pre-Constantinian Christian art was Noah and the Ark. Here the Ark is a high-prowed boat with what appear to be two internal rooms or cabins, out of one of which steps a woman, presumably Noah's wife. Noah stands against the prow, leaning towards a dove with a branch in its beak; above Noah's head is his name, NΩE, and the word KIBΩTOΣ is written inside the vessel.[47] The Exodus Chapel Noah thus differs in several details from the most common pre-Constantinian representation, which consists of an *orans* standing in a box-like ark:[48]the Ark is a ship,[49] Noah is not *orans*, and he is accompanied by his wife.

    This attention to details of the biblical narrative is more typical of post-Constantinian depictions.[50] In the Chapel of Peace, for example, Noah is shown half-*orans* within the ship-like ark accompanied by his wife and six children, all *orantes*,[51] and Noah stretches out his right hand towards the approaching dove. The profile of the ark's hull, with high curving prow and short flat stern, is reminiscent of traditional Egyptian papyrus boats. Columns with Corinthian capitals stand at each end of the hull and, along with the mast, support a roof above Noah and his family. This depiction may be compared with the Noah sarcophagus in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum

43. Tertullian, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 58.
44. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto* 14.32.
45. As is the Daniel found in the Chapel of Peace.
46. Klauser argued for a Jewish influence in the iconography of the clothed versions of Jonah and Daniel, connecting this with the Rabbinic prescription that clothing must be worn to pray: T. Klauser, 'Rez. G. Brusin / P. L. Zovatto, *Monumenti romani e cristiani di Iulia Concordia* (Pordenone 1960)' *JbAC* 4 (1961) 179–81.
47. These words, no longer legible, appear clearly in the Metropolitan Museum photographs: Stern, 'Peintures' figs 4, 6.
48. E.g. catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus: R.M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London 2000) 66, fig. 18; Domitilla Catacomb: A. Nestori, *Repertorio topografico delle pitture delle catacombe romane* (Vatican City 1975) 118, no. 4; Cappella Greca of the Priscilla Catacomb: Nestori, *Repertorio* 27–8, no. 39; the Jonah Sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano (item 119, see n. 39 above); the Julia Juliane sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano (item 236: see Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 79, pl. 15); the Velletri Sarcophagus in the Velletri Musuem (Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 81, pl. 17).
49. This iconography of the Ark is known in third-century Jewish art: cf. depictions of the ark on coins from Apamea in Phrygia in Grabar, *Iconography* 24–5, pl. 48.
50. Cf. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 95.
51. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 77, fig. 69.

in Trier, conventionally dated to the pre-Constantinian period.[52] The Trier
sarcophagus shows Noah standing in a large chest-like ark, accompanied by
eight other figures and some animals. At each end of the picture panel, a
seated figure weaving a garland is separated from the ark by a pair of
columns with Corinthian capitals. If these columns, which function as scene
dividers on the Trier sarcophagus, are merged with the ark, we gain a form
of the ark very similar to that found in the Chapel of Peace. The upper frame
of the picture panel on the Trier Sarcophagus, which appears to rest upon the
capitals of the columns, becomes the roof of the ark. Both images depict
Noah accompanied by members of his family, and both show the dove
approaching the ark from the left. The Chapel of Peace ark is, of course, of
boat-like form — as are all known Egyptian images of Noah's ark — in
contrast to the chest form of the Trier image. The similarities between the
two images are suggestive, if not conclusive evidence, of a connection in
their iconography and underscore the post-Constantinian elements in the
Exodus Chapel's treatment of the theme.

The story of Noah and the Ark was understood by early Christian writers as
both symbolic of bodily resurrection[53] and, along with the New Testament,
as a baptismal typology, this sacrament itself embodying the promise of
physical resurrection.[54] The dove in the story was compared with the dove
which descended upon Jesus at his baptism in the Jordan. The dove in the
Exodus Chapel Noah is far too large for the ark and its passengers and is,
indeed, many times bigger than Noah himself,[55] suggesting that the role of
the dove, and of Noah as a type of baptism, is here being emphasised.

3. The Exodus Chapel depiction of Daniel *orans* flanked by two lions in the
    den (ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΕΝ ΛΑΚΚΩ) conforms to the common early Christian
    iconography in most regards. Daniel is clothed, however, in contrast to his
    nakedness in many catacomb and sarcophagus depictions.[56] We may
    compare the clothed *orans*, flanked by lions, identified as Daniel in the late
    fourth- or early fifth-century Christian family tomb discovered near Kibbutz
    Lohamei HaGhettaot in Israel.[57] Also of interest is a Sassanian metal bowl

52. F. Gerke, *Die christlichen Sarkophage der vorkonstantinischen Zeit* (Berlin 1940)
    Tafel 47; H. Laag, 'Der Trier Noahsarkophag' *Festschrift für Alois Thomas:
    Archäologische, kirchen- und kunsthistorische Beiträge* (Trier 1967) 233–8; Snyder,
    Ante Pacem 95, tentatively questions the pre-Constantinian dating on the basis of the
    narrative detail in the depiction.
53. Tertullian, *De res. mort.* 58.6; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.5.
54. 1 Pet 3:20–1; 1 Clem 9.4; Justin *Dialogus* 138.2–3; Tertullian *De baptismo* 8.
55. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 57, fig. 37.
56. E.g. Thrason, Jordani, Peter and Marcellinus Catacombs: J. Stevenson, *The
    Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London 1978) ills. 41,
    43, 52; on the Velletri Sarcophagus see Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 81, pl. 17.
57. G. Foerster, 'A Christian Painted Tomb near Kibbutz Lochamey ha-Ge'taot'
    Qadmonit ha-Galil ha-Ma'aravi (The Ancient Galilee Antiquities) ed. M. Yedaya
    (Haifa 1986) 416–31 (Hebrew). Clothed Daniels appear on sarcophagi in Gaul (Mas
    D'Aire, Arles), Ravenna and Istanbul, as well as in the 6th-century baptistery of the
    Orthodox in Ravenna: see E. Dassmann, *Sündenvergebung durch Taufe, Busse und*

from Perm, dating from the fifth to sixth century, showing Daniel in a long robe of oriental style between two couchant lions. The figures are labelled in Estrangela Syriac, ܠܪܝܐܠ and ܐܠܗܐ.[58] Of particular relevance in the Egyptian context is a clothed Daniel between two lions in a sculptural fragment from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit.[59] The Exodus Chapel Daniel is shown at the bottom of the pit-like den, the walls of the pit rising on either side of him. But he also stands upon some sort of low mound. This detail may be compared with images from the catacombs of Daniel standing, not in a pit, but upon a low mound.[60] The Exodus Chapel Daniel may represent a conflation of these two traditions. By contrast, in the Chapel of Peace a clothed *orans* with nimbus stands in a brick-walled pit with a pair of lions.[61]

4. The Sacrifice of Isaac — the *aqedah* — was not a common subject in pre-Constantinian Christian art but became a central element in Byzantine art. Although this scene appears in both the Exodus Chapel and the Chapel of Peace there are differences in the iconography. The Exodus *aqedah* [Fig. 22] depicts, on the right, the ram standing apparently untethered beneath a tree. To the left of the tree stands Abraham (ABPAAM) facing a horned altar with a fire burning atop. To the left of the altar, Isaac appears, arms crossed over his chest. Oddly, whilst the ground level is clearly indicated by a line of paint, Isaac is depicted not as if standing upon this line but as suspended above the ground beside the altar. The hand of God, in red paint, appears from the sky to the right of Abraham's head.[62]

The Chapel of Peace *aqedah* differs in a number of details.[63] At the left is a tree, to the right of which stands the ram, head turned back towards the tree to which it is tethered by a cord around its neck.[64] Abraham stands to the

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Martyrerfürbitte in den Zeugnissen Frühchristliche Frömmigheit und Kunst (Münster 1973) 258–70, 425–38.

58. D.V. Ainalov, *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art* tr. E. & S. Sobolevitch, ed. C. Mango (New Brunswick 1961) 257, fig. 117.

59. K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst: Die Spätantike in Ägypten* (Recklinghausen 1963) 71, fig. 60.

60. E.g. Hypogeum of the Flavii, Catacomb of Domitilla: V. Fiocchi Nicolai, F. Bisconti & D. Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions* tr. C.C. Stella & L.-A. Touchette (Regensburg 2002) 122, fig. 138.

61. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 74, fig. 65.

62. Fakhry (*Necropolis* 63) includes in the scene of the *aqedah* the female *orans* beneath the tree to the bottom left of Isaac and the altar, whom he identifies as Sarah. Here we follow the majority of commentators, who see the figure as unrelated to this scene. See below on St Thekla and n. 107.

63. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 72, fig. 63.

64. Neither the LXX nor the Hebrew Bible mention the ram being tethered to the tree. This detail is, however, illustrated in numerous representations, both Jewish and Christian e.g. the Dura Europos synagogue (E. Kessler, 'Art Leading the Story: The 'Aqedah in early synagogue art' *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity. JRA* Supp.Ser. 40 ed. L. Levine & Z. Weiss (Portsmouth R.I. 2000) 76, fig. 44); the Bet Alpha synagogue mosaic (ibid. 78, fig. 45); the

right of the ram, presenting frontally, his left hand on the head of Isaac, his right hand reaching towards Isaac with a knife. Isaac stands, left hand extended, holding a small white object, perhaps incense (?), which he presents to the altar. The altar is of horned form with a fire burning on top. Above the altar stands Sarah, in her left hand holding a small white box in front of her body. Her right hand is extended in a half-*orans* position. Above the tree, to the left of Abraham's head, the hand of God extends from the heavens. To the lower right of the hand, two knives, identical to that held by Abraham, point handle first towards the patriarch. All three figures are identified by inscriptions (ΑΒΡΑΑΜ, ΕΙΣΑΚ, ΣΑΡΑ).

The iconography of the *aqedah* in the Exodus and Peace Chapels may be compared with a third, poorly preserved version of the *aqedah* in chapel no. 25 of the necropolis. This preserves only a few fragments of a ram standing under a tree. To the right of this, Abraham, robed as in the Chapel of Peace, raises Isaac— arms bound behind his back — off the ground in his left hand and a knife in his right hand. Above his head are traces of something in red paint which may be the hand of God, as seen in the other two Bagawat *aqedahs*. To the right of Isaac is part of a horned altar, and on the ground beneath Isaac's feet is a small unidentifiable object in red.[65] Elements of the *aqedah* scenes in the Chapel of Peace and chapel no. 25, such as Abraham's robes, the tree and the altar, are sufficiently similar to suggest that there may be a shared model behind these images. This possibility is strengthened by the presence in chapel no. 25 of a fragmentary painting which would appear to be of Paul and Thekla and which seems to share iconographic similarities with the same scene in the Chapel of Peace.[66] There is also an interesting parallel in detail between the Exodus Chapel and Chapel no. 25: in both, Isaac is shown being held up off the ground by Abraham — unlike in the Chapel of Peace, where he stands beside his father, but like the Beth Alpha synagogue mosaic, where Abraham is lifting Isaac and hurling him into the

Sepphoris synagogue mosaic (Z. Weiss, 'The Sepphoris Synagogue Mosaic and the Role of Talmudic Literature in its Iconographical Study' *From Dura to Sepphoris* fig. 10 (opp. p. 25)); Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. 699 fol. 59r (12th century, but after a 6th- or 7th-century model) and Cod. gr. 746 fol. 83r; the 5th-century lower church of Massuh, Transjordan and the mid 6th-century baptistery in the cathedral at Madaba (R. Talgam, 'Similarities and Differences Between Synagogue and Church Mosaics in Palestine During the Byzantine and Ummayad Periods' *From Dura to Sepphoris* 102–3, figs 55–6). A Coptic textile fragment in the Musée historique des tissus, Lyon (Inv. nr. 24.400/55) preserves a roundel with a scene of the *aqedah*: Isaac is depicted upon the altar, Abraham holding him by his hair. A ram stands at Abraham's feet, head turned back, with a thread tied to one horn. Dated to the 6th/7th century (W.F. Volbach, *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil. 3 Mai bis 15 August 1963. Villa Hügel, Essen* (Essen 1963) 336, fig. 347). Of particular note in the Egyptian context is that the 4th-century Coptic Bible includes the detail of the ram tied to a tree: A. Ciasca, *Sacrorum bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica* (3 vols Rome 1885) 1:22. The same detail is also found in Christian Syriac literature: S. Brock, 'Two Syriac Verse Homilies on the Binding of Isaac' *Le Muséon* 99 (1986) 77.

65. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 88, fig. 75.
66. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 87, fig. 74.

fire upon the altar.[67] Is this merely an artistic infelicity on the part of the Exodus Chapel painter, or could it reflect the painter's familiarity with a scene such as that in Chapel no. 25, the intent of which has been misunderstood?

One of the earliest Roman catacomb representations of the sacrifice of Isaac is in the third-century Chapel of the Sacraments in the St Callixtus Catacomb. Here, Abraham and Isaac are depicted as *orantes*.[68] In the Priscilla Catacomb in Rome, of similar date, Isaac carries wood while his father points to the fire on the altar and looks up to heaven.[69] In the fourth-century Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus, Abraham holds a knife in his right hand and Isaac kneels at his feet naked and bound. A ram appears on the other side of the lit altar.[70] Cubiculum C in the Via Latina Catacomb preserves a very similar image: the ram, to the left of the burning altar, appears to be seeking Abraham, Isaac kneels with his hands behind his back, and underneath is a servant with a donkey.[71] Van Woerden has argued that an explicit sacrificial meaning came into the subject of Abraham and Isaac only in the post-Constantinian period. It is then that Isaac begins to appear bound, as a sacrifice for the altar, evoking the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.[72] The third-century Mas d'Aire sarcophagus would seem to have already moved towards an emphasis on Isaac as sacrifice, somewhat mitigating van Woerden's case, but it does seem in general that the earliest representations of the *aqedah* avoid the explicit depiction of Isaac as sacrifice. As we move into the fourth century, sarcophagi begin to depict Isaac bound and kneeling before a knife-wielding Abraham, frequently with a burning altar.[73] The Bagawat *aqedah* scenes fit into this broad schema.[74] But it is also clear that the versions of this subject present in the Exodus Chapel and the Chapel of Peace represent two distinct iconographic traditions.

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67. Kessler, 'Aqedah' 78, fig. 45.
68. Fiocchi Nicolai et al., *Catacombs* 116, fig. 133.
69. A. Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst und Kultur: von den Anfängen bis zum 7. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1986) 82, fig. 23.
70. R.M. Jensen, 'The Offering of Isaac in Jewish and Christian Tradition: Image and Text' *Biblical Interpretation* 2 (1994) 88, fig. 3.
71. Jensen, *Understanding* 67, fig. 19.
72. I. van Woerden, 'The Iconography of the Sacrifice of Abraham' *VChr* 15 (1961) 214–55.
73. E.g. the Junius Bassus sarcophagus, the Museo Pio Cristiano no.104 sarcophagus, the Adelphia and Valeria sarcophagus and the Brothers' sarcophagus: Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst* figs 56, 59–60, 63.
74. The appearance of Sarah in the Chapel of Peace *aqedah* represents another departure from the Biblical narrative. The tale involves only father and son. The introduction of Sarah into the narrative universalizes the significance of the events. Goodenough's identification of the figure above the altar in the Dura synagogue *aqedah* as Sarah cannot be accepted since the figure is clearly wearing male clothing: E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol 4, *The Problem of Method: Symbols from Jewish Cult* (New York 1954) 189.

5. The standard and relatively common pre-Constantinian iconography of Adam and Eve includes the naked or near-naked first humans standing with a tree between them. Often a snake is wrapped around the tree. This is how the subject is treated in the Chapel of Peace. AΔAM and EYA, so named by accompanying inscriptions, stand on either side of a tree, each covering their genitalia with their left hand and holding their right hand up beside their face. The serpent whispers in the ear of Eve.[75] Comparable treatments occur in the Via Latina Catacombs[76] and the Junius Bassus sarcophagus.[77]

    The Exodus Chapel depiction of the first humans, AΔAM and ZΩE, differs in many details.[78] The couple are shown in a garden, naked, approaching a door on the left, Adam leading Eve. A serpent curls down from Eve's shoulder towards the ground with an apple in its mouth. Stern identified the moment as just before the expulsion from the garden: the serpent has seduced Eve and is in the throes of being cast to the earth where it is cursed to crawl upon its belly.[79] This iconography is otherwise unknown in early Christian art. Snyder contends that the pre-Constantinian iconography reflected in the Chapel of Peace makes no specific reference to the notion of the Fall and Augustinian Original Sin. Rather, it is a paradise motif, much like Jonah at Rest and the Good Shepherd, reflecting the anticipated gift of peace for both the living Christian and the deceased in the end time.[80] The temptation and expulsion from paradise are first illustrated in the fourth century,[81] and it is to this iconographic tradition that the Exodus Chapel scene belongs.

6. The iconography of the three Hebrews in the furnace (identified by the inscription KAMINOΣ) largely conforms to that reflected in the art of the catacombs [Fig. 23]. The youths are depicted as *orantes* amidst the flames, clothed in tunics and wearing Phrygian caps. A figure seated to the right of the furnace apparently stokes the flames; a fourth figure stands behind the youths, his face visible between their heads. The only painted image of the scene datable to the pre-Constantinian era is in the Cubiculum of the

75. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 71, fig. 62.
76. Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 28.
77. Ibid. pl. 29.
78. Eve is given the name ZΩE (lit. 'life') by Adam after the expulsion from the garden when he declares that she shall be the mother of living people (Gen 3:20): J. Leibovitch, 'Héllenismes et hebraïsmes dans un chapelle chrétienne à El-Bagouat' *BSAC* 5 (1939) 62.
79. Stern, 'Peintures' 107–8. Stern adduces the illustration of Adam and Eve being expelled from the garden of paradise found in fol. 1 of the Vienna *Genesis* as reflecting the same pictorial model which lies behind the Exodus Chapel image. The serpent in the Exodus Chapel may also be compared with the serpent below the tree in the Adam and Eve scene on the Velletri sarcophagus (Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 81, pl. 17).
80. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 103.
81. D. Calcagnini-Carletti, 'Note su alcune dei protoparente a Roma' *Parola e Spirito: Studi in Onore di Settimio Cipriani* ed. C.C. Marcheselli-Casale (Brescia 1982) 747–9.

Vellatio in the Priscilla Catacomb. Here the youths are depicted with a dove bearing an olive branch.[82] On sarcophagi, the youths can appear on their own or with a fourth (non-*orans*) figure in the furnace,[83] the latter presumably a saviour figure.

Of interest when considering the Exodus Chapel representation is that the notion of an angelic saviour watching over the youths is developed in the Egyptian iconographic tradition. A sixth-century wall painting in the British Museum from Wadi Sarga, south of Assiut in the Thebaid, depicts the three youths accompanied by a winged angel explicitly identified as such by an inscription.[84] Similarly, a wall-painting from Bawit of the sixth or seventh century shows the entire scene of the three youths encompassed by a giant angel figure.[85] The figure outside the furnace seen in the Bagawat scene, apparently tending the fire, is also to be found on early sarcophagi in the west.[86]

7. Susannah (ΣΟΥΣ[ΑΝΝ]A) is shown seated; two adjacent fragmentary figures may be the two elders. The iconography of this scene is unique. Susannah is usually presented *orans* between the two elders. In the Cappella Greca of the Priscilla Catacomb, a second scene shows Daniel vindicating Susannah.[87] Later depictions can show Daniel seated as he passes judgement.[88] The Exodus Chapel painter may have been familiar with such representations and, thus, presented a conflation of elements resulting in a seated Susannah.

8. The Good Shepherd is the most frequently-occurring early Christian non-narrative artistic subject. The Exodus Chapel shepherd, staff in hand, tends a flock of five sheep. An inscription (ΠΟΙΜΗΝ) identifies the figure.[89] In the standard pre-Constantinian representation, the shepherd carries a sheep, usually a ram, over his shoulders.[90] Related images show him milking a ewe or tending his flock.[91] The shepherd from the Dura Europos baptistery both carries a ram and tends his flock.[92] Depictions of the shepherd become less

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82. Effenberger, *Frühchristliche Kunst* fig. 22.

83. E.g. a sarcophagus fragment in the Museo del Palazzon dei Conservatori, Rome: Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 105, pl. 27. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.5.2. and Hippolytus, Schol. in Dan. 3, emphasise Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the fourth figure in the furnace 'like the Son of God'.

84. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst* 164, fig. 101.

85. H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten* (Vienna 1974) 155 fig. 19.

86. E.g. the front frieze of a 4th century sarcophagus in the Museo Pio Cristiano: Jensen, *Understanding* 81, fig. 24.

87. Stevenson, *Catacombs* 79, fig. 56: Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 98, pl. 23.

88. *DACL* s.v. 'Suzanne'.

89. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 3 n. 4, characterises the shepherd as a relatively neutral scene and suggests that it may represent Abel. If Schwartz's suggestion were correct, might not the name 'Abel' be expected rather than the ambiguous 'shepherd'?

90. E.g. Fiocchi Nicolai et al., *Catacombs* 93, fig. 101; 97, fig. 107; Grabar, *Iconography* pls. 17, 19, 22.

91. Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 87.

92. Ibid. pls. 40–1.

frequent in the Constantinian period and almost disappear by the early fifth century.[93] The Exodus Chapel shepherd is thus a relatively late example. It is also one of the Chapel's very few explicitly Christian subjects.

9. Above the scene of Jonah and the sea monster, Job (IΩB) is depicted, conversing with a friend seated to his right. Job enters Christian art in the Constantinian period,[94] appearing around a dozen times in catacomb paintings, all from the fourth century or later. He is usually depicted alone but sometimes with two or three others, including his wife offering him food on a stick.[95] In the catacombs and on sarcophagi in the west, Job's companions usually stand: the Exodus Chapel companion is seated. This appears to be an eastern element: a Syriac miniature of the sixth or seventh century depicts two of Job's three companions seated before him.[96]

10. Rebecca at the wells of Nachor is otherwise unknown in Early Christian monumental art. Rebecca (PENBEKA), to the right of the well, draws a bucket of water. To the left stands Eliezer holding the tethers to two camels, standing behind him and followed by a servant leading an ass. To the right is a stylised gabled façade with double doors, probably representing the town gates. Stern has identified a parallel in the sixth-century Vienna *Genesis*.[97]

11. The Exodus Chapel includes two martyrdoms. The *Martyrdom of Isaiah* is a pseudepigraphical work of Jewish origin adopted and 'Christianised' at a very early period.[98] In the Exodus Chapel depiction Isaiah is tied to a frame and a figure standing on either side passes a long saw through his body. The only parallel known, on a gold glass from Rome, is now lost.[99] Portrayals extant from the ninth century onward represent a quite different iconographic tradition.[100]

12. The martyrdom of Thekla reflects the popularity of her cult not only in the Great Oasis during the fourth and fifth centuries — two other representations are found at Bagawat[101] — but also in Late Antique Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean in general. Shrines at Ma'lula in Syria and Meyemlik (Ayatekla) in Turkey (both sites lay claim to being Thekla's burial place, as does Rome) attracted considerable pilgrimage traffic in the fourth to seventh

93. Jensen, *Understanding* 39–40.
94. Ibid. 90.
95. Stevenson, *Catacombs* 76–7, fig. 53; Grabar, *Iconography* pl. 23 (St Callixtus), 29 (Junius Bassus Sarcophagus).
96. H. Omont, 'Peintures de l'Ancien Testament dans un manuscrit syriaque du VIIe ou VIIIe siecle' *MonPiot* 17 (1909) 92, pl. 6.1.
97. Stern, 'Peintures' 108–10.
98. J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols Garden City N.Y. 1983) 2:143–50.
99. R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* (6 vols Prato 1872–80) 5:pl. 541.3.
100. R. Bernheimer, 'The Martyrdom of Isaiah' *ArtB* 34 (1952) 19–34.
101. The Chapel of Peace and Chapel no. 25; Fakhry, *Necropolis* 78, 87.

centuries.[102] The Exodus Chapel depicts Thekla (ΘΕΚΛΑ) *orans* on a burning pyre, a miraculous rain falling to save her from death. The legend also relates that she was thrown to wild beasts, was again saved by divine intervention,[103] and this is the miracle usually depicted.[104] The Exodus Chapel scene is the only known representation of the rescue from the flames.[105] An adjacent scene may represent a second image of the saint, though other readings have been proposed.[106] It shows a female *orans*, head thrown back like Thekla, in a 'cave' under a hill upon which grows a tree. In the legend, the saint did not die but was taken into the rock at the back of her cave, and this is possibly what the scene represents. This element of the legend, however, is first attested by Basil of Seleucia,[107] which would give the depiction a mid-fifth century date at the earliest, with implications for dating the Chapel's paintings in general. The two other depictions of Thekla in the Bagawat necropolis reflect a quite different iconographic tradition. Both show St Thekla seated with St Paul receiving teaching, clearly reflecting the *Acts of Paul* which relate Thekla's conversion by the apostle Paul.[108]

12. Jeremiah observing the ruin of Jerusalem [Fig. 24] is also unique in early Christian art. Jeremiah ([I]EPH[M]IAΣ) stands before a gabled portico reached by a flight of steps. This building is identified by the inscription [IEPO]ΥΣΑΛΕM and clearly resembles both the large monumental structure in the middle register, which we have suggested is the Jerusalem Temple, and the structure towards which the seven virgins process, and may also be compared with the gabled *tempietto* in Cubiculum C of the Via Latina Catacomb.[109] Leclercq, distinguishing the middle two columns of the portico from the outer two, contended that their bases were intentionally placed in a different plane to suggest the two columns, Jachim and Boaz, which stood before the Temple of Solomon.[110] Whilst the bases of the middle two columns certainly do appear to be situated on the step below the front of the façade,[111] it is difficult to know what significance to attach to this. The

102. The most important treatment of the late antique cult of Thekla is now S.J. Davis, *The Cult of St Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001).

103. *Acts of Paul* 2.28–9.

104. Stern, 'Peintures' 100.

105. P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte* (Paris 1968) 50 suggests that a limestone panel now in the Brooklyn museum depicting St Thekla between two beasts also shows surrounding flames (Supplementary Image 12). The 'flames' are, however, almost certainly plants.

106. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 63, connected this unlabelled figure with the adjacent scene of the *aqedah* and interpreted it as Sarah. Davis and Thérel see in this figure the occupant of the tomb beneath the chapel (see below).

107. PG 85:560A. Basil's life of the saint was compiled sometime between 447 and 457: Stern, 'Peintures' 100.

108. *Acts of Paul* 2.9

109. See n. 31 above.

110. *DACL* s.v. 'Bagawat (El)'.

111. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 62, fig. 52.

central columns of the portico towards which the seven virgins process, although on the same plane as the rest of the façade, are clearly distinguished in form from the outer columns.[112] But the Exodus Chapel painter's technique is sufficiently unsophisticated that we cannot be certain whether this a conscious detail or simply naïve draughtsmanship.

13. Seven virgins (ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙ) process towards a monumental building reached by seven stairs [Fig. 25]. They wear veils and each holds a lit torch and a censer. De Bock, followed by many later commentators,[113] identified them as the Wise Virgins of Matthew 25:1–13. However, the parable speaks of five wise and five foolish virgins. Images which depict other than five virgins invariably portray both groups, wise and foolish.[114] Schwartz, observing the similarity of the buildings associated with Jeremiah and the seven virgins, identified the *parthenoi* as the virgins weeping over the destruction of Jerusalem in Lamentations 1:4, an identification that cannot be dismissed out of hand.[115] Stern, noting the proximity of the virgins to St Thekla's martyrdom, suggested that they may represent religious devoted to the cult of the saint, a reading taken up by others.[116] But another reading is possible. The pseudepigraphical Marian gospels evidence a tradition of a

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112. Ibid. 65, fig. 57.
113. E.g. Stern, 'Peintures' 105; Thérel, 'Composition' 261.
114. Cf. Stern, 'Peintures' 105–6. A. Grabar, 'La fresque des saintes femmes au tombeau à Doura' *CahArch* 8 (1956) 11–13, compares the Exodus Chapel virgins with the procession of women in the Dura baptistery. The identification of the Dura scene is problematic. Argument exists over whether the building which the women approach is a tomb (in which case the processing figures may be the women at the tomb) or a temple (in which case the women may represent the wise virgins of the parable). Of course, the building may be intentionally ambiguous. Compare the image in cubiculum C of the Via Latina catacombs, which is identified either as the Raising of Lazarus (A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (Vatican City 1960) 55, Tav. 98) or as Joshua leading the Israelites into the Promised Land (W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb: Imitation and Discontinuity in Fourth-Century Roman Painting* (London 1986) 28), depending on whether the building is interpreted as a tomb or a temple.
115. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 3.
116. Davis, *Thecla* 151ff. Thérel, 'Composition' 260–70, draws a connection between an oasean cult of St Thekla and the mention of ascetic women who were targets of Arian persecution in 357 CE and who accompanied Athanasius into exile in the Great Oasis (Athanasius *Fug.* 6 (PG 25:256A); *Fug.* 7 (PG 25:652C)). Thérel finds in the juxtaposition of the image of the seven virgins in the Exodus Chapel with the images of St Thekla and that of an *orans* in a cave (?) to the left of the *aqedah*, a representation of an ascetic devoted to Thekla, the occupant of the tomb beneath the chapel. Although such figures in early Christian art have often been identified as portrayals of the deceased (Stevenson, *Catacombs* 61), this interpretation has been challenged. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 19–20, argues that such *orantes* are representations not of the deceased but of the abstract notion of filial piety. The proximity and similarity in pose of the *orans* to that of Thekla in her miraculous escape from martyrdom suggests the possibility of some connection between the two images, but what that connection might be is, in the absence of an identifying inscription, not at all clear.

procession of virgins who bring the child Mary into the Temple in fulfilment of the promise made by Joachim and Anna at Mary's miraculous conception.[117] The obvious visual parallels between the Temple in the Jeremiah scene and the building towards which the virgins process suggest that the latter is intended as the Temple. The number of the virgins, seven, may also be of significance. The artistic subject most closely associated with the Temple in Second Temple period Jewish art was the seven-branched candlestick, the menorah,[118] to which early first-century Jewish writers attributed cosmological significance. The seven lights represented the seven planets, making the menorah a symbol of the heavens.[119] This tradition was taken up by early Church Fathers.[120] The number of the torch-bearing *parthenoi* may thus underscore their connection with the Temple.

B. Programme

The programme underlying the Exodus Chapel paintings has been variously assessed. Badawy spoke of a 'combination' rather than a 'composition' of subjects,[121] Gough, of the subjects being 'randomly chosen and in no logical sequence, though most illustrate deliverance in the familiar way'.[122] Stern offered no programmatic assessment beyond the identification of images sharing a salvific theme.[123] Schwartz identified the four images centred above each of the arches as symbols of salvific significance, suggesting that they might be grouped as pairs, Noah and Jonah representing salvation from water, Isaac and the three Hebrews representing salvation from fire.[124] The images arranged around these four scenes have proven more challenging to explicate. Schwartz speaks of an *horror vacui* obscuring an original salvation theme.[125]

More ambitiously, Thérel argues for a theme of salvation through baptism, with the Jerusalem Temple as its cornerstone. She recognises a tripartite structure to this building, accepts Stern's identification of the central section as

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117. 'And when the child was three years old Joachim said, 'Call the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and let each one take a torch, and let these be burning, in order that the child not turn back and her heart be tempted away from the temple of the Lord.' And they did so until they had gone up to the temple of the Lord. And the priest took her and kissed her and blessed her, saying, 'The Lord has magnified your name among all generations; because of you the Lord at the end of the days will reveal his redemption to the sons of Israel.' *Protoevangelium of James* 7:2; cf. Pseudo-Matthew 4; *Nativity of Mary* 6. There also exists a tradition concerning the Temple virgins who were Mary's companions during her time in the Temple cf. Pseudo-Matthew 6, *Nativity of Mary* 7.

118. See L. Levine, 'The History and Significance of the Menorah in Antiquity' *From Dura to Sepphoris* 131–53.

119. Philo, *On Moses* 2.102–3, *Questions and Answers on Exodus* 2.73.81; Josephus *Jewish War* 5.216–18.

120. Clement, *Str.* 5.34.8–9; Jerome, *Ep. to Fabiola* 9.

121. Badawy, *Coptic Art* 243.

122. Gough, *Origins* 100.

123. Stern, 'Peintures' 96.

124. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 1.

125. Ibid. 3.

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modelled upon the Shrine of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and compares its gabled portico approached by a flight of stairs with the similar buildings associated with Jeremiah and the seven virgins (pp. 232–5).[126] She embraces Leclercq's suggestion that the former is the Temple of Solomon (235); the structure towards which the virgins process is, according to Thérel, intended to be reminiscent of, but clearly distinct from, this Temple and depicts a new Temple, the Church (235, 260–1). She sees this depiction repeated in the gabled end of the large central edifice (235–7), the right side of which she compares with the Torah ark in the Dura Europos synagogue frescoes and identifies as the Synagogue (237–8). This structure, incorporating Synagogue, Church and Anastasis, thus represents Jerusalem's triple symbolism — Holy City of Israel, the Church, and Heavenly City (238–9). This topos *par excellence* of the Promised Land recalls the Passover celebrated by Israel in remembrance of its deliverance from Egypt, the place of humanity's redemption by Christ, commemorated in the Christian Easter, and the celestial city where the Saviour inducts the Elect into the eternal paschal feast (239). Herein, Thérel identifies a threefold *schema* of salvation — past, present and future — which underpins the preparation of candidates for baptism, a schema strongly represented in the catechetical tracts of the Alexandrian school, with its doctrine of the triple sense of Scripture: historical, spiritual and mystical (240).

According to Thérel, Moses leading the Israelites to the Promised Land (represented by the Jerusalem Temple) symbolises baptism as the entrance into the salvation promised by Christ's sacrifice. This theme of a triple-fold salvation — prefigured in the Old Testament, present now in the Church and, *in illo tempore*, in the celestial Jerusalem where Christ reigns — underpins the entire Exodus Chapel painting programme. Thus, the Ark of Noah, symbolising the Church through which humanity is saved from God's judgement by water, is flanked to the left by the expulsion from paradise, whilst above a traveller approaches the Temple — the return of the baptised to the paradise of the Church (241–5). The various Old Testament figures are emblematic of God's salvific action represented in the epic history of Israel. The juxtaposition of the sacrifice of Isaac, the Good Shepherd and Jethro partaking of a cultic repast with the Israelites suggests to Thérel that the new covenant between God and an Israel which embraces the gentiles — Jethro was a Midianite — will lead to an ingathering of the nations by the Good Shepherd (258–9). Finally, in the procession of virgins approaching the Temple, Thérel sees the wise virgins entering the bridal chamber, a symbol of baptism and of the soul as the bride of Christ (261–2).

Thérel's analysis is certainly impressive in its erudition and ingenuity. However, issue may be taken with individual elements of the analysis. Although the procession of seven virgins cannot be identified precisely, that they represent the five wise virgins seems unlikely. Their further identification with a cloister of ascetics dedicated to Thekla (265) is mere speculation. Similarly, the tripartite composition of the central image of the Jerusalem Temple is not necessarily clear — the edifice's right side does resemble schematic Torah shrines but it may

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126. Page numbers refer to Thérel, 'Composition'.

simply be intended as the Temple Sanctuary. Comparisons may be made with depictions of the Holy of Holies in Jewish Art.[127]

Thérel finds a compelling logic in the selection and placement of every element of the perceived programme, and she incorporates every image on the Chapel's ceiling into her closely argued analysis. While such a sophisticated iconographic scheme cannot be dismissed summarily, its very sophistication contrasts with the actual level of technical accomplishment in the paintings. Schwartz, for example, saw a compositional haphazardness in the placement of certain images, such as the martyrdom of Thekla.[128] This, allied with the questionable identification of some individual iconographic elements, justifies treating Thérel's analysis with a little caution.

We can endorse Thérel's identification of sacramental symbolism. The Crossing of the Red Sea was understood as a type of Christian baptism by Paul in 1 Cor 10:2 and the notion was taken up by other early Christian writers.[129] Baptismal typology is also represented in other scenes. The juxtaposition (on facing arches) of Noah and the three Hebrews, quite common in early Christian art, adds to the individual meanings of these subjects. Thus, whilst the three Hebrews were commonly understood as an exhortation to martyrdom,[130] the Hebrews together with Noah seem to emphasize the rescue of the physical body and serve as typologies of baptism, which in itself bears the promise of resurrection.[131] Beginning with 1 Peter 3:20-1, Noah's rescue from the flood was seen as a type of baptism,[132] the dove forming the connecting link with Jesus' baptism in the Jordan. The three Hebrews enjoyed a figurative 'baptism by blood', as martyrdom was characterized. John the Baptist speaks of the one who will come baptizing in the Holy Spirit and in fire (Mt 4:11-12).

Jonah (East arch) and the sacrifice of Isaac (West arch) represent another symbolic set. Jesus himself identifies Jonah as prefiguring the three days and three nights at the centre of the Earth of the Son of Man (Mt 12:39-40) Numerous Christian writers, from the second century onward, employ the sacrifice of Isaac as a paradigm for the sacrifice of Jesus.[133] We have already noted Jonah as a baptismal type, representing Jesus' passion, death and resurrection in the triple immersion in the baptismal font. Taken together, the sacrifice of Isaac and the tale of Jonah refer to the Christian's participation in the dispensation won by Christ's sacrifice through the *sphragis* of baptism.

127. R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora* (Leiden 1998) 360–3.
128. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 4–5.
129. Tertullian *De baptismo* 3–5, 8–9; Cyprian *Ep.* 63.8.
130. 1 Clement 45.7; Tertullian *De idololatria* 15, *Scorpiace* 8, *Adv. Marcionem* 4.41; Origen *Exhort. ad martyr.* 33; Cyprian *De lapsis* 19, *De unitate* 12. *Epp.* 6.3, 58.5, 57.8, 61.2.
131. Tertullian *De res. mort.* 58.6; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 5.5.
132. 1 Clement 9.4; Justin *Dial.* 138.2–3; Tertullian *De bapt.* 8.
133. *Ep. Barn.* 7.3; Melito Frag. 9–11; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 4.10.1; Tertullian *Adv. Jud.* 13.20–2; Clement *Paed.* 1.23; Origen *Hom. 8 in Gen.*

Similar sacramental significance can be attributed to Daniel and Adam and Eve. Daniel functioned as a prefiguration of the resurrection, a type of rebirth like Jonah. His nudity in western depictions referred to the disrobed state of those undergoing baptismal immersion,[134] and the context of clothed images often suggests that they shared the same symbolic value.[135] Adam and Eve were considered types of baptism insofar as the baptized, like the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, has returned to the Promised Land, the restored Eden symbolized architecturally by the baptistery. The baptized were the second Adam and Eve returned to the garden.[136] As such, Adam and Eve symbolize a second creation, a hope for renewal, restoration and resurrection.

Whilst other subjects such as Susannah, Job and the two martyrdoms appear to represent the notion of deliverance from trial, the overwhelming symbolism of the Exodus Chapel is of the sacrament of baptism with its promise of bodily resurrection. This is entirely appropriate to the Chapel's funerary context.

C. Identification of the artist

The Chapel's architectural form and specific location marks it, according to Fakhry, as one of the oldest in the cemetery. The paintings are most often attributed to the mid-fourth to early fifth centuries CE.[137]

One of the most striking features of the decoration programme is that it preserves some the most popular subjects of the pre-Constantinian Roman catacombs, many of which disappeared from the repertoire after the fourth century: the Jonah cycle, Noah, the Good Shepherd and the *Orans*.[138] By the end of the fifth century Susannah and the three Hebrews have been discontinued.[139] Over the same period new subjects were introduced: the Crossing of the Red Sea,[140] and Job.[141] The Exodus Chapel paintings thus encompass popular pre-Constantinian subjects as well as reflecting the changes in iconographic preferences typical of the Constantinian period. In addition, there are curious absences, the most striking being the absence of any depictions of Jesus. Amongst the most popular pre-Constantinian subjects were the Baptism of Jesus, the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Healing of the Paralytic.[142] In the Constantinian period, new subjects include Jesus' Nativity, Jesus as giver of the Law, the entrance into Jerusalem, the arrest and trial, the resurrection and

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134. Cf. Hippolytus *Trad. ap.* 21.3, 5, 11; Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat. myst.* 2; Chrysostom *Catacheses* 2.24; Theodore of Mopsuestia *Lib. ad bapt.* 4; Jensen, *Understanding* 175–8.

135. E.g. the clothed Daniel in the Baptistry of the Orthodox in Ravenna.

136. Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat. myst.* 1.9, 2.2; Chrysostom *Cat.* 11.28–9; Paulinus of Nola *Ep.* 32 (*ad Severum*) 3.5.

137. Fakhry, *Necropolis* 39; Wilkinson, 'Khargeh' 36. Stern, 'Peintures' 119, dated the paintings to the first half of the 5th century, while Thérel, 'Composition' 261–2, dates them to the mid-4th to mid-5th century CE.

138. Jensen, *Understanding* 89.

139. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 99, 106.

140. Jensen, *Understanding* 88.

141. Ibid. 90.

142. Snyder, *Ante Pacem* 87.

enthronement and, finally, in the early fifth century, the crucifixion.[143] None of these subjects appear in the Exodus Chapel. Indeed, the only overtly Christian subjects are the martyrdom of Thekla, the shepherd and, possibly, the seven virgins. This almost exclusive concentration on the Old Testament is highly unusual.

If the Chapel's iconography demonstrates connections with the West in its choice of subject matter, it also reveals clear connections with Syria and the East in certain details, such as Daniel and Jonah clothed and Job's companions seated. A parallel for Rebecca at the wells of Nachor occurs in the Vienna *Genesis*, a codex of Syrian origin. The cult of St Thekla, whilst of international scope, was particularly strong in Syria and Egypt.

The Exodus Chapel painter is clearly not a formally-trained craftsperson. The draughtsmanship is naïve, and occasionally a model for an image may have been misunderstood (e.g. Susannah, Isaac in the *aqedah*). There are none of the Hellenistic gestures found in the Chapel of Peace, no use of *contrapposto* or definition of drapery. By contrast, the use of cross-sections (Noah's Ark, Daniel, the three Hebrews), composite architectural projection (side views adjoining the façade of the Jerusalem Temple), a preponderance of lateral views of figures drawn in line reminiscent of the typical Egyptian stance — these features suggest a familiarity with traditional Egyptian artistic conventions rather than with the Hellenistic Alexandrian tradition.[144]

How can this seemingly isolated settlement on the empire's southernmost frontier reflect the latest iconographical innovations of the empire's largest city? In fact, the Great Oasis was not as culturally isolated in the fourth and fifth centuries as its geography might suggest. At the juncture of important African trade routes, and forming a natural frontier with the Sudan to the south, the Great Oasis had, since the first century, attracted the attention of the Roman government for both commercial and military reasons. A large number of substantial mud-brick military installations dot the oasis.[145] A Christian community, present from at least the second half of the third century, grew large enough for the Patriarch of Alexandria to appoint a bishop.[146] By the fourth and fifth centuries, the Great Oasis is frequently mentioned in both Greek and Latin literary and judicial sources, as it had become a favoured place of exile for grandees of the empire, including ecclesiastics, amongst the most noteworthy being the patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria and the deposed patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius.[147]

143. Jensen, *Understanding* 89.
144. See Badawy, *Coptic Art* 244.
145. Wagner, *Les oasis* 373–89.
146. *P.Grenf. II* 73 (a papyrus from Douch, ancient Kusis, in the south of the oasis); Wagner, *Les oasis* 355–6; John Moschus *Pratum spirituale* 112 (late 6th century).
147. J. Schwartz. 'In Oasin relegare' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol* ed. R. Chevallier (Paris 1966) 1481–8; Athanasius *Apol. Const.* 32 (PG 25:637), *Fug.* 7 (PG 25:650). On the history of this period see C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore 1997) 245–77.

In the Bagawat Necropolis, the provision of extensive schemes of painted decoration was not the normal practice. The Chapel of Peace and the Exodus Chapel are exceptions, and that their decoration was executed for exiles from urban centres seems a very distinct possibility. Thérel had already suggested a connection with Christians exiled from Alexandria during the Arian disturbances of the fourth century. This, Thérel argued, makes particularly apposite the theme of salvation which she finds dominant in the decoration and strongly represented in the catechetical works of the contemporary Alexandrian school.[148] The central importance of the Exodus narrative takes on new significance as a representation of rescue from the oppression of an unjust ruler and deliverance out of exile in Egypt.[149]

In this regard, two details of the Egyptian soldiers in the Crossing of the Red Sea merit attention [Fig. 26]. First, the Egyptian infantrymen marching immediately before the three mounted figures carry shields which appear to bear the *Chi Rho* monogram. Second, the two horsemen who precede them carry similar shields and also banners in the form of *dracones*, the standards employed by Roman cohorts from the second half of the third century CE.[150] It would appear that the artist is drawing upon knowledge of contemporary Roman troops in his depiction of the Egyptian army, thus casting the Roman army in the role of the oppressors. Christians exiled by the imperial authorities might find such imagery evocative of their own plight, and the tale of God's deliverance of Israel into the Promised Land indicative of their own hopes.

The Crossing of the Red Sea was long held to be a type of Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge, and indeed, Eusebius compares Maxentius' troops drowning in the Tiber with Pharaoh's army drowning in the Red Sea.[151] Constantine was presented as a new Moses. But as Mathews has recently argued, it is Pharaoh who bears the attributes of an emperor in all of the early representations, not Moses; moreover, Exodus 14:16–27 does not mention the death of the Pharaoh himself, yet all of the early representations show Pharaoh in the waters along with his troops.[152] According to Stern, however, and most subsequent commentators, the Red Sea is not depicted in the Exodus Chapel but instead simply indicated by the inscription EPYΘPA.[153] We would suggest that the Red Sea *is* depicted. At various points the artist employs a band of reddish paint. The particular significance of the band is determined by context: in some scenes it indicates the ground level upon which figures stand, while in the bottom register it indicates the sea upon which Jonah's ship sails. In the Exodus

148. Thérel, 'Composition' 248–9.

149. Ibid. 255.

150. The use of these banners continued in the Byzantine army into the middle ages: Stern, 'Peintures' 112.

151. Eusebius *HE* 9.9.1–10; E. Becker, 'Konstantin der Grosse, der "neue Moses", die Schlacht am Pons Milvius und die Katastrophe am Schilfmeer' *ZKircheng* 31 (1910) 161–71.

152. T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1993) 76.

153. Stern, 'Peintures' 112; Schwartz, 'Nouvelles études' 2; Thérel, 'Composition' 253–5.

scene, Moses and the Israelites walk upon a band of reddish paint. However, the Egyptian army immediately behind the Israelites appears to be floating unsupported. The reddish strip clearly stops before the lead Egyptian, and this division is emphasised by placing the roots of the bird-inhabited grapevine, which fills the centre of the domed ceiling, precisely at the end of the red band. This seems to mark the shore of the Red Sea. Thus, the Egyptian army and Pharaoh are shown *in the waters of the Red Sea, so identified by the inscription above the lead horsemen.* The Exodus Chapel depiction, then, fits well within the usual type of the early representations of this episode: Pharaoh meets his doom in the waters of the Red Sea. This departure from the text of Scripture alerts us, Mathews argues, to the fact that the image is being manipulated for some purpose outside the narrative; in this case, the salvation of mankind is depicted as deliverance from the Roman emperor.[154] Such a reading accords well with the other details of the Exodus Chapel depiction and resonates powerfully with the suggestion that Christians exiled to the Great Oasis by imperial authorities are responsible for the composition of these paintings.

Thérel's suggestion that we may more specifically associate the paintings' author with the Arian conflicts in mid-fourth century Alexandria is more problematic. First, this requires a very early mid-fourth century date for the paintings but the late fourth-century to early fifth-century seems more likely. Second, from the death of Constantine until the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE there was a gradual escalation of civic unrest and anti-imperial sentiment in Alexandria. The growing civic authority of the Alexandrian patriarch, the challenge this presented to the imperial civil administration, and the pressure both these factions placed upon the influence of the indigenous Alexandrian aristocracy, led to frequent clashes. The patriarchs' challenge to the imperial prefects translated many of the christological controversies into political clashes, which continued to intensify until the Council of Chalcedon, when the Alexandrian Church's rejection of the christological position promulgated by the imperially-sponsored council became tantamount to a rejection of imperial authority and a declaration of ecclesial and political independence.[155] Many of the clashes between imperial authorities and the followers of the Alexandrian patriarchs during this period could have resulted in persons being exiled to the Great Oasis. There is no need to tie ourselves too closely to the times and troubles of Athanasius.

We have observed that the Exodus Chapel paintings indicate a familiarity with indigenous Egyptian artistic traditions rather than the Alexandrian Hellenistic style. Further evidence concerning the identity of their author comes from one of the inscriptions. Rebecca is identified as PENBEKA, which clearly differs from the Greek PEBEKKA we might expect. This form shows Coptic interference[156] and its painter may have been a Coptic speaker.[157]

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154. Mathews, *Clash* 76.
155. Haas, *Alexandria* 245–330.
156. The nu before the beta is a Sahidic dialectal feature. Compare the series: ABBA (Greek) = APPA (Bohairic) = ANBA (Sahidic).

The Exodus Chapel also indicates familiarity with Syrian iconographic traditions. Contact between Egyptian and Syrian Christianity was quite close during the fourth and fifth centuries, facilitated by the movement of ascetic monastics. So, for example, in the late fourth century, the patriarch Theophilos imported monks from Jerusalem to take part in his anti-pagan campaigning in Alexandria, settling them in Canopus.[158] Monastics were an important part of the patriarch's potential power base and monastic ascetics were frequently involved in the political clashes within Alexandria.[159] The familiarity with Syrian iconographic traditions evidenced by the Exodus Chapel painter is highly suggestive of a monastic of some sort. With this status comes the potential for having been involved in one of the many disturbances which shook Alexandria during the mid-fourth to mid-fifth centuries.

The Chapel of Peace and the Exodus Chapel show clear connections with major trends in Christian art in the great urban centres of the empire, including Rome and Alexandria, although each reflects a distinct line of tradition. The conventional dating of the paintings of the Exodus Chapel coincides with a period of frequent civic disturbances in Alexandria, many involving the Church and Christian ascetics, many resulting in the exile of participants, some of them to the Great Oasis. The iconography of the Exodus Chapel paintings reveals an author who is not a trained artist, who has little familiarity with the formal canons of Alexandrian art but, instead, is familiar with the native Egyptian painting tradition, and shows some familiarity with Syrian iconographic traditions. The central position occupied by the Exodus narrative in the programme of paintings evokes strong anti-imperial resonances. Finally, the linguistic evidence of the inscriptions accompanying the painted scenes suggest that the author of the paintings was a native Coptic speaker, and hence, most likely an Egyptian, not an educated citizen of a Hellenistic *polis*.

We may reasonably posit, therefore, that the person responsible for the Exodus Chapel paintings was an Egyptian monastic not from a graecophone urban setting but from a Coptic speaking milieu somewhere in the *chora*. Our monastic somehow became involved in one of the many clashes between the patriarchs and the imperial authorities in Alexandria and was sent into exile.

Yet our painter, not a trained artist, was somehow familiar with the latest iconographic developments in the Roman west. The extant early Christian art of Alexandria gives no indication of possible sources for the Exodus Chapel programme,[160] and later Christian art in Egypt develops the tradition exemplified

157. There is little reason to doubt that the inscriptions are not contemporary with the paintings, except for a few instances where they have been repeated by a clearly later hand, e.g. the repetition of *parthenoi*. The representations are highly schematic and the inscriptions are needed to identify many of them. Thus the author of the inscriptions, if not identical with the painter, was most probably involved in the original execution of the decorative scheme.

158. Haas, *Alexandria* 262.

159. Ibid. 258–77.

160. The Karmuz 'Christological' cycle, now lost but preserved in nineteenth-century drawings, is the only extensive Christian painted composition known from

by the Chapel of Peace, which is quite distinct from the Exodus Chapel paintings. Schwartz suggested that the sources for the Exodus Chapel paintings may lie in contemporaneous decorated gold glass vessels. Schwartz compared the iconographic subjects depicted on four gold glasses and found that, like the Exodus Chapel paintings, Old Testament scenes predominate; two of the glasses do not depict any New Testament scenes. The glasses concerned — the St Ursula and St Severin cups, both from Cologne, the Podgoritza cup and the Homblières cup — probably all originate from the region of Cologne in the early fourth century. Such gold glasses were exported throughout the empire.[161] These gold glasses, objects used in ecclesiastical contexts, provide an attractive solution to both the problem of how current western iconographic fashions reached the Great Oasis in the Libyan wastes, and why the Exodus Chapel programme is so much dominated by Old Testament subjects.

The arguments adduced above suggest that a non-urban native Egyptian of monastic background — a background that brought them into contact with the traditions of Syrian monastics — was involved in the production of the Exodus Chapel paintings. This person — monk or nun — was possibly caught up in one of the clashes between the patriarch and the imperial governor in Alexandria and was exiled to the Great Oasis. The selection of iconography was likely guided by images familiar from his or her former ecclesiastical milieu.

Alexandria. It appears to have far more in common with the paintings of the Chapel of Peace than with the Exodus Chapel: see Badawy, *Coptic Art* 241–3, fig. 4.14.
161. Schwartz, 'Nouvelles étude' 7–11.

Julia Kelly

The Column of Arcadius:
Reflections of a Roman Narrative Tradition

When Theodosius the Great died in 395, his son Arcadius was proclaimed emperor of the Eastern Empire. Arcadius' thirteen-year rule was rather insubstantial, being neither particularly good nor particularly bad. There were the usual battles against the marauding barbarians and there were palace intrigues and personal feuds, but the fifth century is better known for the weak rule of Arcadius' brother, Honorius, in the West and the sack of Rome by Alaric the Visigoth in 410. However, in the East the early fifth century is a period that stands as the turning point between Antiquity and the Byzantine age, looking backward to a magnificent past and forward to a new era founded on Christianity.[1]

This turning point is very clearly illustrated in Constantinople by two imperial commemorative monuments — the Column of Theodosius and the Column of Arcadius. We know very little about the Column of Theodosius. It commemorated the Roman defeat of the Greutungi and was begun in 386, with reliefs spiralling up the column shaft narrating the events of the Emperor's military victory and crowned with a silver statue of the Emperor.[2] As was the case with so many ancient monuments in the city, the statue of the Emperor fell down during an earthquake in 448. The column survived into the Ottoman period, but was destroyed in a hurricane in about 1517. Eighteen fragments of the column are preserved, having been built into the walls of the Beyazit Hamam and twelve of these have figural scenes, mostly of soldiers, weapons and horses. They are the only record we have of the Column of Theodosius.

Fortunately, for the Column of Arcadius we have a much better record.[3] The construction of the column began about 401 and was not finished until 421, when it was dedicated by Arcadius' son, Theodosius II. At this time a statue of Arcadius was placed on the top, but it fell down in an earthquake in 740. The column itself lasted much longer. Despite being badly damaged by a fire in 1633 and another in 1660, it remained upright until 1715. However, by then it was in

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1. This sentiment forms the basis for the research by Bente Kiilerich in her book examining the sculptural art of this period: B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense 1993) 9. The political environment of the fourth and fifth centuries is also explored by Williams and Friell: S. Williams & G. Friell, *The Rome That Did Not Fall: The Survival of the East in the Fifth Century* (London 1999).

2. G. Becatti, *La Colonna Coclide Istoriata: Problemi Storici, Iconografici, Stilistici* (Rome 1960) 83–150, 263–88, Tav. 49a, 50b, 51–5; Kiilerich, *Classicism* chap.4, esp. 50–4, fig. 25–31.

3. Becatti, *Colonna* 151–288, Tav. 56–76; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977) 250–3; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops: Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom* (Oxford 1990) app. 2, 273–8; Kiilerich, *Classicism* chap.4, esp. 50–4, fig. 32–6.

imminent danger of collapse and had to be demolished to save the houses around it. The eight metre high base of the column survives today with the first band of the relief which wound its way up the column. Unfortunately the reliefs of the base are in a very poor state of preservation, but on the column itself we can make out the remains of a procession of men with horses and wagons, all moving to the right. Some of the men have short tunics and others long.

One fragment survives which is believed to have come from the column.[4] It shows five men — although only the three in the foreground are easily visible — and the hindquarters of a horse. This is probably a scene of marching soldiers and we can make out that one is wearing a helmet and another is carrying a shield. The three-quarter positioning of the figures, their stances and the subject matter of a procession moving to the right all support the belief that the fragment is part of the column. We don't know what became of the many other fragments of relief after the demolition of the column, but we can presume that most were reused as building material.

Several antiquarians and artists from western Europe who came to Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made records and illustrations of the Column of Arcadius. To Pierre Gilles, who visited Constantinople in about 1550, we owe our knowledge of the dimensions of the column, the number of blocks used in its construction and that the spiral staircase, which wound its way up the inside of the column, was still functional in the mid sixteenth century. From his detailed measurements we know that the column was over forty-two metres tall, including the base, capital and conjoining elements.[5] Gilles, who was highly distrustful of the Ottoman Turks, describes how he measured the column from the inside, dropping a line from the top of the staircase, rather than from the outside, as he was afraid of the 'savagery' of the local inhabitants.[6]

A little later, in 1559, Melchior Lorichs made a drawing of the upper spirals of the column.[7] In 1574 a German artist recorded the column as seen from the east, south and west. He made separate drawings of the base, the lower part of the column and the top and these are now in Trinity College Library, Cambridge and form the Freshfield Album.[8] In 1610 an Englishman named Sandys made a drawing of the column in its entirety as seen from the southwest. This drawing shows the thirteen spirals of the column, but the details are rather sketchy and unclear.[9] Complementary to Sandys' and the Freshfield drawings is a representation from between 1670 and 1700, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It shows again the column in its entirety, this time seen from the southwest.[10] Finally we have a drawing by L.F. Cassas showing parts of the

4. Becatti, *Colonna* 250–1, Tav. 59a; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 56.
5. P. Gilles, *The Antiquities of Constantinople* tr. J. Ball (2nd ed. New York 1988) book IV, chap. VII, 196–9.
6. Gilles, *Antiquities* book IV, chap. VII, 198.
7. Becatti, *Colonna* 158–9, Tav. 62b, 63d; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 57.
8. Becatti, *Colonna* 157–64, Tav. 71–6; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 57–8.
9. Becatti, *Colonna* 159, Tav. 74a; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 58.
10. Becatti, *Colonna* 161, Tav. 72–3; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 58.

column in 1784, after its demolition, including the remaining reliefs of the base and the lower column shaft.[11]

From these drawings we can piece together an idea of the iconography of the column and the base. The Freshfield and the Bibliothèque Nationale illustrations provide the clearest information on the general composition of the reliefs, supporting each other's accuracy. However, we must be wary of treating these drawings as totally factual documents, as several discrepancies are to be found, the most notable being that the relief scenes which remain *in situ* at the base of the column shaft can not be identified in any of the drawings.[12]

With this in mind, we can make some suppositions about the representations on the column shaft. The narrative spiral began at the base of the column with a topographical image of Constantinople with several recognisable monuments depicted, notably the statues of the hippodrome. The second, third and fourth bands show the departure of the troops from the city and their progress through different landscapes. Band five has a pastoral scene and then more Roman soldiers, this time with prisoners of war and victory trophies. The marching army continues in band six and pays homage to the Emperor who stands within a portico surrounded by dignitaries. At the end of the band is the sea, which forms the primary setting for the naval battles represented on bands seven to ten. Following the naval scenes there is the *kathisma* (royal box) of the hippodrome in Constantinople in which are set two figures, probably the two emperors. Bands eleven and twelve have scenes of cavalry battles and more marching armies and the column culminates in a final victory in band thirteen, where Arcadius is crowned *imperator* by Victoria on the south side of the column. The column then was topped with the statue of the Emperor himself.[13]

It seems likely that the campaign commemorated by this column was the only victory recorded in Arcadius' name — the victory over Gainas the Goth in 400. This was by no means a great military conquest — more of a civil skirmish begun when the people of Constantinople rose up against Gainas, the *magister militum* of Arcadius. They massacred his supporters within the city and, when the Arian Goths had sought sanctuary within their church, the masses set fire to the building, killing the seven thousand huddled within. Gainas had not been in the city at the time of the uprising and, with his family and those supporters he had with him, he headed for Asia Minor. However, he was unable to cross the Hellespont, which was well guarded by the Roman naval fleet and after some naval battles Gainas was forced to retreat. He then headed westwards and crossed the Danube where more battles were fought. During one of these, on 23 December 400, Gainas fell and his head was sent to Constantinople, where it was paraded in January or February 401. As for Arcadius' role in this affair, it was rather minimal and did not involve active campaigning.[14]

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11. Becatti, *Colonna* 158, Tav. 56a, 57a; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 58.
12. For the value of the particular drawings: Becatti, *Colonna* 157–64; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 56–8.
13. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians* 275–7; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 59.
14. For a discussion of the events of this campaign and those leading up to it, see Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians* chap. 10 and Williams-Friell, *Rome* 9–12.

On the column, the departure of the Goths from Constantinople is interpreted as the marching scene on band two, with an angel hovering above them pointing the way out, indicating the blessing of God on Arcadius' campaign. The naval battles, which take up more than a quarter of the column reliefs, may have been those fought between the Romans and Gainas on the Hellespont.[15]

The base of the column was also decorated with relief.[16] On the north side was the door into the monument. On the other three sides the relief sculpture was divided into four horizontal zones. Here the sculpture was far more visible to an observer in the Forum of Arcadius than that of the shaft and the vague traces of what survives today on the east side of the base confirm the accuracy of the drawings of the Freshfield album. We can see that the theme of the base was a further celebration of the triumph of the Emperor. On the east and west sides the horizontal bands have very similar representations. The upper zone depicts the victory of the cross, with hovering angels supporting a cross between them. In the register below are the victorious emperors, dressed in military attire and flanked by their armies. The next zone has representations of homage paid to the emperors. On the west side this takes the form of prisoners of war paying homage to the emperors above, with the two in the centre writing the date of the victory on a shield. On the east side, which has an area of damage on the right, the scene is flanked by personifications of Rome and Constantinople, with senators between, showing the support of both the senates of the East and West for the emperors. At the very bottom are military trophies. The order of this scheme is changed a little on the south side, where a window interrupts the upper horizontal band. Therefore, the more adaptable composition of the trophies was moved up to the top of the base, and all the other scenes were moved down a zone. In the second zone, instead of a cross being supported by angels, on the south side we have a Chrismon and the apocalyptic alpha and omega, flanked by military trophies. Ideologically, this scheme was somewhat unfortunate, as the trophies take a place higher than the symbol of Christ, but it was, perhaps, the best compositional solution to the problem caused by the window.[17]

There are two very important themes represented on the base. First there is the clear association between Christ and the imperial victory. Imperial iconography associated with the cross is easily traced back to Constantine and his victory at Sax Rubra under the Chrismon. Likewise, Arcadius is victorious in the name of Christ and the cross is a symbol of his victory.[18]

The second theme of the base is the concept of *concordia* — a general state of harmony, unity and concord. We see the two emperors Arcadius and Honorius

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15. Liebeschuetz. *Barbarians* 275–7; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 60. Williams & Friell suggest that there appears to have been an element of official guilt over the massacre of the Goths within Constantinople by the citizens, as this episode has been omitted from the narrative: Williams-Friell, *Rome* 24–5.

16. The column base is shown in the Freshfield album, where the east, west and south sides are shown in detail. The composition, but not the detail, can be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Cassas and the Sandys drawings.

17. Becatti, *Colonna* 251–64; Kiilerich, *Classicism* 60–2.

18. Kiilerich, *Classicism* 63.

side by side. *Concordia* was an important theme during the turbulent fourth and early fifth centuries and on the column it referred not only to concord between the brothers but also between the Augustus of the East and the Augustus of the West. At a time of power struggles and intrigues within the imperial courts, when the Empire was threatened from within as well as from without, the symbol of the emperors united was an important and carefully constructed piece of propaganda.[19]

The use of a column to narrate the tale of an emperor's military victory was, of course, not a new device. Theodosius, in erecting the column in his forum, simply adopted a much older tradition which had been introduced by the Emperor Trajan in the second century in Rome.[20] Beside the Forum of Augustus, Apollodorus of Damascus designed for Trajan an imposing new forum complex and at the heart of his new forum, set between the two libraries — the Basilica Ulpia and the Temple of the Deified Trajan — is the thirty-nine metre high Column of Trajan. While free-standing columns were traditionally used as victory monuments in Rome, there is no evidence for an earlier column with helical reliefs winding all the way up the column. This appears to have been an innovation of Apollodorus of Damascus. It narrates in twenty-three spirals the story of the Emperor's military campaign against the Dacians. The highly detailed narrative includes as many as 155 scenes with more than 2,500 figures in a complex landscape and architectural setting. The base, decorated with winged-victories and military trophies, was entered through a door under an inscription stating that the column was a gift from the People and Senate of Rome. A spiral staircase wound up inside the column and from a platform at the top of the spiral one could admire the view over Rome. After Trajan's sudden death in 117, a special dispensation of the Senate allowed Trajan's ashes to be deposited within the base and so the victory monument became Trajan's tomb. A five metre high gilded bronze statue of the Emperor in military attire crowned the column. The statue one sees today is a statue of St Peter, which was erected in 1588.

The narrative of this column has been extensively studied and numerous books give scene by scene discussions of the column as the story of the Dacian

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19. Kiilerich, *Classicism* 64; Williams-Friell, *Rome* 14.

20. There are many books devoted to the study of Trajan's Column and it is generally included in almost every book on Roman art, Roman sculpture and books concerning the Emperor Trajan. For systematic and clear descriptions and interpretations of the reliefs on the column and accompanying illustrations see: F.B. Florescu, *Die Trajanssäule* (Bucharest 1969); W. Gauer, *Untersuchungen zur Trajanssäule* (Berlin 1977); L. Rossi, *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars* tr. J.M.C. Toynbee (London 1971); I. Richmond, *Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column* (London 1982); F.A. Lepper and S.S. Frere, eds, *Trajan's Column: A New Edition of the Cichorius Plates* (Gloucester 1988); F. Silverio, *Trajan's Column* (Rome 1989); F. Coarelli, *La Colonna Traiana* (Rome 1999). For interpretations on how to read the column see R. Brilliant, *Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art* (Ithaca 1984) chap. 3; V. Huet, 'Stories One Might Tell of Roman Art: Reading Trajan's Column and the Tiberius Cup' *Art and Text in Roman Culture* ed. J. Elsner (Cambridge 1996) 9–31, esp. 10–24.

Wars is narrated. The relief exceeds 200 metres in length and is renowned for its attention to detail and the way it 'reads' as a military journal of the wars, with many similarities to the account of the Gallic Wars written by Julius Caesar.[21]

The narrative begins with the soldiers departing Rome and setting out for the East at the start of the first Dacian campaign in 101. There are scenes of sacrifice, marching troops, soldiers building forts, gathering and cooking food, fighting the enemy and scenes of Trajan addressing the troops, meeting ambassadors and engaging in councils of war. The first campaign ends halfway up the shaft with a great surrender scene and a Victory figure inscribing the great deeds of the Emperor on a shield. The top half of the column is concerned with the second campaign in 106 and contains a repeat of the themes depicted in the lower section, culminating in a final Roman victory.

The spiral column was also adopted as a victory monument in honour of Marcus Aurelius, to celebrate that Emperor's success in the Germanic wars.[22] Clearly an emulation of Trajan's Column, that of Marcus Aurelius is believed to have been erected by his son Commodus and, like Trajan's monument, was intended to be Marcus Aurelius' tomb. The present profile is that given to the column in the sixteenth century, when restoration work was carried out. The base itself probably extends another three metres below the pavement to the Roman street level. During the sixteenth century a bronze statue of St Paul was set at the top of the column, in harmony with St Peter on the top of Trajan's Column. The sculpture was of much higher relief than that of Trajan's Column and suffered more from the weather, in addition to earthquake damage and being struck by lightning. The dowels pinning the great drums together were robbed during the Middle Ages, resulting in the reliefs being out of line. Many of the scenes closely resemble those of the Column of Trajan, such as the motif of Victory inscribing a shield and the Emperor addressing his troops. There is also a wonderful scene showing the famous Roman battle formation, the *testudo*.

Students of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius can today study the reliefs of these columns in great detail, scrutinising their style, the narrative of the military reliefs and comparing the scenes to contemporary sculpture, literary accounts of the campaigns, and past monuments and traditions. They can look at detailed photographs in books; websites show the column scene by scene; casts of the Column of Trajan are displayed in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London; and casts of both Columns are in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in Rome.

But the Roman sculptors who designed and executed the column reliefs could not possibly have envisioned the use of such means to study their work. How did a Roman of the second century view these great monuments? Here we come to

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21. Brilliant, *Narratives*, 101–2.
22. The Column of Marcus Aurelius has been the focus of fewer monographs than the Column of Trajan, although it is usually included in general works on Roman art. See also: C. Caprino, A.M. Colini, G. Gatti et al., *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Rome 1955) and G. Becatti, *La Colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Milan 1957). The Column of Marcus Aurelius is also usually comparatively discussed in studies of the Column of Trajan: Brilliant, *Narratives* 114–15.

somewhat of a problem, which is very eloquently laid out by Richard Brilliant in relation to the Column of Trajan:

> Despite the grand scale of the concept and the height of the column, the numerous, small figures were progressively difficult to see clearly, even if the low relief surface was once elaborately painted. Neither could they be easily comprehended from close by, because the proximity of the column to the libraries and to the Basilica Ulpia did not allow the viewer to step back sufficiently to gain a consistent, coherent perspective of the whole. Furthermore, the helical course of the relief band made it practically impossible to follow the path of the relief without losing one's place, especially as the figures became indistinct at the sides of the visual field. And it was, and still is, very difficult to understand the scenes in the higher elevation of the helix without undergoing the most taxing gyrations, complicated by lapses of memory, which conceal the narrative trail.[23]

There is no doubt that the Column of Trajan could be viewed from the upper storey of the Basilica and the libraries, or from the ground looking up, but however one looked at the reliefs it was not as a chronological sequence of events. Even the Column of Marcus Aurelius, rendered in higher relief on a column set in the centre of a large square where one could stand back from the monument to see the high sections, would have been near impossible to read as a continuous narrative.

Instead, it is better to understand the reliefs on the spiral columns in relation to the scenes directly above and below, as the eye is led from place to place by the repeated presence of the Emperor.[24] Even so, anybody who has stood at the base of these columns and looked up to see the reliefs knows that it is very difficult to read the narrative at all. Amanda Claridge, in the *Oxford Archaeological Guide to Rome*, suggests that anybody wishing to see the reliefs should either bring their binoculars or go to the Museo della Civiltà Romana.[25]

This, then, is the tradition to which the Columns of Theodosius and Arcadius in Constantinople look back — two great monuments in Rome, built by popular and successful emperors. That Theodosius wished to be associated with Trajan is clear. Both Emperors were born in Spain and led very distinguished military lives before being crowned emperor. Arcadius, Theodosius' son, likewise sought association with these emperors who ruled during one of the greatest eras in Roman history, an association particularly useful when his own reign was rather lacklustre. But one really must ask, why did they choose a spiral column? What was to be achieved? The same problems of viewing the narrative existed in Constantinople as in Rome.

23. Brilliant, *Narratives* 90–4
24. Brilliant, *Narratives* 98–9, fig. 3.3 and 3.4, 104–5.
25. A. Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford 1998) 167.

Here I return to Kiilerich's statement that this period looks both back to the past and forward to the future.[26] The Column of Arcadius and the Column of Theodosius were great victory monuments which celebrated the Emperor — monuments which had their precursors in Rome. These enormous monuments created a physical and visual focus for the space in which they were set, their physical presence far exceeding that of any triumphal arch. These monuments each had a huge base supporting a monumental column, carved with symbols of the might of the Emperor; the shaft of the column rose high above the surrounding buildings to narrate his military success, while a huge portrait statue crowned the top. At Constantinople, however, the columns take on a new dimension: the columns not only celebrate the emperor, but celebrate the triumph of the emperor in the name of Christ: they are Christian monuments. I would suggest that the important narrative of the Column of Arcadius is not the military campaign on the column shaft but rather the reliefs on the base. While the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius are monuments to the might of a single man, the Column of Arcadius acknowledges the divine intervention required for the victory. And while the columns in Rome are clearly focussed on this single centre of world power, the Column of Arcadius celebrates the unity, fictional or otherwise, between the two Empires, the concord brought about by the sons of Theodosius. The Column of Arcadius took twenty years to construct. Before the final dedication of the Column of Arcadius by his son Theodosius II in 421, the harmony celebrated on the base had ended. Two years after the death of Arcadius Alaric sacked Rome and the final death throes of the Western Empire began. But in Constantinople, Theodosius and Arcadius created landmark monuments which were to ensure the memory of these emperors for the next millennium and beyond.

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26. Kiilerich, *Classicism* 9.

Debbie Del Frate

Biblical Narrative in the Mosaics
of Bishop Theodore's Cathedral, Aquileia

Aquileia, dubbed Roma secunda in imperial times, was an important and strategic city from its early foundations as a Latin colony until its demise in the mid-fifth century following the disastrous attacks of Attila. Mosaic pavements uncovered from the twin cathedral of Bishop Theodore in Aquileia illustrate many elements of the widespread patterns common to mosaic flooring from the Empire. Upon closer inspection however, they also demonstrate features that determine the program's chronology and its function in church decoration. This is borne out in the narration of the story of Jonah in an extended mosaic scene from the south hall of the complex.

Aquileia became prosperous as the chief port of the Adriatic and one of the largest emporia in the Roman world, through its location near the Roman provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum and Pannonia. The city lay on a navigable river and was also strategically positioned at the junction point of five important roads that were linked to the established northern parts of the Empire. Constantinople and the eastern empire could also be readily accessed along the Flavian Way and the Via Egnatia.[1] Not surprisingly, excavations at Aquileia reveal the distinctive traces of its early Roman occupation in the still visible ruins of its forum, amphitheatre and baths, whilst artistic evidence from the private oratories also confirms the presence of a Christian community alongside a cosmopolitan population which included Jewish, African and Greek immigrants.

The cathedral of Aquileia was founded by Bishop Theodore in about 314 and completed by approximately 319 with funds provided by the government, the lower clergy and private individuals.[2] This makes it among the earliest basilicas to be constructed and decorated outside Rome after Constantine's conversion in 312. It was designed in the form of two large parallel rectangular halls, both measuring approximately 20 m by 37 m where the sanctuary was oriented towards the east.[3] The halls are separated by a distance of approximately 30 metres, but connected to each other by means of a 'transverse hall' located at their western ends. Many historians believe these halls were designed from the outset to serve the differing needs of the congregation.[4] This suggests that one hall was designed for the unbaptised catechumens receiving religious instruction, whilst the other served the baptised community. This designation is supported by

1. Strabo, *Geog.* 7.7.4; V.W. Von Hagen, *The Roads that Led to Rome (London 1967)*, 41.
2. A. Grabar, *Early Christian Art: From the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius* tr. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons (New York 1968) 15.
3. See R. Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York 1969) 164-9 regarding the architectural history of the twin halls.
4. G.U.S. Corbett, 'A Note on the Arrangement of the Early Christian Buildings at Aquileia' *RACr* 32 (1956) 106; Krautheimer *Studies* 178; R.L.P. Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot 1988) 117.

Eusebius' document regarding the contemporary Church of Tyre (c. 317) where he symbolically interprets the various parts of the church.[5]

The north hall is thought to have been built and decorated under Theodore's direction and may have preceded the south hall's construction by several years.[6] Moreover the decorative scheme of the north hall appears to have become more ornate and prescriptive in quality moving from the east to west as the subject matter became less symbolic and predominately neutral. The earlier construction of the north hall also appears to have contributed to the less well-developed decorative program. This decorative style contrasts with the narrative and more detailed decorative elements revealed in the south hall. Noticeably the north hall lacks any overt theological intention and this reinforces the notion that this hall was most probably used by members of the congregation who were still undergoing instruction, namely the catechumens.[7]

In contrast, the mosaic pavement of the south hall corresponds to the normal arrangement of a Christian assembly hall with a nave, two aisles and a 'chancel'.[8] The mosaic floor is segmented into ten separate panels with the northeast panel occupying approximately a quarter of the entire area of the hall, whilst the remaining nine panels are set out in a uniform three by three grid separated by borders of 'bird-inhabited' acanthus rinceaux. The design and orientation of the southern panels differ markedly from the four horizontal fields in the smaller northern hall. This composition is believed to correspond to the original orientation of the main hall entrance.[9]

The large transverse panel of the south hall illustrates the narrative of the Old Testament book of Jonah. This mosaic would have once been separated from the other panels and the church congregation by the inclusion of a chancel screen, thus making this area a kind of *bema*.[10] The extensive Jonah panel pictorially illustrates the literary narrative of the prophet Jonah from the Hebrew Bible.[11]

5. Eusebius, *HE*, 10.4.37ff; *The Panegyric of Paulinus* is reprinted in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453, Sources and Documents* (New Jersey 1972) 4–7

6. G. Brusin & P.L. Zovatto, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e Grado* (Udine 1957) 20–104; Grabar, *Early Christian* 65; Milburn, *Early Christian* 117; L. Marcuzzi, *Aquileia* (Aquileia 1993) 10.

7. Corbett, 'Aquileia' 103 argues that the decorative difference resulted from the eastern half being laid later than the western half of the floor, contrary to earlier theories.

8. Corbett, 'Aquileia' 101.

9. Corbett, 'Aquileia' 102.

10. See B. Forlati Tamaro et al., *Da Aquileia a Venezia: Una Mediazione tra l'Europa e l'Oriente dal II secolo a.C. al VI secolo d.C.* (Milan 1986) figs 180–2, 208–9 for detailed illustrations of this panel and the south hall pavement layout, pl. XI, 197.

11. See further P. Poscharsky, 'Untersuchungen zum Jona-Mosaik der Südkirche zu Aquileia' *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueologia Cristiana, Barcelona 5-11 octubre 1969* (Vatican City 1969) 403–7; W.N. Schumacher, *Hirt und 'Guter Hirt': Studien zum Hirtenbild in der römischen Kunst vom zweiten bis zum Anfang des vierten Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mosaiken in der Südhalle von Aquileja*. RQ Supplementhefte 34 (Rome 1977) 253–67 and J. Engemann, 'Christianization of Late Antique Art' *The 17th International*

Three scenes, set within a large marine panel, chronologically illustrate the cycle from the Old Testament: Jonah swallowed by the sea-monster, Jonah regurgitated upon dry land and Jonah resting under the gourd vine. The first scene appears in the left side of the panel. It shows Jonah being thrust out of the boat by a naked fisherman — his arms and head have already passed into the gaping mouth of the waiting sea-monster (Jonah 1:15–17). A further fisherman tightly holds the rudder with both hands to steady the boat. The next two episodes appear on the opposite side of the panel. The dragon-like sea monster with its coiled and trident-forked tail ejects Jonah onto dry land, represented by a flat rectangular-shaped field surrounded by waves and fish (Jonah 2:10). In the third scene, nearby, the nude form of Jonah lies relaxed below an abundant green gourd-vine arbour, again surrounded by the sea and fish (Jonah 4:6). By dividing the story into a series of individual yet interrelated images, the artist has laid greater emphasis on each episode of the greater narrative.

The eastern orientation of the mosaics in this long panel corresponds to the direction of the standing assembly located in the west. This assembled congregation would have been ideally positioned within the church to look upon this impressive panel.[12] This more extensively decorated south hall, in contrast to the north hall, may have been intentionally designed from the outset to serve a different function from the north and its decorative program may reflect this liturgical difference. The themes and subject matter illustrated in the south hall pavement may well have corresponded to the increased religious awareness of its congregation. The orientation of the panels, also suggests that the cathedra was located near the eastern Jonah panel, thereby indicating that the larger and more intricately decorated south hall was used by the faithful *en masse*, namely, the instructed and baptised Christians.[13] Likewise the continuity of use and re-building of the south hall, in contrast to the destruction and eventual abandonment of the north hall, (thought to have occurred in the fifth century) further suggests that the south hall functioned as a church from its outset.

In other sections of the Jonah panel, small erotes — performing tasks in the place of fishermen — are surrounded by approximately eighty fish of many varieties, various molluscs and four waterfowl. Such marine scenes form a large corpus of mosaics from the Roman Empire, emphasising the sea as an essential part of everyday life which provided a significant source of food, navigation, commerce and communication.[14] A standard 'marine' iconography evolved

Byzantine Congress: Major Papers. Dumbarton Oaks/Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., August 3–8, 1986 (New Rochelle 1986) 83–114 who argue that the scenes of Jonah were all inserted following the death of Theodore, c.328.

12. Corbett, 'Aquileia' 101–2.

13. Krautheimer, *Studies* 43.

14. Nilotic landscapes appear throughout the Roman Empire, such as the examples uncovered in Pompeii and now displayed in the Naples Museum and were possibly inspired by the large mosaic from Palestrina. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, The Centre of Power: Roman Art to AD 200* (London 1970) 234; K.M.D Dunbabin, *Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978); C. Belz, *Marine Genre Mosaic Pavements of Roman North Africa* (Ph.D. thesis, University of California Los Angeles 1978) 9.

which may have been transmitted throughout the Roman Empire via the use of pattern books. Such books may have originated from Greek prototypes since the basis of fish and bird catalogues can be traced to Greek literary sources such as the *Halieutica* of Oppian, the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian and the *Ornithiaca* of Dionysius of Philadelphia.[15] The depiction of the sea in the marine panel from the south hall also has wider connotations for the Christian who considered it in terms of the 'living water', which metaphorically represented God as a source of life inasmuch as the living water flowing from the Fountain of Life in Paradise also gave life to fish (and fowl) of every kind.[16] This interpretation, derived from the fifth day of creation (Genesis 1:20–1), is manifested in the south hall pavements, with its theme of the blissful Paradise for the fish as souls swimming in the fishpond.[17] In the century following the construction of the halls, this marine association may be seen in Ambrose's parable of the net, from Matthew 13:47–50, where the Apostles act as fishers of men (Mt 4:19). According to Drewer, 'The Gospel is the sea in which the Apostles fish, into which is cast the net which is like the kingdom of heaven...Man should immerse himself in the waters, because in truth he is a fish.'[18]

The plethora of animals, fish and plant life in the mosaics of both halls at Aquileia reflects a concept of plenty, fruitfulness, and peaceful harmony,[19] traditions that had long been associated in pagan art, and here, they appear alongside Christian themes.[20] For while the marine scene illustrates the story of the prophet Jonah, it also alludes to the larger spiritual relationships of Faith. In early Christian terms the fish held two distinct meanings: the symbol of the Christian soul and the symbol for Christ himself. Derived from the gospel of Matthew (4:19), where Christ said to Peter and Andrew 'Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men', the figure of the fisherman came to be associated with the disciples. The other component upon which both the fish and fishermen depend, is the water of the sea. Water is the central element in the sacrament of baptism. By the third century, Tertullian had already interpreted this relationship as 'We little fish, after the image of our *ICHTHYS* Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor otherwise than swimming in the water are we safe'.[21] Unlike the fish

15. I. Lavin, 'The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources' *DOP* 17 (1963) 216 comments on the dissemination of marine themes via pattern books and the incidence of fishing scenes in north Africa, which had evolved from earlier Hellenistic trends; R.D. de Puma, *The Roman Fish Mosaic* (PhD thesis, Bryn Mawr College 1969).

16. L. Drewer, 'Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters' *ArtB* 63 (1981) 543.

17. Drewer, 'Fisherman' 545. This parallel appears in Rev 22.1–2, the River of Life; see P.A. Fevrier, 'Les quatre fleuves du Paradis' *RACr* 32 (1956) 179–99. Further A. Hermann, 'Der Nil und die Christen' *JbAC* 2 (1959) 30–69, regarding the Christians' attitude towards the Nile.

18. Drewer, 'Fisherman' 536.

19. Belz, *Marine Genre Mosaics* 98.

20. J. Munby & M. Henig, eds. *Roman Life and Art in Britain: A Celebration in Honour of the Eightieth Birthday of Jocelyn Toynbee*. BAR 41 (Oxford 1977) 351–2.

21. Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 1. E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period* (13 vols New York 1953–68) 12:98–9 noted that passages from the Torah

that will die when removed from water by the fisherman (Romans 6:3–4; Colossians 2:12–15), the Christian soul who undergoes a symbolic death in the baptismal water, does so in order to be reborn into faith. Therefore the winged erotes, who cast their nets into the water of the Jonah panel, can be interpreted as rescuing the Christian souls, as their actions allude to the rites of baptism, death, burial and resurrection. These rites are reiterated in the Jonah cycle and thus allude to Christ Himself, since his burial and rebirth on the third day was likened to Jonah's three days in the belly of the whale (Mt 12:40).

The cycle of Jonah at Aquileia is exceptional because unlike the decoration of catacombs in the fourth century, these mosaics are not funerary images. The Aquileian Jonah is also the only extant extensive mosaic that shows the three main episodes from the Hebrew Scriptures in the form of a continuous narrative. This emphasis suggests that the role of the client in the choice of subjects and iconography must have been significant, since, as we have seen, the subject matter is specific, and the location of the panel is strategic in relation to the cathedra and the initiated congregation. It may be assumed that Bishop Theodore, as administrator of the See and religious leader in Aquileia was a key force in the choice of such didactic scenes, which illustrate both Old and New Testament themes in relation to Christian salvation.

The popularity of the Old Testament prophet Jonah is evident in catacomb imagery, particularly where single scenes and complete fresco cycles of the story appear.[22] This is also apparent in early Christian sarcophagi, sculpture and minor arts such as gold glass, terracotta lamps and small marble statues. Four statuettes, identified as the Cleveland Marbles, illustrate the story of Jonah; however, only three other mosaic examples have been uncovered.[23] The first and earliest known Christian example appears on the east wall of tomb M, c. mid third century AD,

make this same association between rabbis who considered themselves as little fishes living in the water of Torah.

22. K. Weitzmann, 'Narration in Early Christendom' *AJA* 61 (1957) 83–91. Jonah became an important early Christian figure of resurrection, as the image of Jonah resting under the gourd possibly pre-figured the 'Bliss of Paradise', and thus it became an appropriate subject to feature on church floors. It first appears in fresco form in the crypt of Lucina at the catacomb of Callixtus in Rome, yet it has also been found in mosaics from the Holy Land. For the Christian symbolism of Jonah see *Saint Justin Martyr: The First Apology, The Second Apology, Dialogue with Trypho, Exhortation to the Greeks, Discourse to the Greeks, The Monarchy, Of the Rule of God* tr. T.B. Falls (Washington 1948, rp. 1977) 107–8; Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 5.5.2; Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis* 58. C. Murray, *Rebirth and Afterlife: A Study of the Transmutation of Some Pagan Imagery in Early Christian Funerary Art* (Oxford 1981) 75–7 discusses the mosaic image from the third century *Tomb M* under St Peter's, Rome.

23. See F.W. Deichmann, H. Bovini & H. Brandenburg, eds, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, vol. 1, *Rom und Ostia* (Wiesbaden 1967) for examples of Jonah on early Christian sarcophagi. E. Kitzinger, 'The Cleveland Marbles' *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana [21–27 September 1975]* (2 vols Vatican City 1978) 1:653–75 discusses the significant acquisition of a series of small Early Christian statues. These small statues, possibly designed as fountain fixtures, have been dated c.280.

in the Vatican necropolis, and shows Jonah being thrown from the boat into the sea.[24] Two later mosaics, dating from the early Byzantine period, also illustrate elements from this narrative. One cycle appears in the church at Beth Guvrin (near Mahatt el Urdi) in Israel whilst the other has been found in Bordj El Youdi in Tunisia.[25]

In the Christian church pavement from Israel, c. fifth to sixth century, several episodes from the Book of Jonah appear as octagonal emblemata within the overall floral and geometric designs. In the south aisle emblema, two figures standing in a boat appear to push a third figure into the sea where a sea monster is waiting. The north aisle shows two further episodes of the narrative. In one panel, two figures appear alone in a boat with a furled sail. The next image shows a fully clothed male reclining under a gourd vine. Although the face and left arm of the figure have been destroyed, the name of the prophet appears written in Greek, below his right arm. The depiction of Jonah fully clothed at Beth Guvrin reflects the Eastern tradition in contrast to the Western tradition where Jonah's form in the catacombs and Aquileian mosaics may have been based on the Alexandrian practice of depicting Jonah nude.[26]

In early Christian art, the image of Jonah sheltered in the shade of the gourd was often illustrated independently of the remaining scenes. The singular popularity of the recumbent figure of Jonah is believed to be based on the pose of Endymion, the classical model from mythology.[27] Traditionally he is shown in a semi-recumbent position with his right arm raised and hand touching the top of his head. He supports his partially upright torso with his left arm and both of his legs are slightly drawn up with the lower legs crossed. The narrative of Endymion however is very different from Jonah. The beautiful Endymion, beloved of Diana, had been granted eternal youth by being placed in a state of perpetual sleep by Jupiter.[28] Hence Endymion appears on a vast number of

24. J. Toynbee & J. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (New York 1957) 72.

25. See D.C. Baramki, 'A Byzantine Church at Mahatt el Urdi, Beit Jibrin, 1941–1942' *Lib.ann.* 32 (1972) 130–52; R. Ovadiah, 'Jonah in a Mosaic Pavement at Beth Guvrin' *IEJ* 24 (1974) 214–15; G. Foerster, 'The Story of Jonah on the Mosaic Pavement of a Church at Beth Govrin (Israel)' *Atti del IX Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana [21–27 September 1975]* (2 vols Vatican City 1978) 2:289–94 for an early Byzantine comparison from Beth Guvrin (Beit Jibrin, Mahatt el Urdi), Israel. This church pavement was excavated between 1941 and 1942. The pavements have been reburied and only two fragments removed to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem are available for examination.

26. See O. Mitius, *Jonas auf den Denkmälern des christlichen Altertums*, (Freiburg: 1897) 79 ff and C.R. Morey, 'Notes on East Christian Miniatures' *ArtB* 11 (1929) 27–8 regarding this aspect in miniatures.

27. M. Lawrence, 'Three Pagan Themes in Christian Art' *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* ed. M. Meiss (New York 1961) 323–34.

28. J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London 1974, rev. ed. 1979) 103. This version of the myth states that Jupiter placed Endymion in a state of perpetual sleep so that the goddess Diana (with whom Selene was identified) could visit her lover eternally.

Roman sarcophagi because his divine rest was considered akin to the blessed Paradise that awaits the dead in the After-life.

Unlike Endymion, Jonah's repose under the vine was short-lived. By showing disregard to God's word to warn the Ninevites of their impending doom, and then by preferring death rather than seeing mercy shown to Nineveh, Jonah was punished by God (Jonah 4:6–8). The vine arbour which sheltered both Jonah and Endymion was a common feature in compositions throughout the Empire. The oldest early Christian mosaic shows a grape vine arbour framing the forms of Jonah, the Good Shepherd, a fisherman-angler and a depiction of *Christos Helios*, on the walls of Tomb M from the Vatican necropolis.[29] From Jn 15:1–5, Christ says 'I am the true vine'; hence in a greater sense Christ may be thought to symbolise the vine. In various translations of the Book of Jonah the arbour under which he lay was referred to as the gourd vine (Septuagint) or the ivy vine (Vulgate). Therefore given this broad interpretation, God was able to protect or punish Jonah according to His will; clearly Jonah was punished when the gourd was destroyed by the worm.[30]

In the boat and fishermen scene, a sailor dressed in a white dalmatic with decorated segmenta on the sleeves and neckline is shown with his arms outstretched in an attitude of supplication.[31] The sailor prays to God to be relieved of the tempest which tossed the boat and its occupants on their voyage to Tarshish, according to Jonah 1:16. The image of the orant figure had a long history in classical art appearing on coins and funerary stelae throughout the second and third centuries, before its translation into early Christian iconography.[32] In its paleochristian form this image appeared frequently in catacombs and as sarcophagi decoration where it represented the tomb occupant's prayer for deliverance. Grabar noted that such symbols juxtaposed next to the body of the dead paralleled the significance of the *commendatio animae*, the prayer of the burial office.[33]

The inclusion of the Jonah cycle in the south hall is of considerable significance because it occupies a prominent position in the liturgically and spiritually important area of cathedral space. The use of the classical imagery of the repose of Endymion as a '...metaphor of the repose of the blessed', results from the, '...Christian belief in the resurrection of the body and its incorrupt

29. Toynbee-Ward-Perkins, *Shrine* 73–4.

30. Jonah 4:7. See also E. Stommel, 'Zum Problem der frühchristlichen Joansdarstellungen' *JbAC* 1 (1958) 112–15 regarding the depiction of the worm as derived from the Endymion model.

31. This outfit corresponds to the white alb and embroidered apparels which later formed part of the ecclesiastical dress type.

32. Milburn, *Early Christian* 32–3; J. Stevenson, *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of Early Christianity* (London 1978) 61.

33. Grabar, *Early Christian* 12. For a more detailed discussion of early prayers see C.R. Morey, *Early Christian Art: An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century* (2nd ed. Princeton 1953) 61–3.

beatitude after death', and corresponds to Jonah's rest under the gourd.[34] The figure of Jonah therefore operates as a paradigm of death and resurrection. Jonah, like Christ, was required to disseminate the message of repentance. And like Christ, Jonah was 'buried' for two days (in the belly of the great fish) before, like Christ, on the third day he was reborn. Therefore the prophet Jonah prefigured Christ, as his death and resurrection formed a direct parallel to the gospel account of Christ's own suffering (Mt 12:39 ff.).

Theodore was installed as Bishop of Aquileia in 308 and died in 327/328. Above the bishop's inscription in the marine panel — which marks his close association with the theme of this mosaic — the *chi-rho* symbol, first used by Constantine on his standards in 312, is inscribed. This also indicates that the decoration of the complex occurred after 312. The Christian repertory, depicted most abundantly in the south hall, defines the function of this hall in terms of the intention of the patron, whose key role — as a Christian bishop and leader of the community, was to serve the assembled congregation in addressing the themes of Christian fellowship and hope in eternal life.

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34. T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1993) 33.

Balša Djurić

Plato, Plutarch and the Sibyl in the Fresco Decoration of the Episcopal Church of the Virgin Ljeviška in Prizren

The picturesque town of Prizren, near the border of Kosovo, Albania and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, is home to one of the most important buildings of Serbian medieval art — the cathedral of Prizren dedicated to the Virgin Ljeviška. The history of the Serbian Diocese of Prizren, which the cathedral of the Virgin Ljeviška represents, starts with the conquest of the town from the Byzantines around 1210 and the replacement of the Greek bishop with a Serbian bishop in 1219. The present five-domed church, with its two narthexes, bell tower, and several chapels [Fig. 27], is the result of reconstruction in 1306/1307 under king Milutin, on the foundations of an earlier Byzantine basilica.[1]

The walls of the church were painted three times: between 1220 and 1230,[2] when a roof was put over the ruined basilica; around 1310, during the reign of king Milutin;[3] and again when the Turks turned the church into a mosque [Fig. 28] at a date that has yet to be established.[4] That the walls were decorated at all was discovered completely by accident in the early twentieth century. During the First Balkan War at the end of 1912 the Serbian army entered Prizren. One of the officers, an architect, noticed under the cracked white paint in what was at that time the mosque, some images of saints.[5] Between the Great Wars the minaret was removed and the church again looked as it had in the past. Money was collected for the restoration of the church, which did not take place until the end of World War Two.[6] The frescoes became visible again when the white paint, applied during the Turkish period, was completely removed during large-scale restoration from 1950 to 1952.[7] Although partly damaged, these frescoes give us

1. D. Panić & G. Babić. *Богородица Љевишка* (Belgrade 1975) 10.
2. Panić-Babić 54; V.J. Djurić. *Византијске фреске у Југославији* (Belgrade 1974) 37; idem. *Сопоћани* (Belgrade 1991) 14–15.
3. Panić-Babić 47–8; Djurić. *Византијске фреске* 49–50.
4. The dispute about the date of conversion into a mosque persists. There are two opinions. According to the first, it occurred in 1749 (P. Kostić. *Црквени живот православних Срба у Призрену и његовој околини у XIX веку (са успоменама писца)* (Belgrade 1928) 72, 75–6) and this date is widely accepted in the earlier literature. According to the second, it was became a mosque immediately after the Turkish occupation of Prizren in 1455 (H. Kaleši. 'Када је црква Свете Богородице Левишке у Призрену претворена у џамију' *Прилози за књиженост, језик, историју и фолклор* 28 (1962) 253–61); this opinion is still under investigation. The problem arises from the lack of written documentation; the evidence of both authors is indirect and comes from stories passed from generation to generation, speculation, and other not-so-reliable sources.
5. M. Korunović. 'Откриће у Богородици Љевишкој' *Zograf* 5 (1974) 68.
6. *Недељне илустрације* (21 April 1929) 3.
7. S. Nenadović. *Богородица Љевишка, њен постанак и њено место у архитектури Милутиновог времена* (Belgrade 1963) 37.

an insight into the capabilities of both the thirteenth-century and the fourteenth-century painters.[8] We also know the identity of the master craftsmen, Nikola and Astrapa, whose names were found in an inscription in the exonarthex [Fig. 29].[9] In general, the exonarthex and the frescoes preserved inside the church show certain traits that were new in contemporary Byzantine painting. This may well be due to the close relationship that existed between king Milutin and the Byzantine emperor, and to the well-educated counsellors and clerics surrounding the king.[10] Certainly two of these clerics must be mentioned: bishop Damjan, in whose time reconstruction of the church was started, and his successor to the Episcopal throne, bishop Sava, later archbishop Sava III and head of the Serbian Orthodox church, in whose time most of the reconstruction and the whole of the decoration was completed.[11] Sava came to the throne as an educated theologian from the Serbian Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos, and he participated in many artistic activities supported by king Milutin.[12]

The five-dome church plan was very popular in Constantinople from the ninth century. It was particularly favoured in the Comnenian and Palaiologan eras because it allowed for a vivid interpretation of more and more complex theological and liturgical explanations of the hierarchy that exists in the terrestrial and heavenly worlds.[13] King Milutin and the bishops of Prizren accepted the compounded church shape, and in the Comnenian period an image of Christ was painted in each of the five domes, while the walls provided space for numerous Gospel cycles and representations of individual saints.

The most interesting attempt to explain dogma through paintings can be found in the decoration of the exonarthex. The usual programmes of Serbian churches, such as the Last Judgment and the Tree of Jesse, are included in the cathedral of Prizren but here they are expanded with a large number of details and infused with new ideas.[14] In the exonarthex, as was a custom in the Byzantine and Serbian Episcopal churches, are depictions of local representatives of the church, local bishops, and all the Serbian archbishops.[15] The frescoes teach the viewer, through symbols and allegories, the dogma of

8.   Djurić, *Византијске фреске* 37, 49–50; Panić-Babić 49–60.
9.   Panić-Babić 22–7.
10. G. Babić-Djordjević, 'Класицизам доба Палеолога у српској уметности' *Историја српског народа* (6 vols Belgrade 1981–3) 1:482–95.
11. Panić-Babić 18 and figs 4, 6.
12. Babić-Djordjević, 'Класицизам' 481.
13. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XII'e, XVe, et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos* (Paris 1916) 25ff; O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London 1953) 11–12; O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London 1950) 198ff; A. Frolow, 'Climat et principaux aspects de l'art byzantin' *BSl* 26 (1965) 56–8; S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*. Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques 4 (Paris 1970) 23–39 and 49–65, with bibliography.
14. Panić-Babić 66.
15. Panić-Babić 66; N. Okunev 'Арилье памятник сербского искусства XIII века' *SemKond* 8 (1936) 239; S. Petković, *Зидно сликарство на подручју Пећке патријаршије 1557–1614* (Novi Sad 1965) 84–5.

Christ's arrival among the people, first as a preacher, and second as their judge at the Last Judgment.[16] Old Testament prefigurations of New Testament characters and events serve to illustrate the Incarnation of the Logos. This is apparent in the imagery of the Tree of Jesse, Jacob's Dream and Jacob's ladder, and the bust of the Virgin Mary holding Christ in the lunette above the narthex entrance. Personifications of Day and Night, and further allusions to the Old and the New Testaments, expound the doctrine of the Incarnation that the faithful accept through baptism.[17] The remaining frescoes remind the viewer of Jesus Christ's arrival on earth, his baptism, the unity of his two natures, and the punishment on the day of Last Judgment.[18] In sum, we may say that the iconography of the whole catholicon shows, better than any older church, the ideology of the contemporary state and church.[19]

However, in this paper I wish to pay closer attention to the very interesting representation of two ancient philosophers and the Sibyl in the fourteenth-century decoration [Fig. 30]. These three figures were obviously part of a larger ensemble painted on the western side of the exonarthex, in the lower part of the northern arch. The philosophers have inscriptions, in the old Slavic alphabet, identifying them as 'Greek Plato' (єлинь платон) and 'Greek Plutarch' (єлинь плутахь).[20] Plato is holding the scroll with the inscription: в нѣкое / врѣме: хо / щеть сн / ти на ₃е(мл)ȣ: слово / (п)льт жити. The text on Plutarch's scroll is: прѣжде о / тець: ното / мь же с(лово) и д҃хь сн / ми. The inscription of the Sibyl, also in the old Slavic alphabet, has now almost disappeared, but in earlier times it was better preserved and read as 'Sibyl the Ethiopian Empress' (сивила царїца [ети]опска).[21] All three figures were painted around 1310.[22]

Their presence, which shows evident dependence on Byzantium, is the result of a long process whose roots lie in the earliest, very complex spiritual symbioses of the Hellenistic and Byzantine worlds, going back to second-century Alexandria. This great town city was one of the major centres of early Christianity, and in it developed the Carpocratic movement, named after the

16. Panić-Babić 66.
17. I. Djordjević, 'Стари и Нови завет на улазу у Богородицу Љевишку' *ZbLikUmet* 9 (1973) 13–26.
18. Panić-Babić 67.
19. Panić-Babić 69.
20. The term *єлинь* is usually used in medieval Serbian literature for the Greeks of Ancient Greece. An excellent study of that topic was written by professor Lj. Maksimović, 'Значење речи Грк и Јелин у српским средњовековним изворима' *ZRVI* 38 (1999–2000) 215–27.
21. There is a slight disagreement between two readings: [ети]опска presented by D. Medaković, 'Претставе античких философа и сивила у живопису Богородице Љевишке' *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 43 and [еди]опска presented by N. Davidović-Radovanović, 'Сибила царица етиопска у живопису Богородице Љевишке' *ZbLikUmet* 9 (1973) 29. In this case I accept the first reading but for no particular reason; I have no intention of entering into any linguistic dispute on this matter, and unfortunately I have not had a proper chance to see for myself.
22. Medaković, 'Претставе' 43.

Alexandrian Neoplatonist, Carpocratus. In the Carpocratic vision of things, Jesus had the same standing as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and others, whom they celebrated in the pagan way. According to John Damascene, the most important representative of the Carpocratic movement in Rome, Marcelina, would burn incense before images of Jesus, St Paul and Pythagoras.[23]

At this point a little more needs to be said about the relationship between the two opposing philosophies, the Ancient and the Christian. The latter started out with serious criticism of late-antique aesthetics. None the less, it was not a devastating force at that point. It just brought to its logical conclusion the philosophical criticism of the aesthetics whose roots can be traced back to Plato (428/7 – 349/8 BC).[24]

In accordance with Plato's teaching, the Idea is 'true being' (τὸ ὄντως ὄν) only if it is a perfect image. Ugliness — disorder and disarrangement — is seen as the confrontation of chaos with the ordering principle of existence and so, in the language of Platonic thought, is a 'non-being' (τὸ μὴ ὄν). Neoplatonists derived their explanation of the universe from this, and Christian Platonists like Gregory Nazianzenus (c.330 – c.390), for example,[25] accepted it from them: nothing in the entire world is sublime unless it is perfect; imperfection creates something like emptiness or a shadow around the being, making exact correspondence impossible. In this particular way, evil does not exist; it is like 'something that is not'.[26]

In Greek and Byzantine culture, the existence of the world in space and time was related by the idea of *order*. The word *cosmos* (κόσμος) means order. It was originally used either for military formation or social structure, or for a fancily-dressed woman. The first to use the word cosmos for the universe was Pythagoras (c.570 – c.500 BC).[27] The concept of order in the world can be related to a divine beginning. This was nothing new in ancient culture. However, in its mythological and subsequently philosophical manifestations, polytheism attributed divine force to the cosmos itself; Plato, for example, considered the cosmos as a divine entity comprehended through the senses.[28]

This idea acquired a completely new meaning in Christianity. Order now derived from a transcendent God, outside the world, who exists not only on the other side of the material boundaries of the cosmos but also on the other side of its ideal boundaries. According to this explanation, the relationship of the cosmos towards God was one of submission, which leads to denying its own will and hence to asceticism.[29] Comprehended in this way, the cosmological principle

23. N.A. Bees, 'Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Autoren in der Kirchenmalerei der Griechen' *BNJ* 4 (1923) 112; Medaković, 'Претставе' 43.

24. S.S. Averincev, *Поэтика ранневизантийской литературы* (Moscow 1977); Serb. tr. *Поетика рановизантијске књижевности* (Belgrade 1982) 42.

25. H.U. von Balthasar, *Présence et pensée: Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1942) 20–23.

26. Averincev, *Поетика* 55.

27. Diogenis Laertii, *De vita et moribus philosophorum* 48.

28. Averincev, *Поетика* 101.

29. Ibid. 102.

was analogous to Church discipline, which became a replica of the cosmos, or 'cosmos of the cosmos' as Origen (obit AD 254) said later.[30]

Even in Platonism, the keen interest in the order of the universe was related to the order of the city-state. Consequently, the variability of terrestrial laws and the ideal immutability of heavenly laws were emphasized in the state ideology of the Early Byzantine period. People had to learn obedience from the stars, because the Byzantines saw a connection between cosmological motives and sociological problems, as can be seen in the works of Gregory Nazianzenus.[31] Every single word about the reality of the world order translated into an allegory of the necessity for social order;[32] that is, for the forms of hierarchy, because obedience is the principle of authority.[33] Accordingly, the firm symmetry of the figures in Early Byzantine imperial art, which obey the aesthetics of court ritual and military parade, is a visible response to this cosmology.[34]

However, the third century brought Plotinus (c.204 – 269/70) onto the scene. Various Aristotelian, Stoic and Gnostic influences are intertwined in his teaching, and his six *Enneads* are actually a renewal of Platonism. Writing on such diverse topics as metaphysics, the theory of religion and theology, aesthetics, psychology and so on, he stimulated quite a few Fathers of the Church to debate his Theory of Ideas.[35]

Probably the first Christian writer to criticize those who abandoned pagan philosophy and literature in the interests of pure faith was Clement of Alexandria (obit c.215). Between 208 and 211 Clement wrote his *Stromateis* in which he developed his programme of obvious though sometimes reluctant acceptance of Greek philosophy, into which he implanted revealed Christian thoughts. His disciple, Origen, was a Christian opponent of terrestrial laws in his views on matter and God;[36] the Neoplatonist Porphyry said of him that he was a Hellene, ἐλληνίζων.[37]

Official hostility between Neoplatonism and the Byzantine world was more than obvious. Because of this, in the late fifth or early sixth century the author known as pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite presented the teachings of Athenian Neoplatonism in Christian dress. The Dionysian corpus comprises four works: the brief and influential *Mystical Theology*, dealing with so-called 'apophatic' or negative theology; the *Divine Names,* dealing with affirmative or 'cataphatic' theology; and the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy,* which

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30. Ibid. 104.
31. Gregorii Nazianzeni, 'Oratio 19' *Творения*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1843) 154.
32. This didactic approach to the 'greatest task of all' in revealing cosmological judgments is seen clearly and openly in the popular literature of the 'Genesis' sermon on the creating of the world. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa, in particular, wrote such sermons.
33. Averincev, *Поетика* 104.
34. Ibid. 104–5.
35. Ibid. 56, 66, 71, 127, 227, 297.
36. Medaković, 'Претставе' 46.
37. The explanation of the term Hellen is well presented in Maksimović, 'Значење речи' 215–27.

are concerned with the mediation of divinity to terrestrial beings through the heavenly orders of angels and the terrestrial orders of the church. This was not the first attempt to integrate Neoplatonism and Orthodox theology. Negative theology had been established in the Eastern tradition since Clement of Alexandria, while the influence of Plotinus is reflected in the mysticism of the fourth-century Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory Nazianzenus, Basil of Caesarea (c.330–379) and especially Gregory of Nyssa (obit 394).[38] The problem posed by pseudo-Dionysius was that his Neoplatonism was closer to the pagan Athenian School. In particular, his angelology recalls the Athenian School's orders of gods. God tended to become the supreme term in the metaphysical hierarchy, and to be conceived of as operating on the material world only through intermediaries. In this, pseudo-Dionysius recalled the ambivalence of pagan Neoplatonism towards the visible world and, perhaps more seriously, a fundamental point of divergence between the Neoplatonic and Christian views of the world, whether creation is the result of divine nature or an act of grace. In attempting to shed the supernatural element, his sacramentalism became difficult to distinguish from pagan theurgy; it would seem that Dionysius did not pay enough attention to the Incarnation. Nevertheless, the Dionysian corpus gained full acceptance in the commentaries of John of Scythopolis (c.530) and Maximus the Confessor (580–662). This can be seen as a development of the Platonic view of the sensible world as an image, with the theory of icons being a particular application.[39]

After the retreat of classical elements during the period of Iconoclasm, literature began to revive in the ninth century and the ancient tradition with it. In Byzantine anthologies, the Fathers of the Church came to be followed by ancient writers regarded as having come closest to Christianity through the purity of their ethical teaching: Plato and Aristotle, then Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and many others. Homer was very popular in the School of Michael Psellus (1018–79); he was included among the sages in whose works Christian truths were anticipated but hidden under the dress of allegories.[40]

Neoplatonic influences in Byzantium remained indirect until the study of the pagan Neoplatonists resumed during the eleventh century, centred on the School of Michael Psellus. In his *Chronographia* Psellus recalled his Neoplatonic studies and his enthusiasm for Proclus. To Psellus we owe much of our information about the theurgic side of Proclus' work, but Psellus' attitude to theurgy was very uncritical. Among other things, Psellus attacked the patriarch Cerularius for introducing theurgic rites into the Church. Most probably because of that, Psellus' orthodoxy was questioned and his pupil John Italus was excommunicated in 1082 for teaching pagan doctrines.[41] A little later in the eleventh century, the so-called *Dioptres* were written, in which we find quotations from Plato's and Aristotle's thoughts and those of Hippocrates on the

38. R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972) 160–1.
39. Ibid. 161.
40. Medaković, 'Претставе' 47.
41. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* 162.

heart and mind. Usually, they are related to the period of the emperor Alexius Comnenus.[42]

Above all, we need to keep in mind that George Gemistus Plethon (c.1360–1450) founded the last Platonic school at Mystras in the Peloponnese in the fifteenth century. In spite of his philosophical convictions, he was a delegate at the talks about the reunion of the Western and Eastern Churches at the Council of Florence in 1438. He also inspired Cosimo de' Medici to found his own Platonic Academy.[43]

So far we have been talking mostly about the ancient philosophers; let us now say a few things about the image of the Sibyl in Prizren. As we mentioned earlier, she is identified as 'Sibyl the Ethiopian Empress'.[44] The legend of the Ethiopian empress visiting king Solomon, to see how wise he was, has its origins in traditional Jewish literature, most probably from biblical times. The story found in Byzantine chronicles of how Solomon could predict the sex of babies is surely from pre-Christian times. Legends about Solomon were very popular in Egypt and Ethiopia. Although the philosophical import of these oriental and Old Testament stories is difficult to comprehend today, their modes of expression were transmitted to the books of the New Testament.[45]

In the mosaics of the Triumphal Arch in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, created in the fifth century, the child Jesus, aged four or five, is portrayed as a ruler on the throne. To his left is the Virgin Mary as empress of Heaven and Earth, while to his right is the Queen of Sheba. Pagan sages and oriental kings came to see Christ the ruler and to bring him gifts, just as the Queen of Sheba brought offerings to Solomon.[46]

With their gift of wisdom, the ancient and oriental philosophers and the wise Ethiopian empress, like the Old Testament prophets, discovered the truth of the coming of the Saviour.[47] Because they accepted God, Jesus accepted them into his church. Byzantine clerical theoreticians used the phrase 'Hellene' for all pagans, as we have seen earlier,[48] which is why we cannot accept that the name Sibyl was intended to indicate a pagan woman. The word 'Sibyl' is of Judaeo-Phoenician origin and means 'Great Mother'. In Ethiopian legend, the Queen of Sheba had a son with Solomon, the boy Menelik, founder of the Ethiopian ruling dynasty. The people of the East gave the Queen of Sheba the epithet 'Sibyl' indicating the mother of the founder of the dynasty originating from Solomon. It does not mean 'prophet', and the Christian church does not see her as a prophet. Christian respect for pagan and ancient philosophy is limited to the wisdom that could discover the truths of Christianity. Thus, the Queen of Sheba is in the Virgin Ljeviška because with her wisdom she understood and celebrates the truth

42. Medaković, 'Претставе' 49.
43. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* 162–3.
44. Medaković, 'Претставе' 43; Davidović-Radovanović, 'Сибила' 29.
45. Davidović-Radovanović, 'Сибила' 37.
46. Ibid. 39.
47. Ibid. 40.
48. See the text and footnotes 9 and 26.

of the coming of the Saviour.[49] However, a few facts need to be added to complete this explanation. In ancient times, the Sibyl was a symbol of the human being raised to a supernatural state, which made possible communication with the deity and transmission of his messages. That is the state of the prophet, or the echo of prophecy, an instrument of announcement. In antiquity, Sibyls were regarded as the emanation of divine wisdom and, because of that, they are a symbol of Announcement. Accordingly, the number of Sibyls — twelve — is related to the number of the apostles.[50]

These Christian compromises, softened by eclectic adjustment, brought to Orthodoxy what we might call a human note, which in its later development exacerbated the gap between Eastern and Western Christianity. Despite the overlay of Christian dogma, conscious spiritual borrowings from antiquity can be continuously traced in the Orthodox East, as is witnessed in numerous monuments with evident ancient elements. We may therefore consider fifteenth-century Italian monks of Mount Athos as the distant heirs of Pythagoras and Plato, attentively observing in the crystal night sky the stars that look down upon the sinful Earth and pondering on the indestructible harmony of their movement.[51]

Numerous texts of the Church Fathers were available in the medieval Serbian state and church, thanks to their close relations with Byzantium and the translation efforts on both sides. Many of these works emphasized the thought of the ancient philosophers. Ancient elements are also evident in Serbian medieval biographies, such as that written by the scholarly archbishop Danilo II, a contemporary of king Milutin, in which he compares the king with Saint Demetrius and calls him the new Alexander the Great, because they both fought for their fatherlands.[52] The life of Saint Demetrius is painted in the separate chapel in the bell-tower of the Virgin Ljeviška.[53] That the inscriptions on the ancient philosophers' scrolls in the Virgin Ljeviška are written in the old Slavic alphabet gives us grounds to believe that the Palaiologan Renaissance of early fourteenth-century Byzantium brought to Serbia those books in which the ancient philosophers were seen as prophets of Christianity, a role similar to that of the Old Testament prophets in foretelling the birth of Christ.[54]

These representations of Plato, Plutarch and the Sibyl are closely related to the Tree of Jesse in the church of the Virgin Ljeviška in that they were intended to bring out the connection between the Old and the New Testaments. A similar relationship is evident in Byzantine literature. Greek Manuscript No. 400 in the

49. Davidović-Radovanović, 'Сибила' 41–2.
50. J. Chevalier & A. Gheerbrant, *Rječnik simbola* (Zagreb 1983) 593.
51. A. Pertusi, 'Monasteri e monaci Italiani all' Athos nell' Alto Medioevo' *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963: études et mélanges* (2 vols Chevetogne 1963) 1:217–51, 247–8.
52. Danilo II, *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских* (Belgrade 1988) 135.
53. Panić-Babić 68, fig. 29.
54. Medaković, 'Претставе' 50.

Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, for example, dated to 1344, links the sayings of many ancient Greek thinkers to the Tree of Jesse.[55]

As the earliest representation of this kind, Nikolay Okunev mentioned mosaics in the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem, made in 1169.[56] A Sibyl is involved in the Tree of Jesse in the church of St Achilleios in Arilje, Serbia, painted in 1296.[57] The portrayal of the ancient philosophers Plato and Plutarch and the Ethiopian Sibyl at Prizren is among the oldest in the Western region of Orthodox art.[58] A whole gallery of ancient philosophers, writers and a Sibyl is preserved in the Bačkovo monastery in Bulgaria; there are six in the *catholicon* and another five plus a Sibyl in the refectory,[59] but the painting of these buildings, according to the historical evidence, was not completed until 1643, 'in the days of prior Partenius'.[60]

There are a few examples of similar depictions in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia but these too are from later centuries. We can mention the unknown Sibyl painted in 1565 in the church of St Nikola in the village of Šiševo, near Skopje. This Sibyl is quite exceptional because there is no Tree of Jesse painted in the church. Also noteworthy are the images of the ancient philosophers, incorporated into the Tree of Jesse, in the narthex of the Morača monastery in Montenegro, painted in 1577/8, and in the monastery of The Holy Archangels in Kučevište, painted in 1631. Further, an icon from Gračanica monastery in Kosovo, from the middle of the sixteenth century, includes a representation of Pythagoras.[61]

On the other hand, similarly late examples in other parts of the Orthodox world are numerous. Important churches in this respect are found in Wallachia, Moldova, Bulgaria[62] and Mount Athos.[63] Significantly, the ancient philosophers in Wallachia and Moldova and on Mount Athos are always painted near the Tree

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55. Ibid. 53.
56. Okunev, 'Арилье' 233, 249.
57. Dragan Vojvodić recently wrote a book about this very representative monument, which I have not yet read. The presence of the image of Sibyl in the fresco decoration is also emphasized. D. Vojvodić, *Сликарство Светог Ахилија* (Belgrade 2005).
58. Medaković, 'Претставе' 53.
59. E. Bakalova, *Бачковската костница* (Sofia 1977) 14–15; I. Dujčev, 'Nouvelles données sur les peintures des philosophes et des écrivains païens à Bačkovo' *RESEE* 9.3 (1971) 391–5; I. Dujčev, *Древноезически мислители и писатели в старата Българска живопис: Antike heidnische Dichter und Denker in der alten Bulgarischen Malerei* (Sofia 1978) 13–19.
60. Dujčev, *Мислители и писатели* 9–10.
61. Petković, *Зидно сликарство* 75–6.
62. Ibid. 75 with bibliography; Dujčev, *Мислители и писатели*, divided his very useful book into three parts: first, the presentation of philosophers and pagan writers in the Refectory of the Monastery of Bačkovo and in the Church of the Nativity in Arbanasi, both in Bulgaria; second, the presentation of philosophers and pagan writers in the Byzantine-Slavic circle; and third, about Ancient Philosophy and the Christian Medieval Ages.
63. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, 'Τὸ πρόβλημα μιᾶς μορφῆς ἕλληνος φιλοσόφου' Δελτ.Χριστ.'Αρχ.'Ετ. Ser. 4. 6 (1970–2) 67–81 and figs 25–6, discusses the representation of a 'Greek Philosopher' in the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos.

of Jesse. All of these churches were decorated at or after the end of the fifteenth century.[64]

The portrayal of ancient philosophers, the Sibyl and the Tree of Jesse in the fresco decoration of the exonarthex of the Virgin Ljeviška deserves further research. After modest beginnings in Arilje, the complex iconography is based, as we see it, on the translation of anthologies and other forms of Byzantine literature with Christianized echoes of ancient philosophical thought that had undergone a long and complicated process of adaptation. The refined details in the Virgin Ljeviška decoration may also show that the painters were familiar with the classical elements of the Palaiologan Renaissance and that the trends and currents in Byzantine art in the period 1260–1300 were almost immediately reflected in Serbian art.[65]

In this process, of course, one should not underestimate the very important roles that belonged to painters, their families and their brotherhoods. In the case of the Virgin Ljeviška we are fortunate because we know the names of the master craftsmen, the chief architect and the chief painter. The names of Michael (Astrapas?) and Eutychios (his father?) have engaged the attention of scholars for a long time. Their work, the places where they painted and their disciples are still some of the most important issues relating to Serbian painting of the fourteenth century.[66]

In closing, I would like to take this opportunity to say that the church of the Virgin Ljeviška in Prizren was heavily damaged during the Albanian protests in March 2004 [Fig. 31]. Some of its frescoes we shall never see again.

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64. Medaković, 'Претставе' 53–5.

65. G. Babić, 'Иконграфски програм живописа у припратама цркава краља Милутина' *Византијска уметност почетком XIV века* ed. S. Petković (Belgrade 1978) 116–18; V. Milanović, 'The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' *Zograf* 20 (1989) 50, 53, 56–7, figs 14–16; B. Todić, *Српско сликарство у доба краља Милутина* (Belgrade 1998) 8–10, 100; tr. J. Erdeljian, *Serbian Medieval Painting: The Age of King Milutin* (Belgrade 1998).

66. M. Marković, 'Уметничка делатност Михаила и Евтихија, садашња знања, спорна питања и правци будућих истраживања' *Зборник Народног музеја* 17.2 (2004) 95–117.

Nira Stone

Narrativity in Armenian Manuscript Illustration

Armenian art in general and Armenian manuscript illustrations in particular were brought to the attention of the western world through travellers' reports published from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. In their reports these visitors, who were often scholars, dealt mainly with architectural monuments. During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries western, historians of art discovered the treasures of Armenian manuscript illumination that were first brought to their attention by pioneers like Frédéric Macler, Garegin Hovsepian, Sirarpie Der Nersessian and others.[1] Thanks to them it is possible today to become familiar with and to study Armenian manuscripts in libraries, monastic and private collections in Armenia and around the world.

This paper discusses manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments. The same phenomena, however, can also be found in non-biblical manuscripts such as hagiographic or profane works. Armenian artists tended to use narrative means to illustrate the texts in the manuscripts. By 1950, Kurt Weitzmann had showed how this was done in manuscript illumination. He drew his conclusions from Byzantine Greek manuscripts.[2] However, when we examine Armenian manuscript painting, we discover that narrative illustrations appear as early as the first surviving illuminated Armenian manuscripts.

Before we proceed to examine this phenomenon, it is necessary to define the term 'narrative' and to discuss what a narrative illustration might be. The Oxford English dictionary offers various definitions of 'narrative', of which the following seems most relevant to our discussion: 'Narrative Line — a consecutively developed story, also in painting.' Narrative illustration is a painting or a series of paintings that illustrate a story known from an existing text or from oral tradition. The picture may appear side by side with the text, or it might be placed somewhere else in the manuscript; as a frontispiece at the beginning of the codex or in one of its sections. A third possible layout of text and illustration occurs where one manuscript exhibits an illustration of a text or a form of a text that actually exists in a different manuscript.

A good source of examples occurs in the illustration of the Old and the New Testaments. Armenian painters, and others in the eastern Christian world, sometimes preferred to illustrate Bible stories with pictures of stories related in

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1. In the past decades there have been a number of major exhibitions of Armenian art, and the work of the preceding century has been summarized in two general books: J.M. Thierry, P. Donabédian & N. Thierry, *Armenian Art* (New York 1989) and S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London 1978). In the spring of 2005 a symposium was sponsored by the Association Internationale des Etudes Arméniennes in Salzburg, Austria, presenting an overview of research into Armenian art in the twentieth century. E.J. Brill will publish the proceedings of this symposium.
2. K. Weitzmann, 'The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations' *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) 247–70.

some degree to the apocrypha (such as the scene of St John and Prochoros)[3] or from everyday life. We shall examine some paintings which exemplify the representation of narrativity and analyse the techniques used by the painters to express it.

1. A sequence of scenes in all of which the same figure or figures appear

1.1 The Nativity

Three out of the four oldest known Armenian illustrations, which some scholars think to be of the tenth and others of the sixth century AD, exhibit narrativity presented through a sequence of scenes in which a specific person appears. All three deal with the Nativity of the Virgin described in Lk 1:2. The first scene is the annunciation by the angel Gabriel to the High Priest Zechariah that he and his wife Elizabeth are going to have a son [Fig. 32].[4] Next is the annunciation to the Virgin by the archangel Gabriel that she is going to have a child [Fig. 33].[5] In the third scene the archangel Gabriel is standing behind the Virgin's throne while mother and child are receiving the three Magi who came bearing gifts (Lk 1:10–1; Fig. 34).[6] In each of these scenes the angel Gabriel is present, standing in a prominent area in white clothes and with large wings. The figure of Gabriel ties the pictures together into a narrative sequence.

1.2 Temptation of Christ, King Gagik Gospels.[7]

One of the more famous instances is the story of the Temptation of Christ (Lk 4:1–13) in the renowned King Gagik Gospels, preserved in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The story has three parts and is presented in three scenes. The first temptation is described by a single illustration showing Satan bringing Jesus to the desert after fasting for forty days. He is telling him to prove that he is the Son of God by changing the stones to bread [Fig. 35]. The second and third parts of the story are both physically located on another page. A single frame connects the two paintings, each of which has a different content. In the second temptation Satan takes Jesus to the roof of the Temple in Jerusalem and dares him to fall to earth, but Jesus refuses. The third picture depicts Satan bringing Jesus to a high mountain and promising him rule over the whole world

3. See, for example, Matenadaran M7737. The scene is discussed in N. Stone, 'Apocryphal Elements in Christian Bible Illumination' *Apocryphes arméniens: transmission, traduction, création, iconographie* ed. V.C. Bouvier, J.-D. Kaestli & B. Outtier (Lausanne 1999) 161–2.

4. L.A. Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures* (New York 1961); M2374 is illustrated on page 35. It is the First Etchmiadzin Gospel of the sixth or tenth century. The manuscript is dated to 989, but the miniatures we are discussing were inserted later and may be older. On the manuscript, see also K. Weitzmann, *Die armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam 1970); Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* 72–9.

5. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* 33.

6. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* 37.

7. B. Narkiss & M.E. Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1979), fig. 46; N. Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St James Manuscripts* (Jerusalem 1977), vol. 8, 2458 (in Armenian) describes the manuscript.

if he denounces his God. Jesus refuses [Fig. 36]. Two figures appear in all these three scenes, which are indeed three parts of one story, Satan and Jesus. Only the background changes. It is interesting to realize that in the first two scenes, the angel Gabriel and Satan are presented in human form, but with wings — a feature already known from a sixth-century mosaic in San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.[8]

2.   Displaying the different parts of the story over two pages

2.1 The Entry into Jerusalem

Another way of describing a story with multiple parts is to spread it over two pages as a single continuing scene. The first example of this technique is the fourteenth-century painter Awag's representation of Christ's entry to Jerusalem [Fig. 37].[9] Instead of putting all the events related to this incident on to one very crowded composition, Awag continued it without any explanation on the following page. Jesus, on the white ass, is approaching the gates of Jerusalem with a crowd following him. He is shown the way by an elderly man who is pointing in the correct direction. The man's pointing hands take the viewer across to the next page where the scene continues. There, some youths are watching the procession from a tree, where they cut branches to put in Christ's path. In the last part of the scene, one of four welcoming elders is raising his hands towards the guests as if to help them cross over to the next page where the gate to Jerusalem is open and ready to welcome them. Through this specific arrangement the illuminator underscores the dynamic and narrative aspect of Christ's arrival.

A fifteenth-century Ethiopian manuscript can help us get a sense of how this effect was achieved in other eastern Christian manuscripts.[10] The painter uses the same technique but adds more spectators, such as the young ladies looking out the window and a mother holding a baby in her arms [Fig. 38].

3.   Sequential narrative concentrated in a single picture

This method is the opposite of the technique discussed in section 2, of spreading the narrative over two pages. Instead, many incidents, all the parts of a single narrative, were crowded into one picture.

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8.   On this representation of Satan, see M.E. Stone, *Adam's Contract with Satan: The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington 2002) 17–20 and further references there.

9.   Matenadaran M212, fols 68 and 69. See L. Zak'arean, ed., *Avag. Haykakan Manrankarč'ut'yun* (Yerevan 1984).

10. Entry to Jerusalem from Ethiopic Ritual for Passion Week, fols 1v–2v, as seen in M.E. Heldman & S.C. Munro-Hay, *African Zion: The Sacred Art of Ethiopia* (New Haven 1993), 189 and catalogue no. 89.

3.1 Apocryphal Accounts of the Annunciation

This technique is often found in illustrations of apocryphal accounts of canonical texts such as the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary.[11] The Gospel of Luke (1:26–35) provides the story of the Annunciation. An angel was sent to the Virgin Mary to tell her that she was pregnant with a son who will be called Jesus, of whose 'kingdom there will be no end'. When the angel came into her room she was frightened as he foretold Jesus' birth.

In the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James*, a second century infancy gospel, the story is given an even more dramatic flavour.[12] This text relates how Joseph gave Mary scarlet thread to make the temple veil and 'Mary took the scarlet and spun it' (chapter 10). According to the next section she takes a pitcher and descends to a well to fill it with water. She hears a voice addressing her from behind. She looks to left and right, but when she does not see anyone, she becomes frightened and flees back to her home.

The invisible angel, who had addressed her at the well, comes to her home and makes his famous announcement. The story of the meeting by the well does not occur in the Gospel of Luke, but only in the apocryphal *Protoevangelium of James*.

There are two apocryphal elements of this narrative that do not appear in the gospel text:

a) Mary at the well hears the voice of the invisible angel and returns home [Fig. 39].

b) Mary sits in her room spinning thread, as did all aristocratic and decent women [Fig. 40].

Armenian artists often depicted these moments to illustrate the canonical story of the Annunciation. They illustrate the appearance at the well or her return home to spin and receive the annunciation. The visit to the well is often represented in a symbolic way by painting only a well or a pitcher or both. This is only one of many examples in which Armenian artists prefer an apocryphal story to illustrate a canonical text. This occurs 80% more frequently than in the comparable Byzantine scenes.[13]

3.2 The Nativity (Lk 2:1–20, Mt 2:9–12), painted in Cilicia in 1591 [Fig. 41].[14]

This picture is typical in that it depicts all the details related in Lk 2:1–11.

11. L.A. Dournovo, *Miniatures arméniennes* (Yerevan 1967) fig. 61.

12. The Greek text was edited by E. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*. SubHag 33 (Brussels 1961); English translation in J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford 1993) 48–67.

13. This choice is related to the Armenian Christology as shown by T. Mathews, 'The Annunciation at the Well: A Metaphor of the Armenian Monophysitism' *Medieval Armenian Culture* ed. M.E. Stone & T.J. Samuelian (Chico Calif. 1984) 343–56.

14. Menologium of 1591, Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate J1920; see Narkiss-Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures* fig. 138.

a) The Virgin Mary has just given birth in a manger situated in a cave. The manger is identified as such by an ass and an ox, while the infant is wrapped in a cloth.

b) Outside the cave are shepherds sleeping in the field, as they guarded their livestock. An angel suddenly appears, telling them about the birth of the Messiah and the 'glory of the Lord shone around them' (Lk 2:9). The sudden appearance of the angel is not visualized, but sometimes it is evoked by the astonished gestures of the shepherds. Many angels appeared after which the shepherds rushed to see the miracle and went to tell other people (Lk 2:15–18).

c) When king Herod heard about this, he called three kings and sent them to investigate its truth. They went following a star that started to shine in the east. When they arrived they bowed and gave the Child presents from their treasures. The pointing fingers of two of the kings take us through the picture from lower right to upper left and upper right (to the star and the newborn child, an additional detail provided by Matthew 2:1–11.

Meanwhile, as Joseph is watching, two midwives are giving the Infant Jesus his first bath, a precursor of his Baptism. This wonderful narrative, combining material from different Gospels, is created in one picture presented on a single page that is made up of at least eleven parts.

4. Narrative in architectural ornamentation

These various techniques which we have described are partly determined by the imperatives of the manuscript page with its fixed borders. They were, however, also used in other media, and very strikingly in architectural sculpture.

4.1 Jonah

The Church of the Holy Cross on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van in present-day Turkey[15] is one of the outstanding examples of eleventh-century Armenian art. It is a cruciform building with an umbrella roof. The outer walls of the church are adorned with narrative scenes and portraits. These stories, sculptured in low relief, include scenes drawn from the Old and the New Testaments, portraits of kings and prophets, the hunt and scenes in vegetative medallions.

The artist included every detail of the story of Jonah from the Old Testament [Fig. 42]: God summoned Jonah to go to the city of Nineveh and announce impending doom to its inhabitants. Jonah was afraid and escaped to Tarsus by boat. The sea was very stormy and the sailors drew lots to see whose fault it was. The lots singled out Jonah. He told them to throw him into the sea and so save themselves from the storm, which they did.

The storm died down and God sent a whale which swallowed Jonah and kept him alive in its stomach for three days and three nights. Jonah prayed and

15. There are quite numerous studies and analyses of this renowned church. See, for example, S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar: Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge Mass. 1965); H. Vahramian & S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar* (Milan 1974) figs 21–2 and 29.

promised to do what God asked of him. Then the fish cast Jonah up at Nineveh. Jonah went to the king of Nineveh and called on him and the people to repent. The king ordered them to do so and he himself sat on the ground and repented. God forgave them. Jonah then built a hut outside the city and God provided him with the cool shade of a gourd vine [Fig. 43].

The artist chiselled all the wonderful details of the sail on the boat and the scales of the big and small fish in the sea. The figure of the seated king, his clothes and hat, are all carved very delicately.

4.2 A Short Version of the Jonah Narrative.

The story of Jonah is often illustrated in Armenian art because it was regarded as a prefiguration of the Anastasis, i.e. the Descent of Jesus into Hades, after his Crucifixion and entombment, where he stayed for three days, just as Jonah did in the whale.

A beautiful example of the scene of Jonah in a Lectionary, Matenadaran manuscript M979 of the year 1288, and formerly attributed to T'oros Řoslin, is now dated to 1286 by A. Matevossian and attributed to a scriptorium related to the royal court of Cilicia.[16]

This is an example of a story presented in two parts that were placed on different pages, not necessarily close to the text that they illustrate. This technique is described in section 2 above. In the first part the sailors of a boat in a stormy sea are casting Jonah into the whale [Fig. 44]. The second part is on another page. In a calm sea, Jonah is being cast forth by the fish into the space out of the framed picture [Fig. 45]. The description is short but very dramatic, especially the depiction of the forceful ejection of Jonah out of the fish. So forceful is his movement that it breaks through the frame of the picture into the margins of the page.[17]

5. The 'comic book' technique

Finally, the so-called 'comic-book' technique involves the presentation in rows of a sequence of paintings describing all the elements of the narrative.

5.1 Illustrations of Genesis

Illuminated Armenian manuscripts of the Bible often include a detailed illustration of the Genesis stories of the creation of the world and of Adam and Eve. The Getty Bible of 1673 provides a characteristic representative of this technique.[18] It is a narrative in painting of chapters 1 and 2 and part of chapter 3 of Genesis, represented by the following paintings [Fig. 46].

16. S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*. DOS 31 (2 vols Washington 1993).
17. See N. Stone, 'The Relationship Between Text and Illustration' *Armenian Texts: Tasks and Tools* ed. H.J. Lehmann & J.J.S. Weitenberg (Aarhus 1993) 92–100, especially p. 99.
18. V. Nersessian, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* (Los Angeles 2001) 10.

5.1.1   The Creation of the World

God sits on His throne in the upper left corner. He is in the process of the creation of the world. This is described in the 6 medallions on the right.

DAY 1   In the beginning God created the heavens the earth and then he created light and separated it from darkness.

DAY 2   The sky and the water above and below it. This is the firmament that separated 'water from water'.

DAY 3   The earth, plants and trees.

DAY 4   The sun and moon and stars.

DAY 5   The sea dwellers and birds.

DAY 6   Animals and creatures on earth and man — Adam.

The sixth day interests the artist most intensely. The first six days appear in six medallions but he left most of the space for the last detail belonging to the sixth day, the creation of Adam, which the artist described in a secondary narrative composed of six parts:

5.1.1.a   The Story of Adam and Eve

This formula is the most common in the Armenian illustrations of Creation. While in many non-Armenian manuscripts the artist concentrated on the Fall — the sin and the punishment as in the Carolingian manuscript we shall describe below, here we have the complete story.

The depiction of God follows the iconography of the adult Jesus. He is shown not as an old man but with long brown hair, a beard and a moustache and dressed in blue and purple He sits on a throne against an architectural background. In the four corners of the throne there are the symbols of the four Evangelists: a human (Matthew), a lion (Mark), an ox (Luke), an eagle (John).[19] God is blessing with his right hand and creating with his left. The ensuing scenes are as follows:

1.   The creation of Adam — God wears dark brown instead of the purple.

2.   The creation of Eve.

3.   Eve takes an apple from the serpent and gives one to Adam.

4.   Adam and Eve dressed in vegetative loincloths (fig-leaves) are cursed by God. Adam is pointing to Eve as the one to blame.

5.   God expels Adam and Eve. Outside, he is showing them the seraph-angel that guards the closed door of Paradise.

6.   Heads of the descendants of Adam as are described in the rest of the Adam story.

This 'comic-book' technique was, however, not an Armenian invention. It can be traced back to Late Antique illumination and can be found in the description of

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19. This formula is rather common in Armenian art. See, for example, P. Donabédian, 'Le Tympan du monument à deux Xač'k'ars d'Elegis' *REArm* 14 (1980) 393–413; M.E. Stone, 'The Orbelian Family Cemetery in Elegis, Vayoc'Jor, Armenia' *The Heart of the Matter. A Festschrift for Jos J.S. Weitenberg at Sixty* ed. U. Bläsing, J. Dum-Tragut & Th. M. van Lint (Leiden in press).

creation in Carolingian Bibles of the ninth century and elsewhere [Fig. 47].[20] This way of painting the creation story was, however, particularly favoured by Armenian illustrators who sometimes copied it from earlier illuminations.

We have illustrated the main representative techniques used to express narrativity in Armenian art and especially in manuscript illuminations. By the use and development of these techniques, Armenian artists were able to express the movement of events in narrative incidents. In spite of being on the periphery of Byzantium, Armenian artists created a most important and diverse art in the Middle Ages. The elaboration of the movement of the story was a significant part of this process. For Armenia, the Middle Ages spanned from the sixth century to the eighteenth century, while their inventiveness and artistic creativity continued throughout this period.

20. See, for example, British Library, MS Add. 10546, fol. 5v.

Joan Barclay Lloyd

Sources for the Story of the Creation
in the Mosaics of Sicily and Venice

The story of the Creation from the Book of Genesis (Gen 1:1–2:25) was depicted
in three cycles of 'Byzantine' mosaics in Italy. In medieval Sicily the narrative
appears on the south nave wall of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, c.1143–66
[Figs 48–9], and in the same position in the abbey church at Monreale, c.1176–
85 [Figs 50–1].[1] At S. Marco in Venice, c.1200–25, the Creation story is told in
the Creation cupola at the southern end of the narthex [Fig. 52].[2] In each case the
narrative unfolds in a series of images, from the dove of the Holy Spirit brooding
over the waters to the creation of Eve.[3] In each of the Sicilian churches the

1. For the Cappella Palatina see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London
    1949, rp. New York 1988) 44, 56, 82, 245–64; E. Borsook, *Messages in Mosaic: The
    Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily 1130–1187* (Oxford 1990) 31; W. Tronzo, *The
    Cultures of his Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton
    1997) 95; and E. Kitzinger, 'Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: An Essay
    on the Choice and Arrangement of Subjects' *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and
    Western Medieval Art* (London 2002) 1001–54, esp. 1003–5. For Monreale see
    Demus, *Norman Sicily* 91–4, 121–2, 245–64; Borsook, *Messages* 61–3; E. Kitzinger,
    I Mosaici del Periodo Normanno in Sicilia, vol. 5, *Il Duomo di Monreale: I Mosaici
    delle Navate* (Palermo 1996).
2. For S. Marco see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, vol. 2, *The
    Thirteenth Century* (Chicago 1984) 76–9, 144–7; K. Weitzmann, 'The Genesis
    Mosaics of San Marco and the Cotton Genesis Miniatures' Demus, *Mosaics of S.
    Marco* 2:105–42, 253–7; B. Bertoli, 'Antico e Nuovo Testamento nei mosaici di San
    Marco: letture di iconografia biblica' *I mosaici di San Marco: iconografia
    dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento* (Milan 1986) 55–79.
3. At the Cappella Palatina the scenes are: 1. The Holy Spirit hovering over the waters
    and the creation of light; 2. The Creation of the Firmament; 3. Separation of the
    Waters (with the creation of plants); 3. The Creation of the Lights of Heaven (the
    Sun, Moon and Stars); 4. The Creation of the Birds and Sea Creatures; 5. The
    Creation of the Quadrupeds; 6. The Creation of Adam; 7. God resting on the seventh
    day; 9. God with Adam in the Garden of Eden, instructing him not to eat of the Tree
    of Life; and 10. the Creation of Eve.
    At Monreale the series includes: 1. God begins to create by sending the Holy Spirit
    over the Abyss; 2. God creating Day and Night, with the Creation of the Angels; 3.
    The separation of the waters; 4. The Creation of the Plants; 5. The Creation of the
    Lights of Heaven; 6. The Creation of the Birds and Sea Creatures; 7. The Creation of
    the Quadrupeds and the Creation of Adam; 8. God resting on the Sabbath Day; 9.
    Adam in the Garden of Eden; 10. The Creation of Eve.
    In the Creation Cupola at San Marco the scenes are:
    Inner register: 1. The Holy Spirit hovers over the Waters; 2. The Creation of Light
    and Day and Night; 3. The Separation of the Waters on the second day; 4. The Earth
    appears; 5. The Creation of the Plants on the third day;
    Second Register: 6. The Creation of the Heavenly Bodies on the fourth day; 7. The
    birds of the air and the sea creatures; 8. The Creation of the Birds and Sea creatures
    on the fifth day; 9. The Creation of the Quadrupeds; 10. The Forming of Adam on

Creation mosaics are situated high up above the south colonnade of the nave in the zone between the clerestory windows. The series begins a cyclical narrative from the Book of Genesis, from the story of the Creation to Jacob wrestling with the Angel, which wraps around the nave walls in two superimposed registers.[4] In Venice the Creation narrative is fitted into the concentric circles that fill the southernmost of six small domes in the L-shaped narthex. It forms part of a much more extensive sequence of Old Testament scenes from Genesis and Exodus that decorates the atrium or narthex of San Marco.

This paper will investigate some of the artistic sources for these images. As with any written narrative that has been transformed into visual imagery, one has to consider the textual and the visual origins of the depictions in order to understand their significance. Both the text and the imagery depend on long traditions, which in the case of the three mosaic Creation cycles are quite complex. As often happens with Byzantine art in Italy, one finds a fusion of Byzantine and Italian influences, along with references to the art of Late Antiquity and ancient Rome.

The original biblical text on which the images are based is itself far from simple. Modern biblical scholars in fact distinguish two creation narratives in the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis.[5] The first account (Genesis 1–2:3) is by the 'Priestly writer', whose work is followed by another account by a second author, the 'Yahwist'. The Priestly writer measures the story of the creation in six days, with God taking a rest and blessing the seventh day.[6] The narrative is clear, sequential and rhythmical. After a short introduction, referring to the earth as a formless void and the Spirit of God hovering over the waters, God commands, 'Let there be light' and light is created. God separates light from darkness, calls the light day and the darkness night, and there is evening and morning, the first day. There follows the separation of the waters, and the creation of the sky on the second day. On the third day God creates the land and

the sixth day; 11. The Blessing of the Sabbath Day; 12. The Animation of Adam; 13. Adam led into Paradise;
Third Register: 13. Adam naming the Animals; 14. God takes Adam's rib and forms Eve; followed by episodes related to the Fall.

4. M.A. Lavin, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431–1600* (Chicago 1990) 7, 'W' for the type of Wraparound pattern of these cycles. Lavin does not refer to these cycles, but they clearly follow this pattern. At the Cappella Palatina, the sequence of images from the book of Genesis runs from east to west along the south clerestory wall, then from west to east along the north wall and is then repeated at a lower level. The cycle at Monreale follows a similar pattern, but it also includes scenes along the inner façade. In both churches the story of the Creation is located at the eastern end of the south clerestory wall.

5. See, for example, S.W. Anderson, *The Living World of the Old Testament* (London 1971) 167–9, 173–5 (Yahwist) and 383–6, 390 (Priestly); *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* ed. R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer & R.E. Murphy (London 1989, pbk. ed. 1997) 4, 8–12, esp. 10–12.

6. From this division into days there arose the fashion of writing about the six days of God's work in creating the universe in early Christian and medieval literature, as for example in St Ambrose's Hexameron: *Saint Ambrose: Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel* tr. J.J. Savage (Washington 1961, rp. 1985).

the plants. The fourth day is when the sun, moon and stars are made, and this gives rise to the seasons, days and years. The creatures of the sea and the birds of the air are created on the fifth day. These creatures are blessed and told to be fruitful and multiply. On the sixth day God creates the animals. God then reaches the climax of his creation, when he decides to make man, 'in our own image, in our likeness'. So God creates humankind, male and female; God blesses them and gives man authority over the rest of creation. Finally, on the seventh day God had 'finished the work he had been doing; so on the seventh day he rested from all his work. And God blessed the seventh day and made it holy, because on it he rested from all the work of creating that he had done' (Gen 2: 1–3). With this Sabbath rest the Priestly writer's narrative comes to an end.

The Yahwist starts with the creation of Adam, who is made from the dust of the ground; God breathes on him and he becomes a living being. God then places Adam in the Garden of Eden, which he had already planted (Gen 2: 4–7). The creation of the animals and birds follows, and then God brings them to Adam to see what he will call them (Gen 2: 19–20). Finally, God creates Eve from a rib taken from Adam's side (Gen 2: 21–25). There follows the story of the Fall and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise (Gen 3).

The two biblical writers employ different narrative techniques, each with his own end in view. The Priestly writer clearly wants to show how God created everything by his powerful word. Everything is good and man is the climax of creation; finally, there is an explanation of the importance of the Sabbath. The division of the story into days makes it easy to remember and also allows for the emphasis on the Sabbath. For the Yahwist the story explains the nature of man, the attraction of man and woman, and then the Fall with its consequences. The two accounts differ in the order of creation and particularly in the narration of the creation of Adam and Eve.

The early Fathers of the Church noted the role of the Logos in the creation story, as had previously been pointed out by Philo of Alexandria, and they related this to Christ.[7] This means that when considering medieval depictions of the Creation, one has also to take into account the fact that the Christian dispensation equated the creative 'Word of God' with Christ, the divine Logos. This derives from the Prologue of St John's Gospel (Jn 1: 1–18), especially where it says, 'all things were made through him and without him was made nothing that was made' (Jn 1: 3). Or, one may cite the early hymn in Colossians 1:16–17, which states, 'all things were created through him and for him. He is before all things and in him all things hold together.'[8] While God is Father and Creator, he creates through the Son and the Holy Spirit. As Saint Ambrose explained it, '... the operation of the Holy Trinity clearly shines forth in the

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7.   K. Weitzmann & H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI* (Princeton 1986) 37 where they refer to Philo of Alexandria, Theophilos, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus and Athanasius.

8.   Ambrose, *Hexameron* 1.4.15 (Savage 15): 'Therefore, in this beginning, that is, in Christ, God created heaven and earth, because "All things were made through him and without him was made nothing that was made." (Jn 1:3) Again: "In him all things hold together and he is the firstborn of every creature." (Col. 1:15)'

constitution of the world'.[9] For this reason in the medieval depictions of the Creation God is represented by a figure the viewer immediately recognizes as Christ. As Saint Ambrose puts it, 'If you are seeking after the splendour of God, the Son is the image of the invisible God. As God is, so is the image.'[10]

In the Middle Ages the text of Genesis 1:1–2:25 was commented on in many successive works up to and after the time the mosaics were made. Unfortunately, no direct connections have yet been made from the medieval literature to the mosaics, although Bergman has seen the influence of Bruno of Segni's biblical commentaries on the iconography of the Salerno ivories, which also show a series of scenes from Genesis, including a Creation cycle.[11]

The artistic sources for the mosaics also present a complex story. Most scholars refer to illustrated manuscripts of the Book of Genesis as a probable source.[12] It is also possible that the medieval mosaics were derived from pictorial narrative cycles in the great early Christian basilicas in Rome. These sources, like the original biblical text, seem to have been transmitted through a long tradition of using such visual material in church decoration.

The mosaics in Venice [Fig. 52] clearly derive from a Late Antique manuscript, most likely the Cotton Genesis.[13] This manuscript was a lavishly illustrated codex written in Greek. It has been dated to the late fifth century and is estimated to have had as many as 360 miniatures illustrating the text.[14] Unfortunately the manuscript no longer exists in its original form, having been almost completely destroyed in a fire in the eighteenth century.[15] Only a few charred remnants survive, together with some copies of what remained at the time of the fire, and some copies of a few miniatures made in 1621/22 by Daniel Rabel for Nicholas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc.[16] From these remains Weitzmann and Kessler have reconstructed the codex.

9.   Ambrose, *Hexameron* 1.8.29 (Savage 32).
10. Ambrose, *Hexameron* 1.4.16 (Savage 16).
11. R.P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge Mass. 1980) 4. The reception of the biblical text in thirteenth-century Sicily and Venice still requires further investigation.
12. Note the works in n. 1, as well as Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.*, and the works by Herbert Kessler now conveniently published in H. Kessler, *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London 1994).
13. See J.J. Tikkanen, 'Le rappresentazioni della Genesi in S. Marco a Venezia e loro relazione con la Bibbia Cottoniana' *Archivio Storico Dell'Arte* 1 (1888) 212–23, 257–67 and 348–63; J.J. Tikkanen, *Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen den Cottonbibel* (Helsinki 1889, rp. Soest 1972), who identified the Cotton manuscript itself or a similar manuscript as the source for the Venetian mosaics; Weitzmann, 'Genesis Mosaics'; Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.*; E. Kitzinger, 'The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration' K. Weitzmann et al., *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton 1975) 99–142, esp. 99–109, is definitely of the opinion that the mosaics were based on the Cotton Genesis itself or 'practically a twin' of that manuscript.
14. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 43 for the fifth-century date and 8–10 for the number of images.
15. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 3–7.
16. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* pl. 3.

One of the seventeenth-century copies is an image of the creation of the plants on the third day of Creation.[17] The similarities with the San Marco mosaics are very clear, but there are also some differences. The miniature includes plants along the base of the composition, which did not fit into the narrower format in Venice. The cross in the halo of Christ Logos extends beyond the circular nimbus in the de Peiresc copy, but is within the circle at San Marco, as was more normal in thirteenth-century depictions. The pink and green colours in the copy are translated into a greater variety of blues and greens, and the blue sky of the miniature becomes a gold background at San Marco. In the Venetian mosaic, the trees are labelled 'LIGNUM POMI', whereas there are no such labels in the copied manuscript illumination. From all this it is clear that the miniatures of the manuscript were used, but adapted by the mosaicists in their compositions.

The Venetian mosaicists clearly transferred certain features typical of ancient Roman and Late Antique art from the Cotton Genesis to the church. For example, the mosaicists appear to have taken from the manuscript the ancient convention of supplying personifications — of the days of creation, of the sun and the moon, of the soul (psyche) of Adam, and of the four rivers of Paradise. The Creator in both the manuscript and the mosaics is a young, clean-shaven figure of Christ. This Christ-Logos usually stands on the left pointing with the ancient gesture of speech (which became the Latin gesture of blessing) towards each part of his creation. Only in the Creation of Adam and the Blessing of the Sabbath is the Creator seated.

The Creation and Animation of Adam are distinctive scenes in the Venetian mosaics and they appear to follow the Yahwist's narration in the Bible (Gen 2: 7). In the Creation of Adam, Christ-Logos is seated on a throne, carefully modelling the first man out of the dust of the earth. The new creature is small, dark and muddy, and he does not resemble his Creator. Five personifications of the days stand together in a row, while the angel of the sixth day at a lower level on the far right points towards the creation of Adam. Weitzmann has noted that this image of the Creation of Adam has affinities to the creation of man by Prometheus on ancient Roman sarcophagi, where the god sits moulding a small figure, who stands before him.[18] In the Prometheus reliefs, man is then enlivened and animated after he has been formed. Visually the later events are shown as man lying on the ground, while the creator places his hand on his head, or man standing on the lap of Prometheus, who looks intently at him.[19] The ancient image of the enlivenment of man appears in the depictions of the story of the

17. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* pl. 1; the copy is now in Paris, B.N. cod. MS fr. 9530, fol. 32 r.
18. K. Weitzmann, 'The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future' Weitzmann, *Illumination* 1–60, esp. 57–9.
19. For illustrations of these two phases of the creation in pagan Roman art, see Weitzmann, 'Study' figs 51 and 52.

Creation, in the early medieval manuscript London, British Library, Cod. Add. 10546, fol. 5v, Genesis Frontispiece.[20]

The animation of man at San Marco is linked to the Creation of Adam textually, but one has to go to the panel after the blessing of the seventh day to find it. Adam stands naked on the left, while Christ, on the right, hands him a little soul. This takes the shape of a small naked child with butterfly wings, an image derived from the manner in which Psyche was depicted in Graeco-Roman art, although the ancient Psyche was clothed.[21]

The Creation of Eve takes place in two episodes at San Marco. First the Creator takes a rib from the side of Adam, who is sleeping on the left. Then God creates Eve, by moulding her short, rather squat figure on the right. Kitzinger has noted that the proportions of these figures are typical of those in Late Antique art.[22]

In Sicily the figure of the Christ-Logos, standing on the left and blessing his works, recurs in the Creation narrative in most of the creation scenes in the Cappella Palatina, indicating a clear connection with the type of imagery in the Cotton Genesis [Figs 48–9].[23] The Creator does not have a cross inscribed in his halo, however, and the Sicilian images do not include the personifications seen in Venice or in the Cotton Genesis. There are no images of days of creation, nor of Adam's soul, nor of the rivers of Paradise.

Some scenes also introduce new motifs. For example, in the first of the series [Fig. 48], the Christ-Logos is a half-length figure in a circle, above the dove of the Holy Spirit descending over the waters. The Separation of the Waters on the second day shows only the upper part of the Creator holding a large disk, with the earth at the centre divided into the three known continents, Europe, Africa, and Asia in the middle. Around the earth is the water of the sea, and then come two more concentric circles framed by wavy lines. This is a medieval view of the world. In the Creation of Adam Christ-Logos stands on the left of the naked figure of Adam, who sits on the ground before him. Adam has the facial features of Christ and is almost as large as the Creator. A ray of light extends from Christ's mouth to Adam's face. This seems to be the way in which the mosaicist wants to indicate the enlivenment or animation of man, which is combined with the image of his creation. The scene is different from those at San Marco. On the seventh day the Creator is seated alone, gazing back in satisfaction on all of his creation, not surrounded by the personifications of the seven days, as in Venice.

The Creation of Eve is also very different in the Cappella Palatina [Fig. 49]. While the Christ-Logos takes his usual position on the left and blesses with his right hand, a half-figure of Eve rises from behind the side of sleeping Adam.

20. For these images see H.L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton 1977) 13–35 and fig. 1.

21. See C.C. Schlam, *Cupid and Psyche: Apuleius and the Monuments* (University Park Pa. 1976), who gives several examples in Roman art, particularly on sarcophagi.

22. Kitzinger, 'Role' 100–2. Short squat figures are characteristic of such late antique works as the Constantinian panels on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

23. A similar figure of the Creator is depicted on the Salerno ivories.

This imagery is also known in the Octateuchs, but they substitute the standing Christ-Logos with an image of the Hand of God in the heavens.

The story of the Creation at Monreale has some similarities with the mosaics in Venice and in the Cappella Palatina [Figs 50–1]. In most scenes the Creator is pictured on the left, blessing his creation. Except for the first image, however, Christ-Logos is seated on a globe. This feature is also encountered in an eleventh-century ivory in Berlin.[24] At the beginning of the cycle [Fig. 50], a half figure of the Creator is depicted in a half circle, with the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove flying down towards the waters, where a face of the Abyss is pictured. The second image is a new one, which is also evident in the Berlin plaque and the Salerno ivories, in which Christ blesses seven angels; this perhaps signifies the seven days of creation.[25] The creation of Adam and his animation are very similar to the scene in the Cappella Palatina [Fig. 51], and so is the image of the Creation of Eve.

While the Sicilian mosaics resemble some features of those at San Marco, they also differ quite markedly from them. It is not possible therefore to see them as merely following in the tradition of the Cotton Genesis illuminations, even if there are some similarities. There was clearly another tradition in which the mosaicists in Sicily were working and it is possible that that was linked to the decoration of the early Christian basilicas of Rome.

The location of the Old Testament narratives in the two Sicilian churches follows a long tradition in the Latin Church, where such cycles of images are known to have adorned the naves of basilicas from at least the fifth century onwards.[26] In Rome, twenty-seven of the original forty-two nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, dating from 432-440, are still to be seen in the church. A few drawings also survive of the now lost frescoes of Old Testament scenes from the naves of Old St Peter's and S. Paolo fuori le Mura. The cycle at S. Maria Maggiore does not include the story of the creation, but features images from the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob on the left and episodes from the lives of Moses and Joshua on the right. Each of these two cycles begins at the apse and extends to the church façade. While it is possible that the scenes were based on the miniatures of a manuscript — and indeed there is a stylistic resemblance among the mosaic images to the illuminations of the Vatican Virgil — Kitzinger has also pointed out that several of the figures and compositional devices follow well-known examples of ancient Roman sculpture.[27] For example, the figure of

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24. The imagery is on the back of an image of the Crucifixion on an ivory plaque in the Berlin-Dahlem, Skulpturabteilung der Staatlichen Museen. For a full discussion of this plaque see H.L. Kessler, 'An Eleventh-Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival' Kessler, *Studies* 479–507 and fig. 2.

25. This is an interpretation of Kitzinger, 'Role' 99–142. The imagery has also been interpreted as the Creation of the Angels (Kessler, 'Ivory' 492–3), or even of the firmament (Bergman, *Salerno Ivories* 16).

26. Kitzinger, 'Role' 99–142; Lavin, *Narrative* 15–25; H.L. Kessler, 'Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-Century Churches' *Studia Artium Orientalis et Occidentalis* 2 (1985) 17–31, rp. *Studies in Pictorial Narrative* (London 1994) 357–92.

27. Kitzinger, 'Role' 99–142, esp. 128–38.

Joshua in the Defeat of the Amorites mosaic panel strongly resembles the Roman general carved on the Ludovisi sarcophagus now in the Museo delle Terme at Palazzo Altemps in Rome. Even Joshua stopping the sun is similar to the Adlocutio scenes on such Roman monuments as the Column of Trajan. The division of the various mosaic panels into different registers and successive scenes resembles the way historical reliefs are set out on the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum. In writing a visual sacred history, the artists at S. Maria Maggiore may have followed an illustrated Bible, but they also incorporated imagery from ancient Roman art, which had its own long tradition of continuous historical narrative.

It is likely that there were depictions of the creation story in Old St Peter's, but they disappeared with the demolition of the Constantinian basilica and they are not recorded in the extant seventeenth-century drawings of that building made for Jacopo Grimaldi.[28] It is also unclear when the murals were painted. While some scholars presume a fifth-century date, others suggest the seventh century or the pontificate of Pope Formosus (891-896).[29]

At S. Paolo fuori le Mura there were some creation scenes, which most probably date from the pontificate of Leo the Great (440-460), although they were repainted or restored by Pietro Cavallini in the late thirteenth century.[30] These frescoes are known from copies made in the seventeenth century for Cardinal Francesco Barberini.[31] They began with an image of the creation of the sun and the moon, light and darkness, and the separation of the latter.[32] In the centre at the top there is a half-bust of the Creator within a semi-circle filled with stars, above the Lamb of God and the dove of the Holy Spirit, perhaps indicating the role of the Trinity in Creation. The presence of the Lamb, however, is puzzling and one wonders whether it was interpolated either by Cavallini or by the seventeenth-century copyist. The sun and moon, light and darkness, labelled

28. Bergman, however, makes an interesting point, when he notes that the Grimaldi drawings only show eleven of an original total of twenty-two intercolumniations at Old St Peter's, and hence do not include all the paintings of the nave walls (Bergman, *Salerno Ivories* 5–6). The Old Testament cycle in the drawings begins with Noah's ark and the Old Testament scenes were originally on the right of the nave, facing New Testament scenes on the left. Kessler takes up the importance of the (probable) early Genesis scenes at Old St Peter's in '"Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum": Old St Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium' Kessler, *Studies* 393–432 and 'Old St Peter's as the Source and Inspiration of Medieval Church Decoration' Kessler, *Studies* 452–76. See also W. Tronzo, 'The Prestige of St Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy' *Pictorial Narrative in the Middle Ages* ed. H. Kessler & M.S. Simpson (Washington 1985) 93–112.

29. S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Vienna 1964) 69–70.

30. For Pietro Cavallini's intervention at S. Paolo fuori le Mura see J. White, 'Cavallini and the lost frescoes in S. Paolo' *JWarb* 19 (1956) 84–95 and J. Gardner, 'S. Paolo fuori le mura, Nicholas III, and Pietro Cavallini', *ZKunstg* 34 (1971) 240–8.

31. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Barb. lat. 4406, fols 23–5; see Waetzoldt, *Kopien* 56–7, figs 328–30.

32. Vat.BAV, Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 23; Waetzoldt, *Kopien* 57, no. 590 and fig. 328.

'SOL LUCEM' and 'LUNA TENEBRAS', are depicted as two circles containing faces on either side. Two figures beneath the sun and the moon wrapped in mandorlas walk in opposite directions, perhaps portraying the separation of light and darkness. The personifications used in this image are typical of ancient Roman and Late Antique artistic conventions. For that reason this image seems to be of early Christian date. In the San Paolo cycle there is also an image of the Creation of Adam, where the Creator sits on a globe, pointing with a gesture of speech and blessing towards a fully-grown naked figure of Adam seated on the ground.[33] There follows the Creation of Eve, who rises from behind the side of sleeping Adam, before an image of the Creator seated on a globe.[34]

Some eleventh and twelfth-century churches in Rome, Lazio and Umbria have murals that reflect the images at S. Paolo fuori le Mura.[35] For example, at S. Giovanni a Porta Latina in Rome, after c.1192, the first scene in the creation series has a half-length image of a young, beardless Christ—Logos in a semi-circular heaven at the top.[36] He is flanked by the sun, moon and the stars. Below him the dove of the Holy Spirit flies down to the waters, in which the face of the Abyss is clearly visible. Two dolphins flank the Holy Spirit and two naked figures are depicted on either side in mandorlas. Clearly, there are echoes of the imagery in the first creation scene at S. Paolo fuori le Mura. In the scene of the creation of Adam the Creator is seated on a globe, facing a fully mature Adam seated or reclining on a mound of the earth in Paradise from which spring the four rivers. A stream of light extends from the creator's mouth to the image of Adam, as at Monreale. Again the similarity with the copies from S. Paolo fuori le Mura is clear.

In the 1970s medieval frescoes were uncovered in the church of S. Maria Immaculata (previously dedicated to S. Felice) in Ceri, a small town in Lazio.[37] Among these frescoes are some images of a creation cycle, which also seems to depend on the S. Paolo model. For example, the creation of Eve takes place before the Creator seated on a globe. The half-figure of the first woman comes

33. Vat.BAV, Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 24; Waetzoldt, *Kopien* 57, no. 591 and fig. 329.

34. Vat.BAV, Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 25; Waetzoldt, *Kopien* 57, no. 592 and fig. 330.

35. Pointed out by E.B. Garrison, 'Note on the Iconography of the Creation and the Fall of Man in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Rome' *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting* (4 vols Florence 1953–62, rp. London 1993) 4:202ff; M. Manion, 'The Frescoes of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina: The Shape of a Tradition' *Austral J A* 1 (1978) 92–109 and Kessler, 'Caput' 393–432 and 'Old St Peter's' 452–76.

36. Manion, 'Frescoes' 102 and fig. 6. See also E. Parlato & S. Romano, *Roma e il Lazio* (Milan 1992) 101–8 and fig. 24.

37. The architecture and decoration of this church were first published by B. Premoli, 'Affreschi medievali nella chiesa dell'Immacolata di Ceri' *Colloqui del Sodalizio* 5 (1975–6) 23–33; B. Meli, 'Ceri, chiesa dell'Immacolata Consezione o di S. Felice Papa II' *Stor Art* 44 (1982) 11–12 and A. Cadei, 'S. Maria Immacolata di Ceri e I suoi affreschi medioevali' *Stor Art* 44 (1982) 13–29; see also C. Bertelli, 'Traccia allo studio alle fondazioni medievali dell'arte italiana' *Storia dell'arte Italiana* pt. 2 vol. I (Turin 1983) 5–163, esp. 123–4; G. Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo*, vol. 2, *Secoli XI–XIV* (updated by F. Gandolfo, Rome 1988) 256; and Parlato-Romano, *Roma* 335–6.

up with her arms extended from behind Adam, who is sleeping in Paradise on a hill from which the four rivers flow.[38] What is fascinating about the frescoes at Ceri is their similarity to the late eleventh-century murals in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome. The borders of the Ceri images, the representation of fish in the Red Sea as Pharaoh drowns, the buildings depicted in the backgrounds and the layout of the inscriptions all resemble the San Clemente paintings. Cadei dated the church at Ceri to the second half of the twelfth century, not on any firm documentary evidence, but on his impression of its 'Lombard' architectural style.[39] From the evidence of the murals and their similarity to those in the lower church of San Clemente, this seems unlikely and an earlier date in the late eleventh or early twelfth century seems more appropriate.[40]

Hélène Toubert has argued that the eleventh-century frescoes in the lower church of San Clemente were made by artists who had previously worked at the new church built at Monte Cassino by Abbot Desiderius.[41] Although nothing survives of that church, it is known to have had Old Testament scenes painted in the atrium.[42] Creation scenes were painted in the aisles of S. Angelo in Formis, a dependency of Monte Cassino. The Salerno ivory plaques with images of the creation were probably made for Archbishop Alphanus I (1058-85), who had been a monk at Monte Cassino before being elevated to the South Italian See.[43]

What seems to emerge is a clear tradition of Creation imagery that is inspired by the S. Paolo murals, as they are known from the seventeenth-century drawings. While Kessler mentions S. Paolo as a possible source, he argues more cogently for the primacy of St Peter's (although the imagery from that church is unknown).[44] If Old St Peter's was most certainly the more important of the two early Christian basilicas dedicated to the princes of the apostles, there are indications that S. Paolo fuori le Mura also influenced Roman churches of the twelfth century. In the field of medieval Roman architecture, the transept plan and the two columns at the triumphal arch in S. Crisogono and S. Maria in Trastevere appear to derive from S. Paolo fuori le Mura.[45] As Kessler is willing to admit, S. Paolo was an important Benedictine abbey, which may have influenced the monastic building enterprises of Abbot Desiderius.[46]

Of the three creation cycles in Venice and Sicily, it is Monreale that most resembles the mural and iconographic tradition in Rome and Lazio. Perhaps it should be remembered that Monreale was originally built as the abbey church of a Benedictine monastery. Nonetheless, the three 'Byzantine' mosaic narratives of the creation story derive from both manuscript and monumental sources. While

38. Illustrated in Cadei, 'Ceri' fig. 18.
39. Cadei, 'Ceri' 19.
40. Gandolfo suggests as much in Matthiae, *Pittura* 257.
41. H. Toubert, '"Rome et le Mont-Cassin": Nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome' *DOP* 30 (1976) 3–33.
42. H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Mass. 1986) 122–6.
43. Bergman, *Salerno Ivories* 10.
44. See Kessler, 'Caput' 393–432; 'Old St Peter's' 452–77; and 'Ivory' 479–507.
45. R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton 1980) 176–7.
46. Kessler, 'Old St Peter's' 460.

the significance of the fifth-century Cotton Genesis is paramount, there is also a local central Italian tradition of representing the story in murals, which goes back to the early Christian basilicas in Rome, including S. Paolo fuori le Mura and possibly Old St Peter's.

Ursula Betka

Icon and Narrative: Memorializing Saint Francis in Assisi

The two paintings on wood panel, *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles*, c.1253 [Fig. 53],[1] and *St Francis with Two Angels*, c.1260 [Fig. 54],[2] made just a few decades after the canonization of St Francis in 1228, were designed to be placed near the sites of his death and burial. In their innovative combination of a number of elements from the pictorial and cultic traditions of both the east and west, they demonstrate how the Order of Friars Minor propagated a cult of their founder that centred on his tomb in Assisi — as a locus of prayer, pilgrimage and healing. These early representations of St Francis, it will be shown, are clearly based on the long-established tradition of the Byzantine icon. At the same time, however, they draw on contemporary aspects of the saint's cult. In *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles* [Fig. 53], the juxtaposition of iconic image with narrative panels depicting aspects of the saint's *vita* is derived from an eastern type of hagiographical icon which emerged in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.[3] While celebrating the saint's powers as advocate and healer, it also proclaims to pilgrims that St Francis' burial place is hallowed ground. The panel of *St Francis with Two Angels* [Fig. 54] has as its singular focus the

1.   The painting, in the Museum-Treasury of San Francesco in Assisi, is attributed to the Master of the Treasury and is often dated to 1253, the year in which the altars of the double basilica of San Francesco were consecrated. See G. Morello & L. Kanter, *The Treasury of Saint Francis of Assisi* (Milan 1999) 54–9; P. Scarpellini 'Le Pitture' *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco ad Assisi: saggi e catalogo* ed. M.G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto (Assisi 1980) 34–8. For the most recent catalogue of the works in the Museum-Treasury, marking the world-wide exhibition held from 1998–2001, see Morello-Kanter, *Treasury*.

2.   The panel is attributed to the Master of St Francis. See S. Romano, 'Master of St Francis (Maestro di S. Francesco)' *The Dictionary of Art* ed. J. Turner (34 vols New York 1996) 20:760–1; and S. Romano 'Maestro di San Francesco' *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, vol. 8 (Rome 1997) 116–19. The painting is now in the New Museum of the Porziuncola in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Assisi. See *Nuovo Museo della Porziuncola, Banca Popolare dell'Etruria e del Lazio* (Assisi 1999) 2. See also E. Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso di Giunta Pisano e l'Icona del 'Maestro di San Francesco' alla Porziuncola* (Assisi 1995) 77–81.

3.   See O. Popova, 'Byzantine Icons of the 13th Century' *A History of Icon Painting: Sources, Traditions, Present Day* ed. Archimandrite Zacchaeus (Wood) tr. K. Cook (Moscow 2005) 69–71; N. Ševčenko, *Cycles of the Life of St Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (PhD thesis, Columbia University 1973); N. Ševčenko, *The Life of St Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin 1983); T. Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles of the Life of St George in Byzantine Art* (PhD thesis, New York University 1977); K. Weitzmann, 'Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century' *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) 271–313; C. Walter, 'Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs' *REB* 36 (1978) 235–60. For the biographical icons of St Nicholas of Myra, St George, and St Catherine of Alexandria at Mt Sinai see also H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton 1996) 169–94 and K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images — Sixth to Fourteenth Century* (London 1978) 104–6, pls. 33 & 34.

frontally standing figure of the saint. Of special significance, however, is the unique prayer-text in Latin, borne in the saint's hands: 'Hic michi viventi lectus fuit et morienti' ('This was my bed in life, and my bier after my death'). In both panels the central figure of St Francis is shown holding a cross, and bearing the marks of the stigmata on his hands and feet. The latter painting, however, also includes the wound in his right side, to which further attention is drawn by the inclusion of an additional Latin inscription at the base of the panel: 'Me IHC expresse dilectum me comprobat esse. Cuius sic me stigmata stigmata meque decorant. Nemo causetur set XPC glorificetur. Cui placuit dignis me sic attollere signis.' ('Jesus confirmed clearly that I was loved. Thus his stigmata are the stigmata that also adorn me. May no-one quibble but let Christ be glorified, whom it pleased to exalt me thus with these worthy signs.')[4]

Icons in the Byzantine east were revered as 'true portraits' of the divinity or the saints, in reference to the glorified body in a state of transcendental grace. Indeed the word 'icon' derives from *eikon* in Greek, which is a precise technical term for an 'authentic' religious image.[5] The original representation, called the 'prototype', was deemed to have been made from a 'sitting' of the living saint, as in the case of St Luke's painting of the Virgin and Child. Alternatively, the 'prototype' was communicated through dreams and visions inspired by God, as recounted in lives of the saints.[6] These portraits were believed to have been divinely authenticated in apostolic times. Thus, Epiphanius the Deacon, writing in defence of sacred images during the iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century, declared:

> Among the many things which have been handed down to us in an unwritten form, that of the painting of icons in the church has spread everywhere, since the time of the preaching of the

4. For various interpretative translations of this text see Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 83. See also W.R. Cook, *Images of St Francis of Assisi in Painting, Stone and Glass from the Earliest Images to ca.1320 in Italy: A Catalogue*. Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 7 (Florence 1999) 67–8; C. Frugoni, *Francesco e l'invenzione delle stimmate* (Turin 1993) 298–302.

5. L. Ouspensky & V. Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Crestwood N.Y. 1989) 35–9. The saint partakes of the 'transfigured corporality of Christ' on Mt Tabor. See also R. Cormack, *Painting the Soul: Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds* (London 1997) 35; E. Sendler, *The Icon: Image of the Invisible* tr. S. Bigham (Redondo Beach Calif. 1988) 77–82.

6. See Maguire, *Icons* 7–15. The legend that St Luke painted the true likeness of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child appears to have evolved by the early eighth century during Iconoclasm, when the defenders of images referred to such attributions. Andreas of Crete (c.726) for instance, speaking in defence of icons, cited a portrait by St Luke that was sent from Jerusalem to Rome. See R.L. Wolff, 'Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria' *Trad* 6 (1984) 323; D. & T. Talbot Rice, *Icons and Their History* (New York 1974) 9; and D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East & Latin West* (Oxford 1966) 44–6.

Apostles... For as we have said, drawing upon the holy Fathers,
the honour of the icon is conveyed to the prototype.[7]

Respect for ancient icons had always remained strong in Italy, as the enduring
veneration of pre-iconoclastic icons of the Virgin Mary and Christ, preserved in
Rome, bears witness.[8] The early tradition in Italy was nurtured moreover, by
continuing eastern influences. Greek monks, for example, refugees from
Iconoclasm, painted icons in Italy during the eighth and early ninth centuries.[9]
According to Victor Lazareff, by the thirteenth century painters had access to
numerous Byzantine miniatures and icons.[10] The duecento was a period of lively
artistic exchange with the east, contact being intensified through the Crusades,
the establishment of trade links, and the missionary activities of the Franciscans
in Greece and the Levant.[11] Furthermore, both the Franciscan and Dominican
Orders lived in Constantinople after the sack of 1204 up until 1285, where they
were eventually instrumental in creating a formal albeit short-lived union
between the Greek and Latin Churches in 1274.[12] A significant consequence of
this renewed contact was that the friars were able to experience at first hand the
function of the icon in Byzantine liturgical and devotional worship.
Concurrently, the Franciscan friars in Rome venerated an icon of the Holy
Mother of God in their church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, which they claimed was

7. Epiphanius the Deacon, cited in D.J. Sahas, *Icons and Logos: Sources in Eighth-Century Iconoclasm* (Toronto 1986) 97–101.

8. For the revered pillar fresco of the Madonna in Santa Maria Antiqua, see P.J. Nordhagen, 'Icons Designed for the Display of Sumptuous Votive Gifts' *DOP* 41 (1987) 459; P. Amato, *De Vera Effigie Mariae: Antiche Icone Romane* (Rome 1988) 56–7; J. Barclay Lloyd, 'The Early Icons of Rome' *Phronema* 4 (1989) 64–6, 70; H. Belting, 'Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century' *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions* ed. W. Tronzo (Baltimore 1989) 27–41; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago 1994) 313–24; Cormack, *Painting the Soul* 97–101; G. Wolf, 'Icons and Sites: Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome' *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium* ed. M. Vassilaki (Aldershot 2005) 23–49. For a thirteenth-century reference to the continuing veneration of early Roman icons see Jacobus da Voragine, 'The Nativity of Our Lady' *The Golden Legend* tr. W. Caxton ed. F.S. Ellis (7 vols New York 1973) 5:111.

9. See A.L. Frothingham, 'Byzantine Artists in Italy from the Sixth to the Fifteenth Century' *AJA* 9.1 (1894) 35–52; for ninth-century icons in Italy see G. Cavallo et al., eds, *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982) 137–426.

10. V. Lasareff, 'Duccio and Thirteenth-Century Greek Icons' *Burlington Magazine* 59 (1931) 154–69. See also Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East* 46–51.

11. A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge 1996) 190–204; J. Folda, 'Icon to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned' *Italian Panel Painting of Duecento and Trecento* ed. V. Schmitt (London 2002) 123–45.

12. See N.P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 1, *Nicaea I to Lateran V* (Georgetown 1990) 230–71 for the canon law documentation in English translation; see also D.M. Nicol, *The End of the Byzantine Empire* (London 1979) 17, for a discussion of the history of the Second Council of Lyons.

the true portrait by St Luke.[13] The reputed sacral power and theological significance of these icons were emphasized anew by mendicant preachers, who referred their lay audiences to the early icons in Rome as 'authentic portraits of the Magi, of Christ crucified, and of the Virgin,... commanding... the highest authority, especially those that were imported from Greece...'.[14]

In accordance with the doctrine of the 'prototype', the icon memorializes the glorified body of the saint as forever radiant in supernal light and divine grace — the 'true portrait'.[15] This dimension of the sacred and transcendent is expressed in the depiction of St Francis in both Assisi panels, where he bears the countenance of a man transfigured by God, a portrayal which is also in keeping with the description of Thomas of Celano, the first biographer of the saint: 'O how beautiful, how splendid, how glorious did he appear in the innocence of his life... in his angelic countenance'.[16] The panels also represent the saint in accordance with the formal stylistic elements of the Byzantine icon. Thus he appears before a gilded ground signifying an ethereal space, and the image is worked from darkness to light in the traditional medium of egg tempera, which produces a luminous and enamel-like surface, so that the saint appears to be illuminated from within.[17] In keeping with the notion of the true portrait, the depiction of St Francis also refers to his official place in the Church's hierarchy of saints.[18] Categorised primarily as an ascetic religious, like St Nicholas of Myra in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century Sinai icon, his elongated figure is presented in a frontal, motionless posture.[19]

The addition, however, of certain particular attributes and inscriptions impart to this formalised portrait the individual lineaments of an Italian saint of living memory and record his distinctive sanctity which fashioned his very body in the

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13. The Aracoeli icon was a copy of the revered ancient image of the Madonna of S. Sisto, owned by the Dominicans in Rome. See Belting, 'Icons and Roman Society' 30–6.

14. From a sermon delivered by the Dominican Fra Giordano da Rivalto, at the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence in 1306; see R. Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze* (8 vols Florence 1956–68) 7:128–42.

15. Ouspensky-Lossky, *Icons* 35–9. See also Sendler, *Icon* 60–2.

16. Thomas of Celano, 'The First Life of St Francis' *St Francis of Assisi: Writings and Early Biographies* ed. M. Habig (Chicago 1972) 198.

17. L. Rebay, *Introduction to Italian Poetry* (New York 1969) 30–4; Ouspensky-Lossky, *Icons* 54–5; R. Mayer, 'Tempera Painting' *The Artist's Handbook of Materials and Techniques* ed. E. Smith (4th ed. rev. and expanded Norfolk 1982) 228–54. For Italian workshop practices in egg tempera painting on wood panels from the fourteenth century see Cennino D'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook: 'Il Libro dell'Arte'* tr. D.V. Thompson (New York 1960) 91–5.

18. C. Hahn, 'Picturing the Text: Narrative in the Life of the Saints' *ArtHist* 13 (1990) 6–7, discusses this point in relation to the hagiography of the early western saints, who, as members of the body of the church, had their Lives recast in the image of Christ.

19. See Maguire, *Icons* 48–63 where the author describes the formal distinctions between apostles, bishops, deacons, monks and soldier saints; warrior figures, by contrast, convey degrees of figural movement. Ševčenko, *St Nicholas* 29–31 and 182 pl. 3 where the author proposes the date of late twelfth century; see Popova, 'Byzantine Icons' 70 for the later dating.

image of Christ. The cord with seven nodes, tied around the saint's waist, refers to Francis' penitential practices, while the rough bluish black tunic cut in the shape of the cross so that it 'might beat off all temptations of the devil' represents the habit designed by the saint himself, after his decision to abandon the eremitical life.[20] The tonsure, crucifix, and marks of the stigmata on his body signify his own dedication and the new spiritual emphases of his Order as well as its roots in western monasticism. In addition, the inscription on the book held by the saint in *St Francis with Four Posthumous Miracles* — 'If you wish to be perfect, go, sell your possessions, and give the money to the poor' (Mt 19:21) — refers to St Francis' singular response to Christ's call to abandon all worldly goods [Fig. 53].[21]

Byzantine icons present the saints as intercessors who offer the prayers of the faithful to Christ. Thus, as Egon Sendler points out, 'the icon was an intentional, deliberate communion with the person represented'.[22] In the Assisi icons, the frontal stance and concentrated gaze of St Francis present him both as a traditional intercessor and as an historical figure known for his intense devotion. Thomas of Celano, in his second biography, records that Francis, '... never leaned against the wall or partition for support while reciting the Psalms; he stood with his head uncovered and his eyes closely guarded, as he said the hours without shortening them'.[23] Celano also recounts how many of the healing miracles of Francis were enacted through certain rites. Repeatedly he describes how the saint, after a period of silent prayer, made 'the sign of the cross' over the one to be healed.[24] Thus, while the sacral and formal elements of the eastern icon are emphasized anew in the two Assisi images, an individualized vision of the true portrait of St Francis as efficacious intercessor and a man of grace also emerges. This is authenticated by reference to the early accounts of his life.

St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles

In linking the iconic portrait of St Francis with selected aspects of the saint's biography, the panel of *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles* [Fig. 53]

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20. Celano, 'First Life' 9.22 (Habig 247). See also Frugoni, *Francesco* 275–7. The cord replaced the belt of monastic tradition and may have alluded to the lash of the penitential confraternity of Flagellants, or the cord by which the Redeemer was led to the crucifixion. The number of nodes cannot be explained and is not referred to in the biographical sources.
21. P.B. Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli di S. Francesco nelle Tavole Istoriate dei Secoli XIII e XIV' *AFrH* 19 (1926) 693–9; Cook, *Images of St Francis* 62–3.
22. Sendler, *Icon* 47.
23. Celano, 'First Life' 2.112 (Habig 96). This description of St Francis in prayer passed into Bonaventura, *Major Life* 10.6 (Habig 709) (Francis' devotion to prayer).
24. For example, see Celano, 'First Life' 23.65 (Habig 284): 'He prayed and then put his hands upon the boy, and, blessing him, raised him up'; 23.66 (Habig 284): 'He made the sign of the cross over him from his head to his feet'. In healing the possessed, Francis, '...after praying, signed him and blessed him' (25.68, Habig 285); again in another exorcism: 'The holy father was inside praying. He came out when he had finished his prayer. But the woman, unable to stand his power, began to tremble and roll about on the ground (26.70, Habig 287).

draws on a genre of eastern icons which is related to the liturgy of the saint's feast day. The genre is represented by more than twenty surviving icons, beginning with an eleventh-century triptych with wings.[25] Other examples from the early part of the thirteenth century survive in the collection of the monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai. Of particular significance as prototypes of the St Francis icon are the biographical icons of St Nicholas of Myra,[26] St George,[27] and St Catherine of Alexandria.[28] These are all vertical in shape and present an image of the saint surrounded by a number of smaller scenes in the frame. Customarily, the cycle is based on a standard repertoire which draws on the saint's *vita*, and include scenes of the birth, virtuous and exemplary acts, and the various sufferings endured in a martyr's death.[29] Hans Belting refers to these panels as 'reading icons' since liturgical texts relating to the saint's life were recited before the icon on the day of the feast. They could equally be described as 'chanting icons' since, according to Olga Popova, liturgical hymns composed in the saint's honour were additional sources for the subject matter of narrative scenes. These expressions of devotion on the saint's feast also celebrated their spiritual merits and privileged status in heaven.[30] The St Francis icon too, as we shall see, was presented in the context of sung liturgical and devotional commemorations, especially on his feast day.

From the time of the canonization of St Francis in 1228, papal indulgences had been granted to those who venerated the body of the saint, which in that year was in a temporary tomb in the Chapel of San Giorgio, on the site of the present church of Santa Chiara.[31] On 25 May 1230, the stone sarcophagus containing the

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25. For a chronological table of the icon cycles, which begins with the triptych at Sinai c.1063, see Ševčenko, *Cycles* 32–3. Traces of hagiographical cycles in wall painting however, go back to fourth-century Rome, and survive in the oratory beneath the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. These murals narrate the martyrdom of Sts Crispin, Crispinian, and Benedicta. See Ševčenko, *Cycles* 13.

26. See Ševčenko, *St Nicholas* 162–5; For the icons of St Nicholas at Mt Sinai see also C. Edward, *St Nicholas: His Legends and Iconography* (Florence 1985) 27–35.

27. See Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles* 77–8, 242–6. For a biographical icon of St George in Crimea from the eleventh or twelfth century see L. Milyaeva, 'The Icon of Saint George, with Scenes from His Life, from the town of Mariupol' *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843–1261)* ed. O.Z. Pevny (New York 2000) 102–17. The icon of St George the Victory-Bearer is painted on carved wood and includes twelve narrative scenes. For a discussion of the emergence of the early biographical icons in Georgia see B. Schrade, 'Byzantium and its Eastern Barbarians: The Cult of Saints in Svanet'i' *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999* ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot 2001) 169–98, particularly 171–7.

28. Popova, 'Byzantine Icons' 69–70; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970) 211–12; Belting, *Likeness* 257–8; Maguire, *Icons* 172–92.

29. Ševčenko, *Cycles* 435.

30. Belting, *Likeness* 249; Popova, 'Byzantine Icons' 69.

31. The Chapel of San Giorgio was incorporated into the new church of Santa Chiara, begun in 1257, where the body of St Clare was also temporarily buried on her death in 1253. See J.M. Wood, 'Perceptions of Holiness in Thirteenth-Century Italian Painting: Clare of Assisi' *ArtHist* 14 (1991) 305; Frugoni, *Francesco* 281.

mortal remains of St Francis was placed in its permanent resting-place in the lower church of San Francesco, directly below the main altar.[32] Concurrently, the foundation stone of the huge double basilica was laid by Pope Gregory IX.[33] The lower church, which is vaulted, dimly lit and of squat proportions, was thus conceived as a crypt with the tomb as its hallowed shrine, before which the friars celebrated daily Mass and pilgrims came to pray.[34] When, therefore, the double basilica was finally completed and consecrated in 1253, the lower or crypt church was well established as a site of worship. Undoubtedly, too, it was the locus of miraculous healing.[35]

The narrative scenes in the painting of *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles* [Fig. 53] record the first miracles that had occurred near the saint's original place of burial. These events are based on the account of Thomas of Celano, which was written for the process of canonization in 1228.[36] Several other large panel paintings of St Francis of Assisi from the thirteenth century also include these particular narrative scenes: the panel in San Francesco, Pescia, signed and dated by Bonaventura Berlinghieri in 1235;[37] the Bardi Chapel dossal, Florence, c.1250 by Coppo di Marcovaldo;[38] the Pisa dossal, c.1255 by a follower of Guinta Pisano;[39] the Pistoia dossal, c.1250 by the Master of the Cross 434 (Florence);[40] and the panel now in the Vatican Museum c.1255.[41] While all

32. In the same year a papal bull sanctioned images of the Order's founder for the decoration of Franciscan shrines. See Derbes, *Picturing the Passion* 24.

33. The Upper Church was designed with ample light, length and height as the official place of worship for the faithful. See Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 17; A. Mueller von der Haegen, *Masters of Italian Art* (Cologne 1998) 9–10; *Itineraries for the Year 2000: Assisi: Art and History in the Centuries* (Terni 1999) 9 and 27; and E. Lunghi, *The Basilica of St Francis at Assisi* (London 1996) 8–9.

34. The tomb of St Francis was concealed in 1230 by Pope Eugenius IV when the subterranean passageway was walled in for fear of the theft of the saint's body. See *Itineraries for the Year 2000* 27; Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 33 and 56; Lunghi, *Basilica* 8–9.

35. See W.R. Thomson, *Friars in the Cathedral: The First Franciscan Bishops 1226–61*. Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. Studies and Texts 33 (Toronto 1975) 104; Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 33.

36. See V. Moleta, *From St Francis to Giotto: The Influence of St Francis on Early Italian Art and Literature* (Chicago 1983) 18; Frugoni, *Francesco* 320–45; and Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 28–9. For the First Life of St Francis of Assisi by Thomas of Celano see Celano, 'First Life' 213–302.

37. Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 637–53; Frugoni, *Francesco* 203, 321–56; Moleta, *St Francis to Giotto* 16–20; Cook, *Images of St Francis* 165–8.

38. Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 670–86; Frugoni, *Francesco* 357–98, 409; Cook, *Images of St Francis* 98–102; Moleta, *St Francis to Giotto* 20–4.

39. Now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa. See Cook, *Images of St Francis* 169–71; Frugoni, *Francesco* 400–8; Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 653–64; Belting, *Likeness* 377–83, distinguishes these panels as 'portable feast images', which were displayed only on the feast day of the patron saint of the Order, probably upon the high altar of the church.

40. Now in the Museo Civico, Pistoia. Cook, *Images of St Francis* 173–4; Frugoni, *Francesco* 279, 338–9, 342–3; and Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 664–70.

of these examples, with the exception of the Vatican painting, are large vertical panels surmounted by a pediment, the Assisi panel is horizontal in format (96 cm x 138 cm). The shape, which is that of an altar dossal or altar-frontal, may indicate that the painting was made to be attached to the main altar of the crypt church.[42] Chiara Frugoni suggests that this panel may in fact duplicate an earlier, highly venerated icon at the site of the saint's tomb.[43] Indeed such duplication accords with the theology of the icon and its prototype and we know of at least one other example which follows the iconographic format of the Assisi panel — the Vatican painting (mentioned earlier), albeit on a slightly smaller scale. Whether or not the painting in the Assisi Treasury museum is the original prototype, and was attached to the front of the altar-tomb, it was clearly created for a location near the tomb of St Francis and referred to the saint's presence in the crypt church.

The intercessory power of St Francis, represented iconically in the central panel, is amply demonstrated in the four flanking scenes [Fig. 53]. The panel on the top left, where the cycle begins, records the first miracle to take place at the tomb of the saint. Celano recounts how on the very day of Francis' burial in the temporary tomb in the Chapel of San Giorgio, a girl whose 'neck had been monstrously bent' was healed.[44] He describes the event as follows:

> When she had placed her head for a little while upon the tomb in
> which lay the precious body of the saint, immediately she raised
> up her neck through the merits of this most holy man and her head
> was restored to its proper position.[45]

The painter has depicted the miracle in a continuous narrative composed of two scenes. The first represents the disfigured young girl, who has been placed before the saint's tomb by her mother; in the second, the mother, standing to the extreme left, holds the now healthy child on her shoulders. The township of Assisi appears in the background; clearly identifiable is the church of Santa Chiara, the site of St Francis' temporary tomb. The viewer is thus directed to acknowledge the site hallowed by the saint's relics as a place of divine

41. Unknown Master, Umbrian, active second third of the thirteenth century, *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles* (67 x 86.5 cm without the frame), Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana. Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 687–92; Cook, *Images of St Francis* 192–3; Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 55–6.

42. Other extant examples of such altar-frontals or antependia from the first half of the thirteenth century are the *Christ in Majesty with the Legend of the True Cross*, 1215, and the *Enthroned St John the Baptist with Six Scenes from his Life*, c.1250. See M. Torriti, *Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena* (Genoa 1988) 9–10.

43. Frugoni, *Francesco* 281. See also Popova, 'Byzantine Icons' 69–70, where the author sites the biographical icon of St Catherine of Alexandria at the Monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai. Popova dates the work to the first two decades of the thirteenth century, noting that the icon 'was most likely the main dedicational image placed in the sanctuary by the sarcophagus containing the saint's remains.'

44. Celano, 'First Life' 3.2.127 (Habig 341). See also Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 56.

45. Celano, 'First Life' 3.2.127 (Habig 341–2).

intervention and manifestation of grace.[46] The panel below narrates the cure of the cripple Bartholomew from the neighbouring Umbrian town of Narni. In this case the experience of miraculous intervention is by way of a voice in a dream followed by the appearance of the saint himself. Francis directs the cripple to go to a certain public bath. Celano relates that 'when he had come to the place and had entered the bath, he felt one hand placed upon his foot and another on his leg, gently stretching it out. Immediately he was cured, and he jumped from the bath praising and blessing the omnipotence of the Creator and blessed Francis, his servant...'[47] St Francis is depicted as a tangible presence in the foreground of the panel, his act of touching being the means by which the healing miracle occurs. The after-miracle scene, to the right, has Bartholomew prancing without crutches through the city gate.

The subject of the upper right panel is the exorcism of a possessed woman from Narni, a story that also appears in Celano's first life of St Francis. The writer relates how 'the saint himself made the sign of the cross upon her and drove out all her madness and every deceit of the devil'.[48] The exorcism is expressed according to the established iconographical convention which shows the figure of a 'little devil' emerging from the mouth of the possessed.[49] The final scene in the lower right panel is based on Celano's accounts of the healing of the cripple Nicholas from Foligno and the leper Acto from Ancona.[50] Both panels on the right record the locus of miraculous intercession as the altar over the tomb in the crypt church. The artist's representation of this setting is clearly based on his knowledge of the early altar, which is still extant, with its twenty columns and Cosmati inlay. Franciscan friars are shown tending the shrine which, in the top panel, is honoured with many hanging lamps. The altar table itself is set for the liturgy of the Mass with a missal, chalice, paten, and vessels for the water and wine.[51]

While the hagiographical icons of St Nicholas and St George at Mt Sinai provide a formal prototype for the St Francis icon, the narrative emphasis in the framing scenes is clearly different. Nancy Ševčenko has noted that posthumous miracles are rarely illustrated in Byzantine art.[52] Rather, attention is drawn in the St Nicholas of Myra icon, for example, to his birth, schooling and his consecration as bishop. Other scenes depict a range of miracles that assisted ordinary folk and were enacted during his lifetime.[53] This intercessory role of St

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46. Scarpellini, 'Le Pitture' 36. The city wall did not extend past the church of Santa Chiara until 1260.
47. Celano, 'First Life' 3.2.135 (Habig 344–5).
48. Possessed woman from Narni: Celano, 'First Life' 3.2.138 (Habig 346–7).
49. See for example, the other panel paintings of St Francis with miracle scenes noted in this article, and in the later fresco depicting *The Expulsion of the Demons from Arezzo*, in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi, c.1295.
50. Nicholas of Foligno: Celano, 'First Life' 3.2.129 (Habig 342); curing of the leper Acto from Ancona, and the leper Bonushomo from Fano: 3.2.146 (Habig 351–2).
51. See Bughetti, 'Vita e Miracoli' 697; and Scarpellini, 'Le Pitture' 35.
52. Ševčenko, *Cycles* 433.
53. Drawn mainly from the *Vita* written by Praxis de Stratelatis. See Ševčenko *Cycles* 436.

Nicholas for the faithful was believed to continue until the Day of Judgment.[54] By contrast, the biographical icon of St George at Sinai presents the saint in his status as martyr, whose repeated tortures — reiterated like a litany in the frame — rank him as an imitator of Christ in his death.[55] As in the case of St Nicholas, these narrative images of St George repeatedly demonstrated the saint's closeness to the divinity and thus his enduring intercessory powers.

The icon of St Francis, too, draws attention to the saint's intimacy with God, while the decision to concentrate in the side panels on four posthumous miracles marks a new *vita* icon formula for panel painting in Italy — one which aimed to focus on the site of the saint's burial. Indeed, these four narrative panels memorialise the first witnesses — a group of needy Umbrian folk — of the healing powers of St Francis, and the beginning of his cult.[56] When pilgrims came to worship at the tomb of the saint, they not only celebrated his holiness and virtue; they also expressed their hope in his powerful intercession. Such hope was strengthened and sustained by his venerable image and the representation of miracles wrought in the place hallowed by his mortal remains.[57]

St Francis was also commemorated in the official worship of the church soon after his death. His feast was entered into the liturgical calendar in 1228 on the day of his canonization and his name included in the litany of saints.[58] An antiphonal, c.1280, which is now in the Biblioteca del Sacro Convento of Assisi, was used by the community of friars in the chanting of the Divine Office, close

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54. Maguire, *Icons* 169–70.
55. Maguire, *Icons* 186; Mark-Weiner, *Narrative Cycles* 76–8.
56. See Frugoni, *Francesco* 284.
57. The cult of relics and its expression in religious art appear to have influenced the content of hagiographical icons in the Byzantine east. This is particularly evident in Cyprus from the late thirteenth century. For example, the Kakopetria icon of St Nicholas of Myra, c.1300 (Church of St Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, Cyprus), in its final narrative panel, includes the scene of pilgrims in prayer before the saint's tomb. Nancy Ševčenko notes that this composition is unparalleled in Byzantine art, and may refer to the shrine of St Nicholas of Bari in Italy — a popular site of pilgrimage in the western church — yet, according to the inscription, the icon depicts the St Nicholas of Myra: Ševčenko, *St Nicholas* 141–2. Athanasius Papageorgiou points out that this icon includes the donor portraits of a knight and his lady depicted at the feet of the saint, showing the strong presence of the west in Cyprus and the influence of the late-Gothic Italian school of painting on Byzantine painting: A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Geneva 1969) 106–8, pl. 35. This cross-fertilization of artistic expressions between the eastern and western churches is also apparent in the hagiographical icon of St George from Kastoria (Northern Greece), executed in painted relief, where the donor rendered at the foot of the saint is in Frankish dress: see M. Chatzidakis, *The Greek Museums: Byzantine Museum* tr. B. de Jongh (Athens 1975) 17 pl. 11. This issue, however, must be left for another paper!
58. See J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford 1968) 340; Wood, 'Perceptions' 305. See also G. Valagussa, 'Miniatore Lombardo, 1260 circa: Graduale francescano' *Miniature a Brera 1100– 1422: Manoscritti dalla Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense e da Collezioni private* ed. G. Boskovits et al. (Milan 1997) 78–80 referring to the list of contents in a Franciscan Gradual, c.1260, which includes a series of hymns dedicated to St Francis in relation to feasts of the liturgical year.

to their founders' hallowed tomb.[59] One of the most striking paintings in this manuscript is a large historiated initial 'F' (for 'Franciscus'), which depicts three cripples at the base of the tomb [Fig. 55]. The image introduces the first responsory at matins for the feast of the saint, celebrated on 4 October. Its opening words are:

> When Francis ceased to be involved in public affairs, he at once
> withdrew into the field of the Lord to meditate.[60]

This illumination makes clear visual reference to the Assisi panel [Fig. 53].[61] The composition is divided into two levels. A domed architectural structure with hanging lamps appears in the upper part: this may refer to the baldachin of the altar in the crypt church, since it is also recorded in the two scenes to the right of the Assisi panel. In the lower section a tripartite arch, also with suspended lamps, probably refers to the crypt altar itself. Below it the sanctified body of Francis appears, laid out upon a carved rock-tomb before which the pilgrims, in need of healing, make gestures of supplication. This image draws attention to the saint's relics concealed within the tomb as the vehicle for efficacious healing.[62] The rendering of the intact body of the saint parallels his portrayal in the Assisi panel as the intercessor-saint glorified in both body and soul. Thus, when the friars invoked the founder of their Order, particularly on his feast, praising him as the one who 'withdrew into the field of the Lord to meditate,' they too celebrated his spiritual presence through both his image and his tomb.

Devotional prayer in the form of sung poems called *laude*, written and performed in the vernacular, was also directed towards the revered icon of *St Francis with Four Posthumous Miracles*. Following the pattern in the Byzantine east, specific saints' icons probably inspired these compositions.[63] The laude service emerged in the mid-thirteenth century as a distinctive form of church worship in lay confraternities called Laudesi, many of which were affiliated with the new mendicant orders. According to the confraternity statutes, members were required to sing the laude communally before candlelit images of the Virgin and

59. Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, Cantorino 2, MS 1, Antiphonary, 1280–90; 35 cm x 50 cm; 316 folios in all.

60. Cantorino 2, MS 1, fol. 235r. 'Franciscus ut in publicum cessat negotiare in agrum mox dominicum secedit meditari'. For an illustration of part of the text on folio 235r see Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 142. For a brief discussion of this image see M.G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, 'La nascita dei cicli corali umbri' *Francesco d'Assisi: Documenti e Archivi, Codici e Biblioteche, Miniature* (Milan 1982) 349–51.

61. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, 'La nascita' 49, 338–51, refers to the stylistic similarities apparent in the manuscript image and the narrative scenes in the Treasury icon.

62. A very similar composition occurs in the Kakopetria icon of St Nicholas of Myra, c.1300, as noted above in n. 57.

63. Maguire, *Icons* 65–85, discusses a number of poems written for specific groups of saints' icons, which demonstrate and express the correspondence between formal idioms and perceived natures and function. L. James, 'Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium' *ArtHist* 27.4 (2004) 522–37, points out that Byzantine writings on religious art appealed to all the senses, and aimed to involve the faithful and both viewer and listener.

their patron saints.[64] The early Franciscan movement was a catalyst for the singing of such laude, St Francis himself having sent out bands of friars as 'minstrels of the Lord' *(joculatores Dei)* to sing and teach vernacular songs of praise.[65] Moreover a number of early laude can be ascribed to specific Franciscan authors, the most notable being Jacopone dei Beneditti, a Franciscan Spiritual born at Todi between 1230–6.[66] It is also significant that in addition to the regular commemoration of St Francis in the Divine Office, a rhythmic devotional office was composed for his feast c.1231 and in the same year a *Leggenda corale* in his honour was written by Thomas of Celano. Both these works are early expressions of sung poetry in honour of the saint.[67]

The inclusion of laude in honour of St Francis in the official programs of lay devotion was one of the key ways in which the saint's cult was propagated throughout Italy in the years immediately following his death. St Francis is honoured in two specific laude compositions: *Laudar vollio per amore lo primer frate minore,* and *Sia laudato san Francesco.* These appear in the earliest surviving anthology, complete with musical notation: Cortona, Laudario manuscript 91, c.1260.[68] Other anthologies from Arezzo, Pisa, Lucca, Milan and Florence also contain at least one of these songs.[69]

Correspondences between the content and form of these laude in honour of St Francis and his icon in the crypt church of Assisi are readily apparent, and must have been noted by the many devotees who came to pray before the image of the saint. The refrain, *Laudar vollio per amore lo primer frate minore* ('I want to praise out of love the first Friar Minor'), honours Francis as the founder of the

64. U. Betka, *Marian Images and Laudesi Devotion in Late Medieval Italy ca.1260–1350* (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne 2001) 38–48.

65. St Francis of Assisi wrote songs of praise and prayer-poems, characterized by his *Canticle of the Sun,* which probably reflected an earlier tradition of vernacular lyric poetry and stimulated its further development. See Moorman, *A History* 266–7. For an edition of the *Cantico delle creature* with English translation see L. Rebay, *Introduction to Italian Poetry* (New York 1969) 8–11. See also C. Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music* (London 1979) 99; and L.S. Cunningham, 'The Prayers and the Poetry' *Saint Francis of Assisi* (Boston 1976) 48. G. Cattin, *Music of the Middle Ages* I tr. S. Botterill (Cambridge 1984) 146, points out that the musical staves in the source of the Laudario codex 338 in Assisi carry no notes, suggesting their parallels with an oral tradition perhaps adapted for use by roaming preachers. Scholars have argued that the Laudist tradition existed before the Franciscan movement. However, there is general agreement that the early Franciscans gave laude singing a major impetus in thirteenth-century Italy.

66. See *Jacopone da Todi: The Lauds* tr. S. & E. Hughes (London 1982); E. Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi, Poet and Mystic 1228–1306: A Spiritual Biography* (London 1919); C. Barr, *The Monophonic Lauda and the Lay Religious Confraternities of Tuscany and Umbria in the Late Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo 1988) 70–1.

67. See F. Costa, 'La liturgia francescana' *Francesco d'Assisi: Documenti e Archivi* 300.

68. Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. 91 Laudario (Cort). This compilation belonged to the lay confraternity who met in the church of San Francesco in Cortona. See Barr, *Lauda* 71–4. For an edition of this manuscript see *Laude Cortonesi dal secolo XIII al XV* ed. G. Varanini, L. Banfi & A. Ceruti Burgio (4 vols Florence 1981–5), vol. I, *Il Codice 91 della Biblioteca Comunale di Cortona* 184–8.

69. See Betka, *Marian Images* Appendix 4, 428.

Franciscan Order; while in the second *lauda* the refrain *Sia laudato san Francesco* ('Let St Francis be praised, who appeared nailed to the cross like the Redeemer') reveres his miraculous stigmata. In the two extant Florentine Laudarios, this lauda is illustrated with an image of the saint receiving the stigmata at La Verna [Figs 56–7].[70] The Assisi icon might also be interpreted as an illustration of this lauda: both panel and poem present the saint and his distinctive spirituality in similar terms.

The stanze of both laude succinctly recall the most significant events in the life of the saintly friar. They then shift to recollections of his efficacious intercession on behalf of the faithful, manifested soon after his death:

> In life you were holy,
> You performed many miracles
> When you passed from the world,
> And in heaven there appeared a great light.[71]

It is as though the gaze of the devotee, moving between the vignettes of miraculous healing and the central figure of the saintly intercessor on the painted panel, echoes the rhythmic chant of the laude whose final verses invoke St Francis in resplendent light amidst the celestial court:

> O lamp, sun and light, you rule and lead us.
> Be our goal and haven now and forever.[72]

And:

> Christ with many angels
> And your mother with the saints
> Venerate you with sweet songs
> To lead you with great honour (into paradise).[73]

These early musical compositions honouring St Francis may indeed have been written with the Assisi panel in mind, and the pilgrims, many of whom were members of lay confraternities and knew these simple chants by heart, must have drawn fresh inspiration as they sang such praises before the image of the saint, close to his revered burial place.

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70. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale: Banco Rari 18, Laudario of Santo Spirito, c.1310, L.87, fol. 119r; Banco Rari 19, Laudario of Sant'Egidio, 1340–50, L.82, fol. 51r. See Betka, *Marian Images* 70–102, for a detailed discussion of these richly illuminated manuscripts; for their catalogue entries see Appendix 3, 373–85 and 395–407 respectively. For the original Italian see *Il Codice 91* 250, 256. For an English translation of sections of these laude see Moleta, *St Francis to Giotto* 34, 36.

71. 'En vita tua santificasti,/ molti miraculi mostrasti/ quando del mondo trapasasti,/ e in cielo n'aparve grande splendore' Lauda 37 (*Laudar vollio per amore*) v. 14 (*Il Codice 91* 154). For an English translation of part of the laude see Moleta, *St Francis to Giotto* 34.

72. 'O lucerna, sole et luce,/ tu ne governa e ne conduce:/ si sia nostro porto et foce ora, sempre et tutte l'ore' Lauda 38 (*Sia laudato san Francesco*) v. 19 (*Il Codice 91* 262).

73. 'Cristo culli angeli tutti quanti/ et la sua madre colli sancti/vénaro per te con dolci canti/ menartene cum grande honore' Lauda 37 (*Laudar vollio per amore*) v. 16 (*Il Codice 91* 155).

The Assisi panel was also venerated as a contact relic of the saint. According to tradition the painting was executed on the boards upon which the body of St Francis was washed at his death.[74] Contact relics of St Francis, such as the bloodstained garment associated with the stigmata, had been recorded at San Cosimato in Trastevere at Rome by 1246.[75] Surviving relic containers, for example the Louvre Monstrance of St Francis c.1228–50 and the Assisi reliquary containing the *Robe in which St Francis had Died*, included representations of the saint displaying the stigmata.[76] That a panel painting might also be a relic of the saint portrayed was thus not an unfamiliar notion to pilgrims worshipping at St Francis' tomb.[77]

St Francis with Two Angels

The icon of *St Francis with Two Angels* [Fig. 54] was also deemed to be a contact relic of the saint.[78] At one time this painting resided within the Chapel of the Transitus, a pilgrimage shrine in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli on the plain of Assisi. This panel is integrally related to the cell in which St Francis had slept and later died, on 3 October 1226.[79] While the icon represents the saint in glory revered by angels, the various inscriptions on the panel, as we shall see, refer to the significance of its original location.[80] The tradition that the wooden support of the panel originally served as the bed and then the bier of the saint is not out of keeping with the unusually thick planks of pine which constitute this

74. Ludovico da Pietralunga, c.1571, described the location of this panel as hanging above the entrance to the sacristy in the Lower Church and as having long been revered as a relic of the saint: 'La ditta tavola over quadro, dicano che San Francesco vi fu lavato poi la morte, et poi fu tenta'. See Lunghi, *Basilica* 78; Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 56; and Scarpellini, 'Le Pitture' 34, 38.

75. J. Gardner, 'The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece' *ZKunstg* 43 (1982) 224–5.

76. For the Louvre Monstrance reliquary see M.M. Gauthier, *Highways of the Faith: Relics and Reliquaries from Jerusalem to Compostela* (Fribourg 1983) 138–40. For the Assisi reliquary, now in the Treasury-Museum of the Basilica of San Francesco, see Morello-Kanter, *Treasury* 166–9.

77. A panel embellished with silver leaf and embedded with relics had been donated to Assisi by Giovanni di Brienne, a Franciscan tertiary, when he was the Latin emperor of Constantinople (1228–37). S. Nessi, 'Il Tesoro di S. Francesco in Assisi: Formazione e dispersione' *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco* 14.

78. The painting measures more than a metre in height (108 x 58.5 cm).

79. See Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 77 and 81. A few metres away is another pilgrimage station — the 'Porziuncula' (little portion) — the third church to have been restored by Francis and his earliest band of followers; see Celano, 'First Life' 1.9.21 (Habig 246). Both of these hallowed sites are now under the vast umbrella of the pilgrimage Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli of Assisi, built in 1570 to enshrine key sites associated with the humble beginnings of the Franciscan order. G. Belluci et al., *Pilgrims in the Footsteps of the Saint: Jubilee 2000* (Assisi 1999) 57.

80. Now in the New Museum of the Porziuncola in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli.

support, along with its large size and elongated shape.[81] Perhaps too, in reference to the literal meaning of the inscription — 'this was my bed in life, and my bier after my death' — the artist has introduced a green rectangular framework with an overlayed pattern of silver, which is edged with a colourful border design, suggestive of both a bed and a funerary pall draped as a cloth of honour. In the ornate horizontal band rendered at the feet of the saint, which features a series of eagles encircled by a spiral motif, there may also be a reference to the embroidered fabrics preserved in the Assisi Treasury Museum. According to local tradition the two lengths of exotic silk, both of eastern origin, had covered the bier which transported the body of St Francis from the Porziuncola to the chapel of San Giorgio. Later, they also covered the coffin in its translation to the crypt tomb in San Francesco. The yellow length of silk is embellished with gold thread depicting polilobed circles of parrots and confronting griffins, echoing the decorative designs on the panel.[82] The addition, too, of a gilded poplar wood frame, inlaid with gems and semi-precious stones, is suggestive of a reliquary that enshrines a precious object.

W.R. Cook argues that the 'bed' quoted in the upper inscription does not allude to the wood of the painting but rather to the wood of Christ's cross and to the crucifix held by the saint.[83] He points out that Jacopone da Todi, in Lauda 71, describes the cross as Christ's metaphorical 'bed':

> At the head of the bed,
> Christ climbed onto the cross,
> Dying in pain, with a thief at His side.
> The sheets are spread out — winded contemplation,
> Through which man enfleshed can mirror divinity.[84]

Chiara Frugoni also believes that the upper inscription in the icon is a gloss on the crucifix that St Francis holds. Other relevant literary sources have also been cited in relation to this inscription, as, for example the description in the *Vitis mystica*, dubiously ascribed to Bonaventura: 'Ecce, positus est in lecto immiti,

81. Poplar was by far the most common timber used for panel paintings in Umbria during this period. See Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 72–6; Cook, *Images of St Francis* 67–8; Frugoni, *Francesco* 297. The panel of St Francis with Two Angels is venerated each year on the feast of the Transit of the saint, on the evening of 3 October; see Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 9.

82. The two revered lengths of silk are recorded in the 1338 inventory and the donor is indicated as the Greek Emperor. The donor may have been Giovanni di Brienne, an ardent follower of St Francis who had been king of Jerusalem and later, Latin Emperor of Constantinople; see R. Fanelli, 'Tessuti e Ricami' *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco* 79–81.

83. Cook, *Images of St Francis* 68. This view had been proposed earlier by Faloci Pulignani (1921), who argued that the *Hic* refers to the cross in the hand of the saint, adjacent to the word. However, if 'this' did indeed refer to the 'crux', it should rightly be written in the feminine form as *Haec*. See Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 77 and n.154.

84. Lauda 71: 'As the Bridegroom with His Bride Christ rests with the Virtuous Soul' (v. 6). See *Jacopone* 218–19.

mortis videlicet, crucem dico' ('Behold, he has been placed in a cruel bed, a death bed, I mean the cross...').[85]

Another significant inscription appears on the lower section of the panel and is also a unique inclusion. It is based on a papal bull of Gregory IX issued in 1237 which affirmed the authenticity of the stigmata.[86] Along with the depiction of the four marks in the saint's hands and feet, the bleeding wound in his side is clearly visible through a tear in the habit. This 'new icon', in conjunction with its inscribed texts, thus celebrates the stigmata as the miracle which marks St Francis' identification with Christ and is proof of his sanctified life.[87] Perhaps to reinforce the saint's oneness with the Lord, both inscriptions are presented as icon-prayers that are uttered by the saint in heaven. While the bold text on the book acts as a literal endorsement of the wood as the venerated 'bed relic' of the saint, its metaphorical allusions to Christ's death on the 'bed' of the Cross — along with the superimposition of the Saviour's wounds on the body of Francis — link Christ's crucifixion with the death of the saint. Further, since by tradition an icon mediates the presence of the glorified being it represents, the reference to the wood of the panel as a sanctified relic is all the more potent.

When pilgrims knelt before this icon and sang 'Let St Francis be praised, who appeared nailed to the cross like the Redeemer', they expressed their belief in the miraculous stigmata and acknowledged the saint's likeness to Christ and his share in his redemptive death.[88] That the stigmata signified St Francis' great love for Christ and were therefore a symbol of union as well as suffering, is also proclaimed in a stanza of this lauda:

> Made to resemble Christ,
> He was branded with His wounds,
> Because he had carried
> The love for Him written in his heart.[89]

These two early panel paintings of St Francis in Assisi occupy an important place in the history of the sacred portrait. They signal a new type of venerated image created in Italy under the impetus of the Franciscans — one which embraces the formal and theological import of the Byzantine icon tradition but at the same time expresses the distinctive character of an Italian spiritual hero of known origins and recent memory. While the function of the eastern icon as a

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85. Cited by Frugoni, *Francesco* 297, n.160.

86. Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 86.

87. Frugoni, *Francesco* 6–7. Cook, *Images of St Francis* 68, suggests that the painting was commissioned 'at a time when there was a dispute over the authenticity of Francis' wounds during the pontificate of Alexander IV (1254–61) and is probably the earliest painting to show the side wound through a tear in his habit.'

88. Between 1255 and 1259 Pope Alexander IV promulgated three Bulls which aimed to promote popular devotion towards the stigmata of St Francis as a means of the remission of their sins. See Lunghi, *Il Crocefisso* 87.

89. 'A Cristo fo configurato: / de le piaghe fo signato/ emperciò k'avĕa portato / scripto in core lu suo amore' Lauda 38 (*Sia laudato san Francesco*) v. 1 (*Il Codice 91* 256–7).

medium of communion with God is retained, it is attuned to refer to specific locations in relation to the cult in Assisi. By the inclusion of selective miracle scenes and unique inscriptions, these new icons of St Francis established the sites of his death and entombment as the epicentre of grace and efficacious prayer.

Margaret Manion

Authentication, Theology and Narrative in the Gospel Book of Theophanes

The Australian Association for Byzantine Studies has long had a close relationship with The Gospel Book of Theophanes in the National Gallery of Victoria (MS Felton 710–5), having early adopted its dedicatory frontispiece as part of the Association's logo.* Produced in Constantinople in the second quarter of the twelfth century, this manuscript is a fine example of book illumination during a period of significant cultural renewal in the capital. At the time of its acquisition by the National Gallery of Victoria in 1961, the work was the subject of a detailed study by Hugo Buchthal, and since then it has regularly featured in the ever-growing literature on this period.[1] Research to date has centred largely on the book's unusual frontispiece, its Canon Tables, and its links with other contemporary manuscripts through both script and decoration. This paper aims to demonstrate that, while the illumination of the Gospel Book of Theophanes is

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*To Roger Scott who contributed so significantly to the founding of the Association, and the advancement of Byzantine Studies in this country, I dedicate this paper.

1. See H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of About 1100 AD* (Melbourne 1961) 1–12; M. Chatzidakis, ed., *Byzantine Art, An European Art* (Athens 1964) no. 311; C. Meredith, 'The Illustration of Codex Ebnerianus: A Study in Liturgical Illustration of the Comnenian Period' *JWarb* 29 (1966) 419–24; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Byzantina Neerlandica 6 (Leiden 1976); M.J. Riddle, 'Byzantine Manuscripts' *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* ed. M.M. Manion & V.F. Vines (Melbourne 1984) 23–6; R.S. Nelson, 'Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of AD 1133' *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) 53–78; Ian Potter Gallery & University of Melbourne Museum of Art, *Gold and Vellum: Illuminated Manuscripts in Australia and New Zealand, 2 August–30 September 1989* (Parkville 1989); N.P. Ševčenko, 'Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as Represented in Byzantine Works of Art'. *Byzance et les images: cycle de conférences organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992* ed. A. Guillou & J. Durand (Paris 1994) 255–85 and fig. 18; I. Spatharakis, 'An Illuminated Greek Grammar MS in Jerusalem' *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London 1996) 107–28; N.P. Ševčenko, 'Liturgical Roll' *Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, AD 843–1261* ed. H.C. Evans & W.D. Wixom (New York 1997) no. 64; J. Spier & G. Morrison, *San Marco and Venice* (Melbourne 1997) no. 4; S. Gentile, ed., *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente. Catalogo della mostra. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 2 luglio–14 novembre 1998* (Milan 1998) 198; P. Green, *The Book of Kells and the Art of Illumination: An Exhibition* (Canberra 2000) no. 19; N.P. Ševčenko, 'The 24 Virtues in Two Comnenian Gospel Books' 20 *CEB* [Paris 2001] *Pré-actes* 2: *Tables Rondes* 97; M.M. Manion, *The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in The National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 2005) 25–97. This book reproduces in colour the decorative and illustrative programme of the Gospel Book of Theophanes. The paper presented here is a version of the relevant chapter in the book; it is more specifically directed, however, to the theme of this conference.

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rooted in ancient tradition, certain illustrative and narrative elements reflect more recent influences in Byzantine art and its contact with the west.

The book consists of 254 folios measuring 24.2 x 17.4 cm with folios 252v–253v being tables of lections which have been added in a later hand. The original text is written by the one scribe in a Byzantine minuscule in brown ink, except for the list of chapters and titles, the Canon Tables, and the opening page of each Gospel, which are in gold.[2] The manuscript opens with a frontispiece, [Fig. 58] which shows a tall monk, wearing a black habit and brown mantle, offering his book in its jewelled cover to the Virgin and Child. Mary appears in the stately form of *Hodegetria*, or Mary the Guide, in which she presents her divine son to the world. The dedicatory inscription in classical iambic metre, written in gold above this scene states:

ἄνασσα πάντων ὡς θεοῦ μήτηρ λόγου
δοτὴρ καταυτὸ καὶ γραφεὺς τῆς πυξίδος
καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐργάτης ποικιλμάτων
σὸς ναζιραῖος οἰκέτης Θεοφάνης
Queen of all as Mother of God the Word
The donor as well as the scribe of the book
And worker of the embellishments within it
Your monk and servant Theophanes

A letter of Eusebius of Caesarea to his episcopal colleague, Carpianus, together with an elaborately decorated set of his Canon Tables [Figs 59–61] prefaces the text of the Gospels. Each Gospel is introduced by a list of chapters or *Kephalaia*, written in gold and headed by a decorative headband. The last page of St Luke's Gospel and the *Kephalaia* for the Gospel of St John are now missing. The beginning of each Gospel is marked by a splendid ornamental headpiece surmounted by animals or birds, and the text itself is introduced by a decorated or historiated initial [Figs 63–66]. In the margin on the upper right of each of these pages appears the figure of a prophet holding a scroll. The names of the figures are written in red beside them, but the words on their scrolls are no longer discernible, and only faint imprints remain of the frames of the evangelist portraits which once faced these pages. The book is now bound in modern crimson velvet.

Although the life and deeds of Christ have given rise to an abundance of narrative imagery over the centuries, the early illuminated Gospel Book is not distinguished to any notable degree by narrative illustration. This, moreover, is in marked contrast to Old Testament book illustration. The sixth-century Vienna Genesis, for example, is remarkable for the continuous narrative it provides of the lives of the patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph; and the contemporary, now fragmentary Cotton Genesis narrated in great detail the story of the Creation and Fall and the deeds of the patriarchs, as its faithful reflection in the thirteenth-century mosaics of S. Marco clearly indicates.[3]

2.   For a full description of the Gospel Book of Theophanes, see Manion, *Felton* 25–97.
3.   For the *Vienna Genesis* (Vienna, ÖNB MS theol. gr. 31), see O. Mazal, *Kommentar zur Wiener Genesis: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex theol. gr. 31 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Frankfurt am Main 1980); K.

A quite different emphasis informs the illustration of early Gospel Books such as the Syriac Rabbula Gospels, signed and dated by the monk Zagba of Mesopotamia in the year 586.[4] Here the principal illustration, which is concentrated at the beginning (the western end) of the book, consists of portraits of Eusebius and Ammonius, together with a small group of full-page compositions relating to Christ, Mary Theotokos, and the mission of the Church. Some of these miniatures may reflect monumental paintings or mosaics and only one, which depicts the Crucifixion and Resurrection, relates directly to the Gospel text. A large number of preliminary pages — some nineteen in all — are devoted to the Canon Tables. Already the decorative format, which will continue throughout the centuries, is clearly articulated: simulated antique columns, surmounted by arches filled with ornamental patterns, frame the Tables, and birds and animal motifs appear in the margins. Also featuring in the margins is a series of small illustrations of events from Christ's life, from the Annunciation to Zachary up to the Crucifixion. André Grabar has defined these abbreviated or summary pictures as 'image signs', whose function is to call to mind the contents of the text rather than to elaborate its narrative and dramatic qualities.[5] While varying in placement and selection, the narrative illustration in other early Gospel Books is similarly low keyed or else related to liturgical celebration and associated monumental compositions.[6]

Concentration of decoration on the Canon Tables was not due simply to their introductory nature. There was also a theological reason. When Eusebius devised these Tables some time between 314 and 339, his intention, as his letter to Carpianus explains, was to demonstrate the unique character of each Gospel and at the same time the harmony which exists among all four. Hence his division of the Gospels into numbered sections arranged in vertical lists so as to display the common passages across the various combinations of four, three and two texts, and those unique to each Gospel.[7]

These Canon Tables emphasised the authority and authenticity of the Gospels. The teachings of Christ and belief in the redemptive nature of his life,

Weitzmann, *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination* (New York 1977). For the *Cotton Genesis* (London, B.L. Codex Cotton Otho B. VI) see K. Weitzmann & H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI* (Princeton 1986); J. Lowden, 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis' *Gesta* 31 (1992) 40–53.

4. For the *Rabbula Gospels* (Florence, Laur. MS Plut. I. 56), see *The Rabbula Gospels* eds. C. Cecchelli, G. Furlani & M. Salmi (Olten 1959); D. Wright, 'The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels' *DOP* 27 (1973) 197–208. For early biblical illustration see J. Lowden, 'The Beginnings of Biblical Illustration' *Imaging The Early Medieval Bible* ed. J. Williams (University Park PA 1999); M. Manion, 'The Early Illuminated Gospel Book: Liturgical Sources and Influences' *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 2 ed. P. Allen, W. Mayer & L. Cross (Everton Park Qld. 1999) 155–71, figs 1–16.

5. See A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins* tr. T. Grabar (Princeton 1968, rp. 1980) especially 7–19, 89–94.

6. See Grabar, *Iconography* 89–94; Manion, 'Gospel Book' 166–70.

7. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Letter to Carpianus on the gospel canons* tr. M. Del Cogliano (http://www.tertullian.org./fathers/eusebius_letter_to_carpianus.htm).

death and resurrection were handed on at first orally, but as the generation of his companions and disciples began to disappear it was considered necessary to record them in written form. The Gospels were written between 60 and 100 AD, and their writers drew both on oral tradition and collected sayings of Christ, which were already being circulated among believers. In the first instance, each Gospel was addressed to a particular local community, and in the early period there were more than four.[8] Eusebius's systematisation of the four canonical Gospels emphasised the authoritative nature of these particular texts, as well as their interrelationship. In this respect, his Tables are closely related to another important element in the early illuminated Gospel Book, namely the author or evangelist portrait.

Like the Canon Tables, the evangelist portrait is present in the earliest known Gospel Books, and it persists as a key element in Gospel illustration in both the east and the west. Each of the evangelists is credited with either having had direct contact with Christ (St Matthew and St John), or else being an intimate of one such companion or disciple (St Mark with St Peter, and St Luke with the Virgin and St Paul). Their depiction combines the classical tradition of the author portrait with the formal accreditation of the Gospel text as been handed down intact by the believing community. Thus the evangelist portraits, together with the Canon Tables, endow the text with the stamp of authority and authenticity. Already, too, in the Rabbula Gospels, prophet figures feature at the top of the Canon Tables' pages, signalling a typological interpretation of the Scriptures in which the sayings and events of the Old Testament are seen to prefigure those of the New.[9]

The illumination of the twelfth-century Gospel Book of Theophanes is basically in keeping with this ancient tradition. As with a number of Byzantine Gospel Books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, its Canon Tables are remarkable for their elaborate embellishment [Figs 59–61].[10] The Tables themselves are written in gold, in a series of vertical rows framed by illusionistic marble columns in green, blue and red. These are often of a mottled pattern and knotted in the middle, and they are topped by ornamental headpieces set on shimmering gold grounds. Originally these were designed to match one another across a double-page opening, but the loss of two folios now somewhat obscures this rhythmic arrangement. Strong reds and blues are offset with softer greens and pinks and white filigree work; and the basic curving tendril and foliate design also incorporates arches and geometrical motifs as well as fruits, berries, birds and flowers. Pairs of lively birds or animals confront one another at the top of the headpieces and corner palmettes project into the borders.

Buchthal drew attention to the fact that the decoration of these Canon Tables also incorporates two distinctive illustrative themes, which, unlike those in

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8. See R.E. Brown, 'Canonicity' *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* ed. R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer & R.E. Murphy (London 1989, pbk. ed. 1997) 1043–7.

9. Grabar, *Iconography* 91.

10. For examples of other elaborate Byzantine and Armenian Canon Tables, see *Glory of Byzantium* nos. 46, 240 and 243.

earlier Gospel Books, do not allude to the literary contents of the text.[11] The series of small figures on the columns of the first two pages of the Canon Tables (fols. 3–3v) refer to the medieval calendar, with classical personifications or appropriate activities illustrating each month [Fig. 59]. In keeping with the Byzantine year which began in the month of September, the figures on these two folios, all appropriately labelled in red, encompass the first six months of the year (September to February) The series then breaks off because of the two missing folios; but the programme can be confidently reconstructed, since it exists in full in a closely related Gospel Book, now in the Marciana Library, Venice (Ms Gr Z 540).[12] Not only are the Venice Gospels written by the same scribe as that of the Melbourne Gospels but the decorative and figurative styles of the two manuscripts are also closely related. A third manuscript, a Georgian Gospel Book, called the Vani Gospels (Georgia, Tbilisi, MS A. 1335) which was produced in Constantinople at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, has the same illustrative programme, although the figures are somewhat differently arranged.[13] The Canon Tables of another manuscript, also Georgian, the Lapskaldi Gospels, Mestra, MS 482, have illustrations of the months.[14]

In the west, from the twelfth century on, calendars illustrated with the signs of the zodiac and personifications and labours of the months appear increasingly in books such as psalters, missals and breviaries, and later in books of hours. They also feature in monumental art, on the tympana, archivolts and lower walls of the portals of medieval churches. This tradition of calendar illustration which derives from antiquity was also preserved in the east, where, however, it was more conservatively used and where it maintained a stronger element of the classical personification alongside the depiction of contemporary agricultural and genre activities.[15] The little figures in the Canon Tables of the Melbourne Gospels exemplify this blend, although one needs to refer to the full complement in the Venice Gospels to discern this, since the surviving group in the Melbourne manuscript accentuate seasonal activities such as harvesting the vintage (September) and sowing the seed (December). Reference to the Venice Gospels (fol. 3v) indicates that March was portrayed as a warrior after the god Mars, and the flower bearer of May recalled an ancient rite of spring [Fig. 62].

11. Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 2–8.

12. See Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 2–8; Spier-Morrison, *San Marco* no. 5; Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 63–7, 74; *Oriente cristiano* no 26.

13. For the Vani Gospels see E. Takaichvili, 'Antiquités géorgiennes 1: L'Évangile de Vani' *Byz* 10 (1935) 655–63, pls. 38–40; V. Beridze et al., *The Treasures of Georgia* tr. B. Penman (London 1984); Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 2; Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 63 and n. 52; H. Buchthal, 'Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century' *JbBM* 25 (1983) 27–102, no. 36, no. 40, figs 14–16; A. Saminsky, 'Masterskaya Gruzinskoi i Grečeskoi knigi v Konstantinople XII – načala XIII veca' *Muzej* 10 (1989) 184–216 ('A Workshop of Georgian and Greek Books in Constantinople in the 12th and early 13th century' English summary 269); A. Saminsky, 'A Reference to Jerusalem in a Georgian Gospel Book' *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997–8) fig.17, 354–69.

14. See Saminsky, 'Masterskaya' 184–216 (with colour plates); Saminsky, 'Jerusalem'.

15. For calendar illustration, see T. Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars* (London 1998).

While the inclusion of calendar illustration at this place in a Byzantine Gospel Book is decidedly novel, and may suggest some influence from the west, it is, nevertheless, liturgically appropriate, especially in a book whose tables, lists of chapters and lections, and marked passages order the text for use in public worship.

Another series of figures follows that of the calendar. The names of the predominantly female personifications are written in red beside them, and they are also identifiable, to some extent, by gesture or attribute [Fig. 60]. Buchthal proposed that these figures are related to illustrations devised in the eleventh century to accompany an ancient treatise called the *Heavenly Ladder* by St John Climacus, which he described as 'a monastic text par excellence, a kind of spiritual exercise of great psychological power, containing discussions of the virtues which a monk should cultivate, and of the vices which he should banish from himself.'[16] Eighteen virtues remain in the Melbourne Gospels today, but reference to its Venetian counterpart indicates that originally there were twenty-four. The names of the six virtues on the recto and verso of the missing folio can be readily deduced from the Venice Gospels, since, as with the calendar, the two programmes are virtually identical.

Although the depiction of the virtues in the Gospel Book of Theophanes may be related to some extent to the illustrated treatise of St John Climacus, there are nevertheless important differences. Not only are these personifications removed from the allegorical context of the ladder or heavenly ascent, which underpins the illustrations of that text, but a rather different array of virtues is represented — only nine out of the twenty-four overlap with those of Climacus — and, for the most part, they are grouped in related sets of three on each folio, for example *Almsgiving, Welldoing and Kindness of Heart* (fol. 5, Fig. 59) and *Wisdom, Contemplation and Action* (fol. 6). Nancy Ševčenko has shown that several of these virtues also appear in imperial literary and artistic contexts and that the unusual representation of Theophanes in the frontispiece, haloed and of imposing dimensions, also has imperial overtones.[17]

The identity of the six unlabelled column figures on the last two pages of the Canon Tables of the Melbourne manuscript remains conjectural. They have sometimes been interpreted as belonging to a fanciful world of exotic performers like those who appear at the base of the columns of the Venice Gospels. The Melbourne figures, however, are imbued with greater decorum and certain images in the Climacus cycles offer interesting comparisons. André Grabar identified a figure in the Codex Ebnerianus (Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T. inf. I. 10), similar to the one in ritual dress on the central column on fol. 7 [Fig. 61] as a conjurer; but the image may also be compared with the illustration of the vice of blasphemy in a twelfth century manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* at Mt Sinai (MS gr. 418, fol. 189v), where a priest stands behind an altar on which is a chalice and a gold paten, and holds out a host, while a man gestures in speech on the right. 'Blasphemy' states Climacus, 'is wont to slander the Lord during the

16. Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 8. See also J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954).

17. See Ševčenko, 'Virtues' 97.

holy services themselves, and even at the awful hour of the mysteries.'[18] By
contrast, the figure on the left with a basket on his shoulder resembles depictions
of a monk on pilgrimage in the Climacus cycles, an image which signifies the
renunciation of a worldly life. Here he seems to be holding a wreath or crown.
This usually denotes the reward of virtue, and may indicate the virtuous state of
the dedicated 'pilgrim-monk' by contrast to the blasphemer on the right. Again,
the gestures of the two figures that stand on the two outer columns of fol. 7v
resemble those of the penitents in a Climacus manuscript in the Vatican Library
(MS Vat.gr.394, fol. 43v), who are 'crushed by the weight of their conscience',
while the upraised hands of the central figure compare with those shown praying
for forgiveness.[19]

The insertion of these illustrative series into the decoration of the Canon
Tables reveals both a respect for their traditional ornamentation and a desire to
relate the message of the Gospel to contemporary experience. Allusion to the
changing activities and seasons in the calendar emphasises the fact that the Word
of God is relevant to both daily toil and seasonal festivity, while the innovative
depiction of the virtues in association with both the calendar and the Canon
Tables reflects a longstanding familiarity with the Gospel texts based on prayer
and meditation, as well as with a continuing tradition of related moral
philosophy. Like the 'image signs' of early Gospel Book illustration, these little
figures are the stuff of summary thematic allusion rather than detailed narrative.
In as much, however, as they relate the Gospel texts to the passage of time
measured by the changing seasons and sequential liturgical celebration, and
characterise the living out of the Gospel precepts with specific reference among
the virtues to those required of the medieval monk, they present the sacred texts
within the narrative dimensions of salvation history, highlighting particular
aspects of monastic life in twelfth-century Constantinople and perhaps also, as
Nancy Ševčenko suggests, its imperial connections.[20]

In the early thirteenth century, images of the virtues and vices join those of
the labours of the months and the signs of the zodiac on the socles of French
Gothic cathedral portals, providing an earthy gloss so-to-speak on the subjects of
the tympana and column figures.[21] Placed in the context of the Canon Tables of
the Byzantine Gospel Book, the themes of the calendar and the virtues also
embellish portals which open onto the sacred mysteries within.[22]

18. Martin, *Heavenly Ladder* 61, fig. 87.
19. See Martin, *Heavenly Ladder* 97, fig. 205.
20. Ševčenko, 'Virtues' 97.
21. According to Willibald Sauerländer, the virtues and vices on the socle of the centre
    doorway of the west portal of Notre Dame de Paris (1210–1220) are the first to
    appear in this position in connection with the Last Judgement theme, although they
    occur earlier in the archivolts in relation to the Virgin as at Laon (1195–1205). See
    W. Sauerlander & M. Hirmer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* tr. J.
    Sondheimer (New York 1973) 453, pls. 151 (Paris, Notre Dame) 70–1 (Laon
    cathedral).
22. For mystical interpretations of the Canon Tables especially in Armenian Gospel
    Books see T.F. Mathews & A.K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The
    Tradition of the Glajor Gospel* DOS 29 (Washington 1991) 169–73, 206–11.

More explicit narrative scenes may have been associated originally with the other main focus of decoration in the Melbourne manuscript, namely the beginning of each of the four Gospels [Figs 63–6]. In Middle Byzantine Gospel Books, a full-page miniature of an evangelist portrait customarily faced these pages. This was originally the case with the Melbourne book but unfortunately the relevant leaves have been torn out and the faint imprints on the opposite pages are insufficient to determine the precise nature of these compositions. A group of manuscripts, however, associated stylistically with the Gospel Book of Theophanes, are instructive here, especially the closely related Venice Gospels.

The style and decoration of the Melbourne book associate it with a group of artists who were responsible for some of the finest manuscripts produced in Constantinople in the first half of the twelfth century. Named Kokkinobaphos after the Master who illuminated a copy of the *Homilies on the Life of the Virgin*, written in the Monastery of the Virgin of the Kokkinobaphos, c.1125–1150, this group of illuminators had wide affiliations and were not confined to one workshop.[23] In a number of the manuscripts emanating from the group, the portrayal of the evangelists is accompanied by a series of narrative scenes. This is exemplified in The Venice Gospels: St Matthew is coupled with the Nativity of Christ (fol. 14v, Fig. 67); St Mark with the Baptism of Christ (fol. 89v, Fig. 68); St Luke with the Nativity of St John the Baptist (fol. 141v, Fig. 69); and St John with the *Anastasis* or Resurrection (fol. 215v, Fig. 70). Cecilia Meredith has pointed out that these scenes are based on iconic representations of four great feasts of the Byzantine Church, and that the Gospel passages to which they relate in the liturgy for these feasts are taken from the opening chapters of the four Gospels: hence the combination of these scenes with the evangelist portraits as introductory illustrations to the Gospel texts.[24] Meredith lists some eighteen manuscripts that follow this pattern. There is some variation in the choice of festal scenes in the group, principally the depiction of the Annunciation instead of the Birth of the Baptist for the Gospel of St Luke, but overall the subjects are remarkably consistent.[25]

The similarity between other parts of the Venice Gospels and the Gospel Book of Theophanes suggests that the same series of scenes may have accompanied the evangelist portraits in the Melbourne book. Further indication that this may have been the case is provided by the prophet figures in the margins of the text pages opposite. Although depictions of the prophets are not unusual in Gospel Books, the selection in the Melbourne Gospels is quite distinctive, and relates directly to the feasts celebrated in the illustrations of the

23. For the *Homilies* (Vat. gr. 1162) and the Kokkinobaphos Master, see *Glory of Byzantium* nos. 62, 144. For the Kokkinobaphos group see Nelson, 'Theoktistos' especially 63–77.

24. Meredith, 'Ebnerianus' 419–24.

25. For examples, see also *Glory of Byzantium* nos. 49, 144. These books vary considerably in size. The very small dimensions of some suggest that they were used for devotional rather than liturgical purposes; but it is not always easy to make this distinction, since the lections for particular feasts are sometimes also marked in devotional books.

Venice manuscript and other books of the group. The prophet who accompanies the Gospel of St Matthew is Jeremiah [Fig. 63]. In the west, Jeremiah appears in association with St Peter in illustrations of the first item of the Apostles Creed, which acknowledges God the Father as the all-powerful creator. In the fourteenth-century calendars of the *Petites Heures* and the *Grandes Heures* of Jean de Berry, for example, Peter holds a scroll with the inscription 'I believe in one God the Father Almighty, creator of heaven and earth' while the corresponding prophet's scroll is based on Jeremiah 29:12 and 10:12, 'And you shall call upon me as Father'...He that makes the earth by his power... and stretches out the heavens by his knowledge'. The prophet's words are spoken as part of his affirmation that the creative power of the God of Israel sets him apart from the false gods of the pagans. In the same spirit the Byzantine liturgy interprets the Nativity of Christ as a festival of re-creation which manifests God's transformation of the natural world through the incarnation. The worshippers are summoned to express their faith in this mystery in an extract from a wisdom poem attributed to Jeremiah: '(And the stars... have shined forth to him that made them). This is our God, and there shall no other be accounted of in comparison of him. He found out all the way of knowledge, and gave it to Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved. Afterwards he was seen upon earth, and conversed with men...(Baruch 3:35–38).'[26] A composite illustration of St Matthew and the Nativity is thus in keeping with the representation of Jeremiah at the beginning of this Gospel [Fig. 67].[27]

A similar situation exists with the other three openings. The prophet Isaiah introduces the Gospel of St Mark, which opens with an account of the preaching of St John and his baptism of Christ [Fig. 64]. In Mark's account (Mk 1:2–3), the Baptist quotes Isaiah, 'As it is written in Isaiah the prophet: Behold I send my angel before your face, who shall prepare the way before you. A voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare the way of the Lord; make straight his ways.' The Baptism of Christ, which accompanies the portrait of St Mark on the

26. The verses cited here and in the Byzantine liturgy as from Jeremiah and Baruch, are now thought to date much later (See G.P. Couturier, 'Jeremiah' *Jerome Commentary* 277). It could be argued that since the Gospel readings for the extended celebration of the feast of the Nativity include events surrounding Christ's birth up to the Flight into Egypt, the depiction of Jeremiah may refer to Matthew's citation of the prophet in relation to the Massacre of the Innocents (2: 17–18) This is not the main emphasis, however, of the feast, and Matthew cites several prophets in these early chapters. The fact that David is associated with the prologue of John's Gospel, although he is not cited in the text, clearly indicates that the presence of these figures relates to the festal context of the Gospel passages.

27. For the Calendar of the *Petites Heures* (Paris, B.N. MS lat. 18014) see F. Avril, L. Dunlop & B. Yapp, *Les Petites Heures de Jean, duc de Berry: Introduction au manuscrit lat. 18014 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris* (Lucerne 1989) 207–22. For January in the *Grandes Heures* (Paris, B.N. MS lat. 919) see M. Thomas, 'Introduction and Legends' *The Grandes Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York 1971) pl. 2, and commentary opposite. For the feast of the Nativity in the Byzantine liturgy, see L. Ouspensky & V. Lossky. *The Meaning of Icons* (2nd ed. Crestwood N.Y. 1982) 157–60 and *The Festal Menaion* tr. Mother Mary and K. Ware (London 1977) 221–89.

opposite page in the Venice Gospels, is the subject of the festal icon for the feast of the Epiphany, or the Theophany as it is called in the eastern Church, and this account by St Mark is read on the Sunday preceding the feast as part of the celebration [Fig. 68].

The appearance of Zachary, the father of John the Baptist, in the guise of a prophet on the first page of the Gospel of St Luke refers to his hymn of praise at the birth of his son, which begins 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel: because he hath visited and wrought the redemption of his people' (Lk 1:68, Fig. 65). Zachary bridges the Old and New Dispensations, and his depiction is in keeping with a joint illustration of St Luke and the Nativity of the Baptist which is recounted in the first chapter of this Gospel, a passage which is also included in the liturgy for the feast of the Baptist [Fig. 69].

The representation of David at the beginning of St John's Gospel in the Melbourne book is particularly instructive The scene accompanying the portrait of St John the Evangelist in the Venice Gospels is the *Anastasis*, which celebrates the resurrection of Christ and his deliverance of those who had waited in hope for his coming [Fig. 66]. This event is not related in St John, nor indeed anywhere in the Gospels. The *Anastasis*, however, is the subject of the festal icon associated with the Resurrection, and in the Byzantine liturgy the prologue of St John's Gospel is read on Easter Sunday in celebration of the divinity of Christ, which is manifested in his resurrection and profoundly attested by the Gospel prologue [Fig. 70].

The portrayal of David as a prophet in this context further emphasises the connection between the festal icon and the words of St John. In the depiction of the *Anastasis* from the ninth century on, an old and bearded King David and his youthful son King Solomon are the primary witnesses to Christ's triumphant raising up of Adam and Eve from the underworld of death, an act which also signifies Christ's own resurrection. In her study of the development and significance of this theme in Byzantine art, Anna Kartsonis highlights the importance of the joint representation of David and Solomon, and demonstrates how it derives from the messianic interpretation of Psalm 71.[28] This psalm begins with a dedication of David to Solomon and is dynastic in spirit, with David praying on behalf of his son: 'Give to the King thy judgement, O God, and to the King's son thy justice.' It came to be viewed in messianic terms, and Christians interpreted it as referring to the mystery of Christ, the Divine Logos, taking on human flesh as a descendant of David. The presence of David and Solomon in the *Anastasis* is thus a reminder of the humanity of Christ at the very moment when he demonstrates his divinity through his power over death. This explains why David accompanies the prologue of St John's Gospel in the Melbourne book, and why this passage, with its emphasis on both the divinity and humanity of Christ Logos, was selected for the liturgy of Easter. In this context, the festal icon of the *Anastasis*, which probably appeared in association with a portrait of the evangelist on the opposite page, articulates the theme: 'And we saw his

28. A.D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 186–203.

glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth' (Jn 1:14).

Meredith has proposed that the selection of these particular subjects to accompany the evangelists' portraits was probably influenced by prologues of the Church Fathers referring to these themes, which appear in some Gospel manuscripts.[29] It should also be borne in mind that the linking of Gospel texts with appropriate festal icons appears earlier in another liturgical book, the Lectionary, in which Gospel passages are arranged according to the feasts of the year. The origins of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionary go back at least to the ninth century, and by the tenth century the practice of introducing particular Gospel passages with miniatures based on the relevant festal icons was well developed.[30] Thus, this group of Gospel Books adapted a pattern of illustration devised in the first instance for the Lectionary. That these images continued to evoke associations with the liturgy is clear from the prophet figures in the Gospel Book of Theophanes, which also relate to the readings for these feasts.

The ornamental initials which introduce the Gospel texts in the Gospel Book of Theophanes also enrich the book's illustrative programme. The initial introducing the Gospel of St Matthew shows the bust of a youthful beardless Christ Logos (fol. 10, Fig. 63). The depiction of Christ in majesty has a long tradition in Gospel Book illustration, in both the east and the west, although it does not appear as consistently as the evangelist portrait. The illustrative programme of the Venice Gospels, however, includes introductory miniatures both of Christ enthroned in Majesty (fol. 11v) and of a standing, majestic Christ blessing the four evangelists (fol. 12v). Gordon Morrison has observed that the roundel-like image of the beardless Christ Logos or Christ Emmanuel in the initial of the Melbourne Book may help to date this manuscript, since this classical depiction of Christ seems not to have been revived in the capital until the reign of the emperor Manuel Comnenos (1144), when it appears on his coinage.[31] Placed at the beginning of St Matthew's Gospel, the image resonates with the acknowledgement of Christ as the Creator and Lord of all, which, as we have seen, was probably also signalled in the words of Jeremiah in the margin above, and in the depiction of the Nativity as the festival of re-creation on the opposite page. The image of the youthful Christ Emmanuel appears in similar fashion on a contemporary liturgical roll now in the monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos, and Nancy Ševčenko has drawn attention to the architectural evocation of a church in this miniature which occurs in several frontispieces around the middle of the twelfth century, including the Gospel Book of Theophanes.[32]

29. Meredith, 'Ebnerianus' 422–3.
30. For the Lectionary see K. Weitzmann, 'The Narrative and Liturgical Gospel Illustrations' *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago 1971) 247–70. For the influences of the Lectionary on Gospel Book illustration, see especially 264–6.
31. Spier-Morrison, *San Marco* 19.
32. For the *Liturgical Roll* (Patmos, MS 707 Roll 1), see. Ševčenko, 'Roll': *Glory of Byzantium* no. 64.

The initial on the opening page of St John's Gospel in both the Melbourne (fol. 198, Fig. 66) and the Venice Gospels (fol. 216) shows the hand of God raised in blessing. While a blessing hand appears in many contexts in Byzantine art, representations of St John are distinguished from the other evangelists in a number of contemporary manuscripts by the presence of this motif. This composition probably derives from a late tenth-century author portrait of St John which prefaced a legendary story of his life. This depicts him as a standing figure dictating the Gospel to his seated disciple Prochoros; at the same time the evangelist looks up to the hand of God in the heavens, the source of his inspiration. The appearance of the divine hand exclusively in relation to St John in evangelist portraits seems to have given rise to the popular interpretation that of the four holy writers, he conveyed most powerfully the sense of divine inspiration. The presence of this motif in the introductory initial of St John's Gospel in both the Melbourne and Venice books no doubt refers to this tradition.[33]

The initial for St Luke's Gospel which depicts two birds and an animal attacking a hare does not seem to have any symbolic significance [Fig. 65]; but the delightful anecdotal image, at the beginning of St Mark's Gospel, which shows a Stylites figure atop his pillar, with his few wants being attended to by a fellow monk, is redolent of the monastic context in which the book originated [Fig. 63].[34]

It is clear, both from its dedicatory frontispiece and from other features of its illustration, that the Gospel Book of Theophanes was produced in a monastery in Constantinople probably around the middle of the twelfth century. Buchthal suggested that the representation of Mary as the Virgin *Hodegetria* might indicate that the monastery in question was the *Hodegon* which was said to house the ancient icon of that name.[35] This was, however, a common way of representing the Virgin. More recently, because of its connections with a New Testament now in the J.Paul Getty Museum Los Angeles, MS, 83 MB.68 (Ludwig II 4), in which the Letter of Eusebius and the Canon Tables are written by the same scribe, the Gospel Book of Theophanes has been associated with the monastery of St John the Baptist, or Petra-Prodromos in Petra, Constantinople, which had imperial connections. Theoktistos, who wrote and signed the main text of the Getty New Testament also made a copy of the *Menaion* for November (Paris, BnF, MS gr. 1570) for Abbot Maximos of Petra-Prodromos in 1127 and a

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33. For the illustration of St John in the compilation of Symeon Metaphrastes and its migration into Gospel Books and lectionaries, see R.P. Bergman, 'Portraits of the Evangelists in Greek Manuscripts' *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* ed. G. Vikan (Princeton 1973) 44–9. For the rendering of St John as the inspired one, see Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 71; *Glory of Byzantium* nos. 47, 60.

34. It might be noted, however, that programme of the Gospel Book of Theophanes was not regarded as referring exclusively to the monastic life. It is not known for whom the Venice Gospels was made but the patron of the later Vani Gospels was the Georgian Queen Tamar.

35. Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 12.

later note in this book on fol. 214v refers to the monastery of Petra/Prodromos.[36] There is no evidence, however, that Theoktistos wrote the Getty New Testament for this monastery or that he or Theophanes was ever resident there.

More significant are the indications resulting from recent research of the lively and complex interaction between both scribes and illuminators in Constantinople in the first half of the twelfth century. The cumulative evidence suggests that the person or persons responsible for the production of the Melbourne Gospel Book collaborated with both scribes and illuminators on several other commissions. The Venice Gospels, for example, which was written by the same hand as the Melbourne Book, and whose illustrative programme displays similar distinctive features, surely comes from the same scriptorium. Not only is the decorative vocabulary of the two manuscripts very close, but so, too, is their figurative style, if one compares the Melbourne frontispiece with the full-page miniatures that preface the Venice Gospels. Scholarly opinion leans to the view that the Melbourne manuscript is the more imaginative and more finely executed of the two and that the Venice Gospels is slightly later. Opinion is divided, however, as to whether the latter is by the same illuminator or an assistant or collaborator.[37]

The Gospel Book of Theophanes, therefore, emerges as the product of a monastic scriptorium/workshop, which was in touch with the latest developments in Constantinople, and may well have enjoyed imperial patronage.[38] A literal reading of its frontispiece and accompanying inscription identifies the scribe and illuminator of this manuscript with the donor monk, who proudly presents his large and expensive Gospel book to the Virgin *Hodegetria*. Was Theophanes both the abbot of his monastery and in charge of its book production, or was he simply claiming responsibility for the undertaking and supervision of this important commission? Certainly, the iconographical programme of this Gospel Book and its realisation reveal an understanding and respect for the traditional illumination of this genre. At the same time it testifies to a familiarity with monastic literature and more recent developments in the visual ornamentation of liturgical books. There are also indications of western contacts, for example in the use of calendar imagery as part of the introductory illustration to the book. In the closely related Venice Gospels, the four beasts surrounding the throne in the *Maiestas* composition on fol. 11v hold Gospel Books. The association of the evangelists and their Gospel books with the four living creatures was a longstanding tradition in the west. In the tenth century it also appears in Byzantine art, and appears more frequently in the twelfth century.

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36. See Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 55.
37. For views on the style of these two manuscripts, see also Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 12; Nelson, 'Theoktistos', 74; Spier-Morrison, *San Marco* 20 and *Oriente cristiano* 196–8.
38. The monastery of Petra-Prodromos, for example, enjoyed such eminent patronage. For the relationship between monasteries and the imperial family in Constantinople at this time, see Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 55, 75–7.

It may be that the use of this motif in a number of manuscripts in the Kokkinobaphos group reflects renewed influence from western models.[39]

Some of the innovatory characteristics of the Melbourne and Venice Gospels would seem to be as much associated with an artist-illuminator as with a learned adviser. The full-page composition of Christ blessing the four evangelists in the Venice Gospels (fol. 12v), for example, is a rare adaptation of the icon of the missioning of the Apostles, and the rendering of the Virgin *Hodegetria* in the frontispiece of the Melbourne Book [Fig. 58] is specifically adapted to a presentation scene. Portrayals of an author or patron presenting his work to the Virgin are not unusual in Byzantine art. In the tenth-century Bible of Leo Sakellarios, a standing Mary inclines to receive the treasurer's gift, while gesturing with her left hand towards the image of Christ in the heavens so as to indicate her mediating role.[40] A more static enthroned Mother and Child presides over a book presentation in the eleventh-century Armenian Gospels of Adrianople.[41] Apparently unique, however, to the Gospel Book of Theophanes is the rendering of an otherwise formal Virgin *Hodegetria* who, in a clear break with tradition, extends her right hand to receive the proffered work.

Thus, while the artist of the Gospel Book of Theophanes reveals an intimate knowledge of traditional Gospel Book illumination, he also integrates in fresh and innovative ways a number of anecdotal and narrative features drawn from a variety of traditional and more contemporary sources.

39. See Bergman, 'Evangelists' 48. See, for example, The Greek Gospels, Geneva, Bibl. Publique et Universitaire, MS. gr. 19. fols 15v, 191v, 136v, 382v, where the evangelists appear with their symbols displayed in medallions set in the decorative panels above them. (B. Gagnebin, 'Quatre Evangiles grecs. Ms. gr. 19' *L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François Ier: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève. Catalogue d'exposition, Genève, Musée Rath, 1976* (Geneva 1976) 30–2 and 31 pl. 5) Both systems appear, however, in Middle Byzantine Art.

40. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginense gr.1, fol. 2v. (See *Glory of Byzantium* no. 42).

41. Venice, Congregazione Armenia Mechitarista, MS 887/116, fols 7v–8 (See *Glory of Byzantium* no. 239).

Nancy P. Ševčenko

Spiritual Progression
in the Canon Tables of the Melbourne Gospels

The subject of this article is a Gospel manuscript of the second quarter of the twelfth century, housed since 1959 in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia.[1] Its importance was first made known by Hugo Buchthal in an article published in 1961; its scribal and artistic context was examined by Robert Nelson in 1987.[2] Now happily all its miniatures are available in colour in a catalogue of the manuscripts of the National Gallery in Melbourne prepared by Margaret Manion.[3]

The manuscript has attracted interest primarily because of its frontispiece.[4] Under twin arches and against a shimmering gold background, stand two figures.

1. MS. Felton 710/5: M.J. Riddle, 'Byzantine Manuscripts' *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* ed. M.M. Manion & V.F. Vines (Melbourne 1984) 23–6, with earlier bibliography; colour pl. 1 and figs 1–7. The manuscript was sold in 1882 from the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, but its history prior to that is unknown.

2. H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of About 1100 AD* Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne 1961) 1–13, rp. in his *Art in the Mediterranean World, AD 100–1400* (Washington DC 1983) 140–9; R.S. Nelson, 'Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of AD 1133' *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) 53–78 esp. 63–6, 69, 74; figs 14, 20. Nelson discovered that the scribe of this manuscript, Theophanes, collaborated with at least two other scribes in the production of other Gospel books, although he often contributed little more than introductory pages containing the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus: Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 65. One of the manuscripts on which Theophanes collaborated is dated 1133 (a New Testament, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig II, 4), and Nelson attributes the Melbourne manuscript to the second quarter of the twelfth century, 'Theoktistos' 63. See also H. Buchthal, 'A Greek New Testament Manuscript in the Escorial Library: Its Miniatures and Its Binding' *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters* ed. I. Hutter (Vienna 1984) 87 note 7.

3. M.M. Manion, *The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in The National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 2005) 23–97. See also the article devoted to the manuscript as a whole by Margaret Manion elsewhere in this volume. My own involvement started with a lecture on the Gospels delivered at the University of Melbourne in 1997; a version of the present text was presented in a session on New Directions in Monasticism at the Byzantine Congress in Paris in 2001. I wish to thank the organizers of that session, Margaret Mullett and Michel Kaplan, for kindly agreeing to let me publish it here in Melbourne rather than in their own volume. I am particularly grateful to Roger Scott, who, among many other kindnesses on that visit in 1997, arranged for me to view the manuscript. I also wish to thank Gordon Morrison of the Gallery for making this possible.

4. Buchthal, *Gospel Book* cover and p. 1; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* Byzantina Neerlandica 6 (Leiden 1976) 76–8, fig. 43; S. Kalopissi-Verti, 'Painters' Portraits in Byzantine Art' Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ. Ser. 4. 17 (1994) 133–4, fig. 7; G. Galavaris, Ζωγραφικὴ Βυζαντινῶν Χειρογράφων (Athens 1995) fig. 141. For additional photos, see A. Cutler & J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte*

The left-hand one is a black-bearded monk who, with lowered head, is offering a book to the Virgin. She stands on a low platform at the right, holding Christ on her arm. The two figures stand separated by a central column, but the Virgin reaches out across the column toward the monk, and, though she is facing front, her eyes shift to the left in his direction. The child Christ gestures to bless the monk from His mother's arms. Over their heads is a roof of green marble, having at its centre a blue pyramidal projection resembling the top of a ciborium, or perhaps a baldacchino constructed to house an icon; this in turn is topped by a cross.

Flanking this pyramid run four lines of twelve-syllable verse. The Virgin is mentioned in the first line while the three remaining lines refer to the monk:

"Ανασσα πάντων ώς θεοῦ μήτηρ λόγου
δοτὴρ καταυτὸ καὶ γραφεὺς τῆς πυξίδος
καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐργάτης ποικιλμάτων
σὸς ναζιραῖος οἰκέτης Θεοφάνης·
Queen of all, as mother of God the Word,
donor, and at the same time scribe of the volume,
and worker of the embellishments within it,
your Naziraios and servant, Theophanes.

The message of this text would seem to be clear enough: it names the Virgin, and Theophanes the monk (the word used for this is Naziraios) who is in her service (the word used is oiketes, the usual word for an imperial retainer). Theophanes characterizes himself as both donor and scribe of the volume, as well as craftsman of its decoration. The Melbourne Gospels contains, then, one of the very few extant portraits — in this case perhaps even a self-portrait — of a Byzantine monastic scribe/artist.[5] Though, as Nelson has noted, we cannot be entirely certain whether Theophanes was patron *and* scribe and artist, or just the patron responsible for all aspects of its production, the phrasing of the poem and its connection with the portrait makes it hard to argue otherwise, and my observations in this study will be based upon the assumption that Theophanes really did paint his own portrait.[6]

My aim here is to suggest that this self-imaging may be not limited to this frontispiece page, but may extend into the other prefatory material of the manuscript as well: that the canon tables can be interpreted as providing a sort of

bizantina e il suo pubblico (Turin 1986) 237–8. The frontispiece is painted on an inserted folio, but the colours and script are the same as those of the main body of the manuscript.

5. On the scribe as artist, see I. Hutter, 'Decorative Systems in Byzantine Manuscripts, and the Scribe as Artist: Evidence from Manuscripts in Oxford' *Word & Image* 12 (1996) 4–22, esp. 5–6 (on Theophanes) and figs 3–4. On portraits of Byzantine artists, see Kalopissi, 'Painters' Portraits' and M. Vasilakes, ed., *Τὸ πορτραῖτο τοῦ καλλιτέχνη στὸ Βυζάντιο* (Herakleion 1997).

6. On the identity and role of Theophanes, see Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 1; Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 64; Hutter, 'Decorative Systems' as in the previous note. The unusual absence of any verb in the poem means that Theophanes is not actually petitioning the Virgin; though he does address her, his poem serves rather as a caption, to identify the figures below.

spiritual autobiography, or spiritual course of virtue, for the maker of this manuscript, thereby linking the frontispiece with the main body of the Gospel text.

After the frontispiece and the usual Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (fols. 2r–2v) comes a sequence of magnificently painted canon tables (fols. 3r–7v). There were originally fourteen of these, but a bifolium has been lost from the middle of the series (between fols. 3 and 4, and between folios 5 and 6). The contents of the four missing pages can be reconstructed, however, from another illuminated Gospel book, a close relative of the Melbourne Gospels now housed in Venice (Biblioteca Marciana Z 540 [557]), a manuscript apparently written by the same hand as the Melbourne Gospels, and following roughly the same iconographic program for the canon tables though probably painted by a different artist.[7] In both the Melbourne and Venice Gospels, the capitals of the columns that support the arches of the canon tables are topped by little figures, in two extensive sequences. First there are twelve figures representing the Labours of the Months, starting with September, three to a page; then there are figures of twenty-four virtues, some male, some female, also three to a page, starting with Prudence, Courage and Temperance, and ending with Faith, Hope and Simplicity. The capitals of the final two canon tables in the Melbourne Gospels (but not in the Venice Gospels) are topped by figures of turbaned magicians, and acrobats (fols. 7r–7v).[8] The sequence of virtues is unparalleled in Middle Byzantine manuscripts, and the sequence of months rare: the latter are otherwise found in manuscripts only in the Octateuchs in connection with Enoch's invention of the measurement of time,[9] and in two Georgian Gospel manuscripts illuminated in or

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7.   E. Mioni, ed., *Codices graeci manuscripti Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum,* vol. 5, *Thesaurus antiquus II* (6 vols Rome 1967–85) 434–5; Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 2, 4; Nelson, 'Theoktistos' 63, 74, fig. 15; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin 1967) 193, figs 261–2; I. Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana* (5 vols Milan–Padua 1978–88) 2:13–8, pls. II–III, figs 3–7; M. Zorzi, ed., *Collezioni veneziane di codici greci dalle raccolte della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana* (Venice 1993) no. 64 (P. Eleuteri) plates pp. 54–5; S. Gentile, ed., *Oriente cristiano e santità* (Milan 1998) no. 26, plates pp. 198–9. On this network of scribes and artists, and its relation to the Prodromou-Petra monastery, see also A. W. Carr, 'Thoughts on the Production of Provincial Illuminated Books in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio* ed. G. Cavallo et al. (2 vols Spoleto 1991) 2: esp. 666–8, 685, figs 1–4. Carr and Eleuteri believe that the Melbourne and Venice Gospels were painted by the same hand. I am less certain: the Venice figural miniatures are distinctly cruder in execution, even if the illustrative program is more theologically complex. Another scribe replaced lost pages in the Venice manuscript in the fourteenth century.

8.   A. Grabar, 'Une pyxide en ivoire à Dumbarton Oaks' *DOP* 14 (1960) 123–46, esp. 142, figs 32–3. In the Marciana manuscript, the acrobats and dancers appear under the bases of the columns, below the personifications of the months standing atop the capitals (fols 2v–4r).

9.   K. Weitzmann & M. Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs* (Princeton 1999) 47–9, figs 115–18. A series of calendar images illustrates the 14th-century typikon, Athos Vatopedi 1199; S.M. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts* (4 vols Athens 1973–91) 4: figs 313–24. For examples from earlier periods and in other media, see the Appendix to G. Akerström-Hougen, *The*

near Constantinople in the early and late twelfth century respectively and closely related to the Melbourne and Venice Gospels.[10]

Given the image of the donor in the frontispiece, the context of the Melbourne Gospels work would appear to be indisputably monastic. Hence the twenty-four virtues have been taken to be monastic virtues, and as such have been loosely compared to the virtues that form the basis of that prime monastic text, the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus.[11] In one illustrated manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder*, Vatican gr. 394 of the late eleventh century, the virtues are depicted as personifications, as they are in the Melbourne Gospels.[12] There are indeed substantial overlaps among the two sets of virtues: Temperance, Discretion, Repentance, Love, Meekness, Innocence, Faith, Hope and Simplicity all appear in both the *Heavenly Ladder* and in the Gospel books, but in fact only nine of the twenty-four virtues of the Gospel Books are found in the Climacus text. And among the remaining fifteen virtues in the Melbourne Gospels are ones we might not readily associate with monastic life at all, such as *Andreia* (Physical courage) or *Praxis* (Action). Their presence, along with that of the labours of the months, compels us to raise the question: just how monastic is this manuscript anyway?

The frontispiece itself deserves a second look. Though it appears at first to be a perfectly straightforward dedication page, there are in fact a number of oddities.[13] Two unusual aspects of the figure of Theophanes are his halo, and his

Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos: A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography (Stockholm 1974) 120–36, with plates.

10. Lapskaldi Gospels, Mestia Museum 482 (second quarter twelfth century): A. Saminsky, 'Masterskaya Gruzinskoi i Grečeskoi knigi v Konstantinople XII – načala XIII veka' *Muzej* 10 (1989) 184–211, esp. figs pp. 186, 192; idem, 'A Reference to Jerusalem in a Georgian Gospel Book' *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/98) fig. 17. Vani Gospels, Tblisi, Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, A 1335: E. Takaïchvili, 'Antiquités géorgiennes 1: L'évangile de Vani' *Byz* 10 (1935) 655–63, pls. 38–40; S. Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatiura* (Moscow 1966) pls. 30–3; V. Beridze et al, *The Treasures of Georgia* tr. B. Penman (London 1984) fig. p. 135; Saminsky, 'Masterskaya' esp. figs pp. 193, 195–6. The Vani Gospels were made around 1200 in or near Constantinople for the Georgian Queen Tamar and painted by the Greek painter Michael Koresis.

11. Buchthal, *Gospel Book* 4, 8; Riddle, 'Byzantine Manuscripts' 25.

12. J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954) 47–87, 177–81, figs 67–132; A. Maraba-Chatzenikolaou, 'Παραστάσεις τοῦ πατριάρχου Νικολάου Γ τοῦ Γραμματικοῦ σὲ μικρογραφίες χειρογράφων' Δελτ.Χριστ.'Αρχ.'Ετ. Ser. 4. 10 (1980/81) 147–58, figs 27–8 (with French summary); K. Corrigan, 'Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. gr. 394' *Word & Image* 12 (1996) 61–93, figs 1–24. For an extensive list of virtues, see John of Damascus, *On Virtues and Vices*, PG 95:85–8. John's list opens with the four cardinal virtues *Andreia, Phronesis, Sophrosyne* and *Dikaiosyne*, then moves directly to the three theological virtues, *Pistis, Elpis* and *Agape*, before continuing with a long list of additional virtues.

13. N.P. Ševčenko, 'Close Encounters: Contact between Holy Figures and the Faithful as represented in Byzantine Works of Art' *Byzance et les images: cycle de conférences organisé au Musée du Louvre par le Service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992* ed. A. Guillou & J. Durand (Paris 1994) 255–85. On donor portraits, see

equality of scale with the Virgin: neither is the prerogative of an ordinary donor. Equality in scale and direct access to Christ or the Virgin seems to have been something reserved in art to depictions of the emperor and certain members of the imperial family. And apparently almost no one but the emperor and members of his immediate family could be depicted with a halo while alive. But if Theophanes did paint this page himself, as the poem claims, he can not have been dead quite yet.[14] Could he be a member of the imperial family turned monk? His physical resemblance to other royal Comnenians is striking, although his beard and features may merely reflect contemporary fashion.[15] One day it may be possible to identify him more closely, but at present we are limited to the evidence supplied by his manuscript.

To turn now to the virtues. The list is headed by three of what are usually referred to as the cardinal, or 'imperial' virtues: Prudence, Courage, and Temperance (*phronesis, andreia,* and *sophrosyne*), with Justice (*dikaiosyne*), the fourth, joined with Truth a bit later on. This group of four virtues, which goes back to the time of Plato, is common in rhetorical handbooks and imperial panegyric.[16] And it is in an imperial context that we are most apt to find a

Spatharakis, *Portrait,* passim; S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna 1992), and her 'Painters' Portraits'; N.P. Ševčenko, 'The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons' *Δελτ.Χριστ.'Αρχ.'Ετ.* Ser. 4, 17 (1994) 157–64. Buchthal proposes that Theophanes was a monk in the Hodegon monastery, *Gospel Book* 12, but I suspect that the phrase used for the Virgin in the frontispiece poem, '*Anassa panton*' is an oblique reference to her (or her monastery) as the *Pantanassa.*

14. There is the possibility that the monk Theophanes did write and illustrate the main part of the book, and for this he is being commemorated on the frontispiece page after his death. But the hand that wrote the frontispiece poem does appear to be identical to that of the text. For other Middle Byzantine monastic figures given haloes, though probably not in their lifetime, see the Gospels Paris, B.N. gr. 74, fol. 93v (Spatharakis, *Portrait* fig. 31: an abbot), or Hosios Loukas or Nikon Metanoite in the mosaics of the church of Hosios Loukas: N.P. Ševčenko, 'Three Saints at Hosios Loukas' *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church: The New Saints, 8th–16th c.* ed. E. Kountoura-Galake (Athens 2004) 459–72; N. Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1996) figs 36, 38. Even the self-promoting Neophytos, who commissioned his own portrait with angels in his burial chapel at Paphos on Cyprus, did not venture to give the figure a halo.

15. The dark beard and sharply raised eyebrows remind us of portraits of emperors Alexios I and John II in Hagia Sophia and in some imperial manuscripts: Spatharakis, *Portrait* figs 46, 48–9, 79–82, 84. It is worth noting that the Vani Gospels were commissioned for the Georgian Queen Tamar, and their decoration includes the elaborate fountains, hunting animals and exotic beasts such as elephants and monkeys that are thought to be the playthings of the rich and famous.

16. H. North, 'Canons and Hierarchies of the Cardinal Virtues in Greek and Latin Literature' *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry A. Caplan* ed. L. Wallach (Ithaca 1966) 165–83, esp. 166–7, 174–5, and I.S. Ryberg, 'Clipeus Virtutis' in the same volume, 232–8; A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Emperor and his Virtues' *Historia* 30 (1981) 298–323; J.R. Fears, 'Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology' *ANRW* 2.17.2 (1981) 827–948; M. Whitby, ed., *The Propaganda of Power: The Role of the Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Leiden 1998) s.v. 'virtues' in the detailed index. For the 16 personified virtues in the Ascension

selection of these virtues illustrated, in Middle Byzantine works of art such as the luxury volume of the *Eklogai* of John Chrysostom in Paris (B. N. Coislin 79 fol. 2r: Truth and Justice),[17] the so-called Crown of Constantine Monomachos in Budapest (Humility [*Tapeinosis*] and Truth),[18] the Gospels of John II Komnenos in the Vatican (Urb. gr. 2, fol. 19v: Mercy [*Eleemosyne*] and Justice),[19] as well as in some works of apparently domestic and secular nature, such as the San Marco incense burner, the so-called *ecclesiola* (Courage and Prudence).[20] These particular virtues also crop up regularly in Comnenian epigrams addressed to members of the royal family: Theodore Prodromos urges John II to enter the city of Constantinople on a special chariot adorned with the four virtues *dikaiosyne, phronesis, andreia* and *sophrosyne*;[21] and in an encomium addressed by Prodromos to John's brother Isaac the sebastokrator, Isaac sits on a throne accompanied by Ares, four virtues (presumably the same four) and by rhetoric, grammar, and philosophy.[22]

Another Comnenian epigram tells us that Emperor Manuel I was depicted in the *koukoukleion* of the palace at Blachernai, surrounded by virtues apparently holding hands in a ring around him (περιστήλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ συνεμπλακεῖσαι δακτύλοις ἀκηράτοις).[23] The virtues encircling Manuel are here said to be the guardians of the state (φύλακες... τοῦ κράτους) who bring triumph in his military campaigns — a surprising appropriation by the virtues, incidentally, of the role by then usually fulfilled by the saints. Manuel is also called here the living dwelling of the virtues (ἔμψυχον αὐτῶν ἀρετῶν οἶκον) he so embodies the virtues as to make their representation all but redundant, says

dome at San Marco, see O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice* (2 vols in 4 pts Chicago 1984) 1:186–93, figs 234, 273–88; P. Magdalino & R.S. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century' *ByzF* 8 (1982) 144. See also C. Hourihane, ed., *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton 2000).

17. H.C. Evans & W.D. Wixom, eds, *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, AD 843–1261* (New York 1997) no. 143. See now K. Krause, *Die illuminierten Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomos in Byzanz* (Wiesbaden 2004) 179–83, fig. 234.

18. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 145.

19. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 144; F. D'Aiuto et al., eds, *I Vangeli dei Popoli* (Vatican City 2000) no. 58. On fol. 21r, the initial B comprises a second personification of *eleemosyne*.

20. *Glory of Byzantium* no. 176. The figures of virtues adorned capitals in the porch of the Doge's palace in Venice in the 14th and 15th centuries: G. Rossi & G. Salerni, *I capitelli del palazzo ducale di Venezia* (Rome 1952) 35, 41, 50, 100, 102, 113. Other capitals had depictions of animals, monsters and magicians.

21. W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* (Vienna 1974) 215; Magdalino-Nelson, 'Emp. in 12th C.' 143 note 42.

22. E. Kurtz, 'Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos' *BZ* 16 (1907) 114–115.

23. Magdalino-Nelson, 'Emp. in 12th C.' 142–6. A poem in the 11th-century illustrated Gospels in Paris mentioned above (B.N. gr. 74, fol. 215v) also speaks of the emperor as surrounded by a circle of virtues: ... σὺ τοῦτον (the emperor) ὡραΐσας ἀρετῶν κύκλῳ... : Spatharakis, *Portrait* 66–7.

the poet. Relevant as well is the famous description of a twelfth-century house in Thessalonica that was painted with figures of Moses and Joshua as the embodiment of certain specific virtues (Love and Gentleness for Moses, Prudence and Courage for Joshua); it included the figure of the emperor Manuel again as the dwelling of ALL the virtues (ἔμψυχον οἶκον ἀρετῶν ὅλων ἕνα).[24]

Parallels to the decoration of the Melbourne canon tables can also be found in Comnenian prose compositions, especially the court Novels of the mid twelfth century, a parallel first noted in connection with the Venice Gospels, by Strzygowski in 1888.[25] In the Novel _Hysmine and Hysminias_, the lover Hysminias enters a nobleman's garden in search of his beloved.[26] Its walls are adorned with a number of painted panels, which he is challenged to decipher. First comes a painting of the four 'imperial' virtues (Prudence, Courage, Temperance and Justice), _stoichedon_, meaning 'in a line'. Then comes an image of Lord Eros seated as a Byzantine emperor. After this come paintings of the twelve labours of the months. In the much later _Livistros and Rhodamne_, the same themes reappear, though now in architectural sculpture instead of painting. The Silver Castle that houses Livistros' loved one, the maiden Rhodamne, has a large entrance gate.[27] To the left of the gate are twelve carved panels, the twelve Months; to the right are twelve panels with twelve virtues. Ten of these twelve virtues, which are all named (and described), correspond to the capitals of the Melbourne Gospels.

The canon tables of the Melbourne Gospels, then, are deeply rooted in the imagery of the Comnenian court. Understanding the role of the months and the virtues in the Novels could help us understand their role in the Melbourne Gospels. The months and virtues in both the Romances cited above have been read either as attributes of the loved one, or, and more likely, as images directed

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24. S. Lampros, "Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524' _Νέος Ἑλλ._ 8 (1911) 29 no. 61. Partial translation in C. Mango, _The Art of the Byzantine Empire: 312-1453, Sources and Documents_ (Englewood Cliffs NJ 1972, rp. Toronto 1986) 225.

25. J. Strzygowski, 'Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst' _RepKunstw_ 11 (1888) 23–46, esp. 26–33: Riddle, 'Byzantine Manuscripts' 24–5: Furlan, _Marciana_ 14. On the dates and context for various of these Novels, see E. Jeffreys, 'The Novels of Mid-Twelfth Century Constantinople: The Literary and Social Context' _Aetos: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango_ ed. I. Ševčenko & I. Hutter (Stuttgart 1998) 191–9. She places the work of Makrembolites into the 1140s and early 1150s (p. 192).

26. Eustathios Makrembolites, _'Hysmine and Hysminias_ Book II, 1–6: IV, 3–18' _Il romanzo bizantino del XII Secolo_ ed. F. Conca (Turin 1994) 513–19, 545–7 (with Italian translation); P. Magdalino, 'Eros the King and the King of _Amours_: Some Observations on _Hysmine and Hysminias_' _DOP_ 46 (1992) 197–204, esp. 199, and most recently I. Nilsson, _Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: Narrative Technique and Mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' 'Hysmine & Hysminias'._ Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 7 (Uppsala 2001).

27. _Three Medieval Greek Romances_ tr. G. Betts (New York 1995) esp. 115–18; P.A. Agapitos, 'Dreams and the Spatial Aesthetics of Narrative Presentation in _Livistros and Rhodamne_' _DOP_ 53 (1999) 115, 127. Agapitos remarks on how the arch resembles a 3-D canon table, 'Dreams' 127. For parallels in actual Roman and Byzantine sculpture, see Grabar, 'Pyxide' 139, figs 27–9, and his _Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge_ (2 vols Paris 1963–76) 2: nos. 146–8.

at the lovelorn suitor who must respond to them before his quest can proceed.[28] Is it possible that the virtues in the canon tables are not merely attributes, but also embody the idea of a progression, a quest, if now a more spiritual one?[29]

If so, the Melbourne Gospels may have more in common with the *Heavenly Ladder* than first appeared the case. For typical of all *Heavenly Ladder* manuscripts, because intrinsic to the structure of its text, is the idea of progression. The monk starts by leaving his nearest and dearest, and, turning his back on the world, begins an ascent of the Ladder rung by rung; if he doesn't stumble along the way, the last rung will bring him into the presence of God and of the angels. In certain *Heavenly Ladder* manuscripts, an image of the ladder accompanies each chapter of the text, with the ladder growing higher and higher as the book goes on, a vivid imaging of progress achieved.[30]

A manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* in the Vatican (gr. 394), the one with the personifications of the virtues mentioned earlier, was made apparently for a *kyr* Nikon, perhaps abbot of the Louphadion monastery near Constantinople.[31] It not only shows the general progression up the ladder, but cites actual individuals involved in various stages of the ascent.[32] On fol. 18v, for example, the monk has achieved the third rung: he has triumphed over the dreams that plague a novice, dreams, for example, in which demons transform themselves into dying parents calling to him. This monk is named in the margin: Sabbas. On fol. 71r, we find a monk named Peter triumphing over Malice and Slander, with the help of *Agape* and Silence, surely another reference to an incident in the monastery for which this manuscript was made. A very young monk named Luke appears on the same folio in the headpiece for the subsequent chapter 'On Falsehood,' again most likely a reference to an actual incident involving a specific monk.[33] Finally, there is the monk Nicholas of Louphadion who is evidently being signaled out for praise in connection with Chastity and Temperance in Chapter 15 (fol. 78v); it has been suggested by Anna Maraba-Chatzenikolaou that this Nicholas is the founder of the Louphadion monastery, the future patriarch Nicholas III

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28. Nilsson, *Erotic Pathos* 55, 130–5 relates the Makrembolites garden paintings to the themes of the novel, which include the problematics of love, the process of mortality, and the nature of art.

29. Cf. P. Odorico, 'Καλλίμαχος, Χρυσορρόη και ένας πολύ μοναχικός αναγνώστης' *Αναδρομικά και Προδρομικά. Approaches to Texts in Early Modern Greek: Papers from the Conference 'Neograeca Medii Aevi V', Exeter College, University of Oxford, September 2000* ed. E. Jeffreys & M. Jeffreys (Oxford 2005) 271–86.

30. In the Melbourne Gospels, the figure of a stylite on his column approached by a disciple serves as an initial to the beginning of Mark's Gospel (fol. 80r): this image also involves the ascent of a ladder.

31. Corrigan, 'Constantine's Problems' 69.

32. Corrigan, 'Constantine's Problems' 64, 69.

33. There may be some significance even to certain of the unidentified monastic portraits in this manuscript: the physiognomy of the monks at the top of the ladders varies considerably, and the monk who appears on top of the ladder at the end of one chapter then quite consistently appears in the teaching scene at the head of the next, as though, having successfully completed one rung/chapter, he is now ready to listen again to John Klimakos and take on the next challenge in his long ascent.

Grammatikos.[34] Whatever the precise relation between him and the patron of the manuscript, *kyr* Nikon, the idea of progress, of perfectibility, that permeates all *Heavenly Ladder* manuscripts includes, in this Vatican manuscript, named individuals overcoming specific challenges. This manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* was clearly designed for a specific monastic clientele, and serves in a way as their spiritual biography. Perhaps such a linear progression marks the Melbourne Gospels as well.

Let us turn back to the labours of the months, the twelve figures that precede the twenty-four virtues of the Melbourne canon tables.[35] In the Novels, they too had a narrative function: they evoke the challenges to Love brought about by the passage of time, and serve to spur the lover to action. In the *Heavenly Ladder* too, they have a place, but have acquired a more negative aspect. The second Chapter, 'On Dispassionateness,' or 'On Detachment' (*aprospatheia*) is illustrated on folio 12v of the Vatican codex gr. 394 with the image of a cluster of monks who have cut their ties to their parents, friends, and brothers, the three groups who stand below.[36] Outside the frame, to the left, are labourers working at occupations like those we find on the canon tables in the Melbourne Gospels or in the Romances — harvesting of the wine, sowing, digging, ploughing. The temporal aspect of a full cycle of twelve months is lacking, and the labours here represent rather the worldly concerns from which the monk must extract himself if he is to advance toward the ever-blooming Paradise depicted on the right.

The idea of a progression in virtue, so evident in manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder*, could be at the heart of the Melbourne Gospels canon tables as well, despite the entirely different visual vocabulary and the courtly frame of reference. Though this reading of the Melbourne Gospels is a purely hypothetical one,[37] it could be argued that Theophanes in the frontispiece is no ordinary monk, but perhaps a royal relation who, despite having donned monastic garb and a monastic name, nonetheless preserves the halo and the access to the Virgin due him from his former life. The canon tables take him through the temporal

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34. Maraba, Παραστάσεις 148–50; Corrigan, 'Constantine's Problems' 64.
35. On the labours of the months in Byzantium, see Strzygowski, 'Monatscyclen' 23–46; J.C. Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton 1938); H. Stern, 'Poésies et représentations carolingiennes et byzantines des mois' *RA* 6.45 (1955) 141–86, esp. 167–85; Akerström-Hougen, *Calendar and Hunting Mosaics* 120–36.
36. Stern, 'Poésies' 180; Martin, *Heavenly Ladder* 53–6, fig. 73; Corrigan, 'Constantine's Problems' 83, fig. 4.
37. Among other things, it does not take into account the magicians and acrobats on the final two pages of canon tables that come between the sequence of virtues and the Gospel text. Interestingly enough, in the Venice Gospels the comparable figures of musicians and acrobats are limited to the beginning canon tables, where they are relegated to the bases of the columns under the sequence of months. In the Lapskaldi Gospels, such figures appear on the canon tables that precede those containing the months, and in the Vani Gospels they are entirely absent. Furthermore, it may be that the 'imperial' virtues were already in this period being transferred to other authority figures such as the saintly abbot: see, for example, the praise of a patriarch: R. Browning, 'An unpublished address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202' *ByzSt* 5 (1978) esp. 54–5.

round of months with their worldly chores, then through a course of virtue that starts with the imperial virtues Prudence, Courage and Temperance and brings him at the end, as the Gospel text draws near, to the purest, most spiritual of all: Faith, Hope and Simplicity. His is a journey essentially comparable, if expressed in radically different visual terms, and with the substitution of Simplicity for Love in the holy Triad at the end, to that of a monk ascending the Heavenly Ladder.

Eric Osborn

Clement of Alexandria: From Prophecy to Plato

With citations from more than three hundred classical authors and with five thousand biblical citations, Clement of Alexandria did more than anyone else to bring Athens and Jerusalem together within Christian thought.[1] Since this fusion of cultures is central to the development of European civilisation, he has great importance for the history of ideas. How did he achieve his result? He has been approached in three main ways. First, historians of Christian doctrine have looked at him for elements in the development towards the final decisions of Nicaea and Chalcedon. This approach has, oddly, not proved very fruitful. Secondly, classical scholars have turned to Clement as a mine of references to classical authors and as a link with Middle Platonism. For more than one hundred years, this has proved a very fruitful study, culminating in the work of S.R.C. Lilla.[2] Despite the remaining value of this work, it has lost ground recently through an awareness that Clement did not hold the central doctrines of Middle Platonism, for example, on first principles, and because Wyrwa has shown that Clement's direct dependence on Plato is not governed by later writers.[3] The remaining approach derives from analytic philosophy and asks the question, 'what problems was Clement trying to solve and how did he use earlier material in his attempt to solve them?' This approach has been called 'problematic elucidation'.[4]

The first problem which Clement faces is how to turn the story of the bible into a metaphysic which is accessible to logical analysis and corrigible by argument. He calls the bible 'the true philosophy' and sees all Greek philosophy as partial and derivative. The philosophers have taken parts of the bible just as the women tore apart the limbs of Pentheus. They claim their little part to be the whole truth but the truth is to be found only when all the parts are brought together within the wholeness of the Christian philosophy. God in his providence gave philosophy to the Greeks as he gave the law to the Jews. Paul had described the law as a *paidagogos* to lead its hearers to the fullness of Christ. Philosophy was given to the Greeks for a similar purpose.

There were obvious difficulties with these sweeping claims. The first problem was that the bible did not look like philosophy. Then, as now, it was a mixture of history, prophecy, preaching, commandments and wise sayings. Nor

1. See standard introductions such as G.R. Evans, ed., *The First Christian Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Church* (Oxford 2004). Abbreviations used in this paper for Clement's works are: Str = *Stromateis*, Paed = *Paedagogus*, Prot = *Protrepticus*, q.d.s. = *Quis dives salvetur?*
2. S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford 1971).
3. D. Wyrwa, *Die christliche Platonaneignung in den Stromateis des Clemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin 1983).
4. See J. Passmore, 'The Idea of a History of Philosophy' *HTh* 5.5: *The Historiography of the History of Philosophy* (1965) 1–32.

did the bible present a coherent structure. Parts of it were explicitly at variance with earlier parts, and even documents of similar dates showed divergence from one another. Clement's first problem, therefore, was to show how the bible reflected the divine plan or economy, which moved from Genesis to Revelation, with a central point in the Gospels, particularly John, and the letters of Paul. The idea of a divine plan was present in the New Testament and in its *kerygma* or dominant message. Irenaeus had made this *oikonomia* a central theme of his attack on heretics and his exposition of the *kerygma*. Everything is ordered, says Clement, by 'the goodness of the only, one, true, almighty God, from age to age, saving by the son' (Str 7.2.12). The divine plan or economy moves to fulfilment in Christ and the offer of salvation by faith. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ (Jn 1:17). This coherent plan, through its fulfilment, could be developed into a metaphysic.

The chief move in early Christian thought, which joins Jerusalem and Athens together, is not to be found in Clement's multitude of philosophical terms or classical citations, but in the movement from biblical text to metaphysic, or, more precisely, from prophecy to Plato. Justin had already made this move, pointing out that the prophets had a knowledge of the intellectual world, the *noeta*, while the philosophers were still confused. Clement shows a process of reasoning which merges the bible into a Platonic metaphysic and dialectic. He makes four moves to achieve this end. The question is illuminated by a question once raised by Iris Murdoch: whether God does geometry or plays chess. Irenaeus and Clement wanted God to do both. His activity in history had a rational basis, which was comparable to the Platonic world of forms. His actions were founded on timeless necessity. Justin compared the prophetic utterances to mathematical formulae, such as 'two plus two equals four'. Such formulae need to be repeated.

1. From divine order/economy to metaphysic by means of prophecy and parable

The divine plan is marked by a rational, aesthetic and moral order. Its universal providence (Str 5.1.6.2, 1.24.160.5) is a source of *paideusis*, of instruction and education (Paed 3.12.99.1) and supremely a prophetic source of knowledge (Str 2.19.99.3). Its goodness defines creation (Str 1.26.173) even when it appears harsh (Paed 1.10.89.1). The economy appears in scripture as parable or metaphor, which is used as the way to the higher intellectual world. The lord who was not of this world came in worldly form to lead men to the intellectual world. He used metaphor or parable, which is a stumbling block to those who do not possess the truth (Str 6.15.126f). The only part of scripture which is not parable but final truth is Christ and him crucified. The flesh which suffered is the power and wisdom of God. To this final truth, the whole of parabolic scripture points. Scripture may be read as a source of truth which is forever renewed as the parabolic content is joined to the final reality. The quest for truth is difficult because it must move beyond biblical words to the noetic realities, which the words display. Final knowledge comes, through Christ, from God alone and leads to the vision of God face to face.

2. The simultaneity of prophecy

There is no place for temporal sequence in the world of dialectic and Platonic forms. You can only move from history-based prophecy to the timeless transcendence of the world of forms if you bring all your prophecies together in a unity, which is not conditioned temporally. Irenaeus had done this with his concept of recapitulation (or summing up) of all things and Clement takes the further step of making this timeless consummation a Platonic metaphysic and dialectic. It is a simple move but needs to be explicated.

Here Clement builds on the ideas of Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* 4.20.1-8), whose move from history to simultaneity has been set out most clearly in recent scholarship as a progression of argument.[5]

1. Through all the different economies the same God leads man to the goal of life eternal in his presence.

2. The prophet sees every point on this journey in relation to the incarnation of the son of God.

3. The prophetic spirit brings a participation in God which, after the incarnation, is possible to all.

4. By visions, words and works, the prophets announce man's future when he, 'implanted in Christ and sanctified by the spirit will be able to approach and to see the father without succumbing to death'.[6]

5. Prophecies about Christ are only intelligible within the totality of what is said about him. The prophetic corpus is not understood through a list of particular fulfilments but through a critical awareness of its coherent vision.

6. Prophecies about Christ are an invitation to believe in him, whose incarnation offers the key to understanding prophecy (Str 1.9.44.2) and the Gospel (Str 3.11.6).

7. The Word anticipates his incarnation by his presence through human prophets in the Old Testament.

8. The only God can freely grant the gift of prophecy to whomever he wills so that the prophet may speak the words of the one God. The 'prophetic spirit' announces coming economies of salvation and is identical with the spirit who is poured out at Pentecost.

9. The prophets lived a spiritual life which anticipated the later outpouring of the spirit who in the prophets already accustomed man to communion with God.

10. The intimate relation of the 'two hands of God', the son and the spirit, is shown at the baptism of Jesus.

11. Originally the time of the prophets was the Old Testament but Irenaeus unites the times of the Old Testament with the New Testament so that the prophets become the first stage of the one economy which runs from the beginning through successive stages to Christ.

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5. See R. Polanco, *El concepto de profecía en la teología de san Ireneo* (Madrid 1999). I have set out the argument in full because Polanco's book is not readily accessible.

6. Ibid., 388.

12. Prophecy includes patriarchs and the law to cover the whole of the Old Testament. The law came, from the 'voice of God', to revive the natural precepts written on the heart and to point forward to the incarnation. The Old Testament is entirely oriented to the New Testament.

13. All the divine economies depend on recapitulation of all things in Christ, on whom depends the being and purpose of all humanity.

14. The New Testament and the outpouring of the spirit do not put an end to prophecy for the spirit continues to preserve truth through the *charisma* of the presbyters and all the baptised believers proclaim Christ.

In the end we may define prophecy backwards rather than forwards as 'one of God's saving economies by which, through the mediation of the spirit, the same God brings the reality and the results of the incarnation of the Word back to the time of the Old Testament'.[7]

This careful and extended study reveals the move from prediction to presence, from economy to recapitulation. Economies remain but their linear temporal significance becomes secondary. Irenaeus reaches the noetic world of Justin without Plato's help. Recapitulation ('summing-up')[8] brings all the economies together. The temporal dimension is not lost but simultaneous among all things in Christ.

The prophets presented the mind of God to Justin because they saw the *noeta*. After Irenaeus the fusing of the ontological and eschatological, the insistence that the object of Christian hope was also the ultimate Being which philosophers sought, turned scripture into a higher world which gave the believer understanding of the world in which he lived. The world of prophecy took the place of the world of Plato's forms in a way far more effective than did the *aeons* of Valentinus.

Clement repeats, in concise form, Irenaeus' argument for the simultaneity of prophecy. Knowledge of what is predicted points to past, present and future. Faith unites all three 'because it is concerned with things accomplished or things hoped for and present activity gives the conviction which confirms the two extremes' (Str 2.12.54.3). Prophecy being one (μίας οὔσης τῆς προφητείας), faith in the past becomes present comprehension and hope in the future is also made present.

3. Dialectic as question and answer

Remarkably, Clement adopts dialectic not as a point of accommodation to Greeks but as a firm commendation to fellow Christians. A recent study of Clement attributes to him 'a voice hermeneutic'.[9] Scripture for Clement is listening to the voice of Jesus who brings all scripture together in the truth. This is less than half of what Clement is trying to do. He does believe in the pre-eminence of the *logos* who speaks through scripture. However *logos* has a more

7. Ibid., 393.
8. See E. Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons* (Cambridge 2001) 97–140.
9. D. Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley 1992) 2, 217.

important meaning for Clement and scripture. It is concerned with reason and argument. In the first book of the *Stromateis*, Clement attacks those who wish simply to read their ideas off the scriptures without considering coherence and argument. He compares those who wish, as the proponent of a 'voice hermeneutic' suggests, simply to listen to the voice of Jesus, with farmers who want to pick grapes from their vines without the yearly round of agricultural labour. Christian readers must prune and dig if they wish to pick fruit from the true vine (Str 1.9.43f). Every human science, geometry, music, grammar and philosophy, must be brought to bear on the truth. He who wishes to reach the power of God must do philosophy and deal with intellectual realities. To learn the way of the *logos* who made all things requires our logical activity. Dialectic has shown its usefulness in clarifying all sorts of puzzles; it is also the way to tackle the obscurities of the bible.

4. True philosophy and true dialectic

For Clement, the final part of the Mosaic and Christian philosophy is theology or vision. Plato, he says, uses this term to describe the supreme mysteries and Aristotle uses the term 'metaphysics'. In the *Statesman*, Plato pointed out the way to reality as dialectic. The true dialectic, applied to the true philosophy, examines and tests the word of scripture and ascends to Christ who is the highest essence and to the God who is beyond him (Str 1.28.176f). Like Plato's philosopher, the Christian gains through dialectic the knowledge of divine things. He moves upwards to the wisdom and knowledge of the form of the Good or, as Clement puts it elsewhere, the 'magnitude of Christ' (Str 5.11.71). The ascent is only possible with the help of the saviour who removes the blindness and ignorance of our mortal minds. Only he can reveal the father of the universe for no-one knows the father but the son and those to whom the son reveals the father. Like Plato's philosopher, the Christian dialectician distinguishes within scripture between symbols, precepts, prophecies and other forms. It is wrong to treat scripture as bereft of complexity. Scripture is not bald-headed, says Clement, as the inhabitants of the island of Mykonos were believed to be. It requires a reader who can discriminate and such a reader must have logical skill as well as knowledge of the apex of the Platonic dialectic.

Metaphor, simultaneity, dialectic as question and answer, dialectic as the upward path — these are the four moves which Clement makes. They are all argued and argument is what counts. There is still confusion because Clement welcomes the plurality of meanings which symbols can have. But the influence of Clement's fusion of bible and metaphysic, prophecy and Plato brought everything under the rule of the logos and the followers of the logos, said Clement, had to be logical.

Because this paper is dedicated specifically to Roger Scott, who has done so much to join classical understanding to later Christian tradition, two local comments, on this theme, may be added.

Clement's relationship to Philo has been explored most carefully by David Runia, who has led a revival in Philonic studies. He has pointed to a middle way

which acknowledges Clement's debt to Philonic exegesis yet recognises the gulf between the two. More than a hundred years before Clement, Philo as a Jew had joined Athens and Jerusalem in the allegorical interpretation of the Pentateuch. Clement drew on Philo extensively and his debt has been explored in a magisterial study.[10] The major sequences which Clement takes from Philo concern Sarah and Hagar (for Philo, philosophy is a handmaid to the law, for Clement, law and philosophy are subordinate to Christ), the bible as Mosaic philosophy, the law and virtues (which demonstrates the gentleness of the law against Marcionite objections), and temple and priestly vestments as allegories of the new creation in Christ. In each of these sequences, Clement reinterprets Philo to give supremacy to Christ. In the shorter sequences, Clement uses Philo to expound the transcendence of the biblical God in philosophical terms.

Clement's use of Philo is both extensive and important. However the gap between his thought and that of Philo remains. Philo is relevant to Clement's exposition of the Pentateuch, which is a small part of his biblical exegesis (eleven per cent). Even if we allow the use of Philo for half this material, Philo can claim only five percent in Clement's biblical exegesis. The dominant influences on Clement's thought are the Gospel of John and the letters of Paul. John makes clear that the Jews lacked comprehension of Jesus and his message. Paul was an apostate from Judaism and all apostates, according to Philo, should be exterminated without trial.[11] Clement acknowledges Philo in four places (Str 1.5.31.1, 1.15.72.4, 1.23.153.2, 2.19.100.3) and in one of these gives us a clue to the puzzle. He quotes Philo the Pythagorean as saying that great natures, free from passion, chance upon the truth.[12] Clement treats Philo as he treats all other non-Christian sources. Those that are truly great and free from passion have grasped an element of the truth to which Clement without hesitation wishes to lay claim.

However the matter cannot rest there. There is ground for believing that Clement's central ideas follow Philo at the deepest level. The golden thread which runs through Clement's thought is 'Christ as the power and wisdom of God'. The divine plan moves to God's final wisdom and power in the son, the divine love measures equally the wisdom and power of father and son and the new creation springs from faith in Christ as wisdom and from his salvation as power. David Runia has shown how Philo illuminates Clement, especially when Clement deviates from him. His remarkable study shows how Clement's thought comes together in the Pauline concept of the power and wisdom of God. The divine powers of Philo are joined together in Christ and united with the father in one God: 'a single divine power which is so great that it embraces all that these

10. A. van den Hoek, *Clement of Alexandria and His Use of Philo in the Stromateis* (Leiden 1988).
11. *De specialibus legibus* 1.55ff.
12. See D.T. Runia, 'Why Does Clement of Alexandria Call Philo "The Pythagorean"?' *VChr* 49 (1995) 1–22, rp. D.T. Runia, *Philo and the Church Fathers* (Leiden 1995) 54–76.

epithets portray'.[13] 'God is knowable, but only through his power, which Clement does not connect with divine forces in the cosmos, but with the knowledge that comes through the Son'.[14] Yet from this power springs a new creation (Prot 110-114). For Philo the divine power is mediated through the logos who 'measures' it so that humanity is not destroyed by its excess but aided by its fine tuning.[15] Clement writes that 'on account of love he (Christ) descended; on this account he took on human nature, on this account he voluntarily experienced the human condition, so that, having been measured in relation to the weakness of us whom he loved, he would in return measure us towards his power' (q.d.s. 37.3–4). 'Clement has combined features of Philonic thought — the twin powers of goodness and justice, the role of the Logos as measurer — into a new theology centred on divine love shared by Father and Son.'[16]

The second element of local interest is also concerned with Clement's use of scripture. Clement's *Hypotyposeis* ('notes on scripture') have been lost for a thousand years but the fragments which we possess show them to have been vivid and literal, free from allegory. They discuss passages of scripture with interpretation and added detail. For example, the story of Jesus' healing of the leper is enlarged. The priests had said that no-one would heal this leper except the Christ if he should come. This pessimistic comment is taken up by Jesus when he heals the leper and sends him to give testimony to the priests that 'Christ has come, believe in him' (fragment 12). In 1983, Colin Duckworth, Professor of French in this University, drew my attention to a private letter of the Comte d'Antraigues which he had found in the municipal archives of Dijon. In it the writer described with much detail a copy of Clement's *Hypotyposeis* which he had seen in the library of the monastery of St Macarius, in the Wadi Natrun. After three visits to the monastery I have found no trace of the manuscript. For reasons given elsewhere the question must remain open.[17]

These two comments are of local origin and wide-spread importance for the understanding of Clement's use of scripture. The move from prophecy to Plato is the central move, but it is illuminated on at least two other points: Clement's debt to Philo for allegory and his movement beyond allegory in the historical detail of scripture. I offer all three areas to those who, like Roger Scott, have done so much to illuminate the interaction of Athens and Jerusalem.

13. See D.T. Runia, 'Clement of Alexandria and the Philonic Doctrine of the Divine Powers' *VChr* 58.3 (2004) 261, 265.
14. Ibid., 267.
15. Philo, *De opificio mundi* 23.
16. Runia, 'Clement' 275.
17. See E.F. Osborn & C. Duckworth, 'Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposeis*: A French Eighteenth Century Sighting' *JTS* 36 (1985) 67–83; E.F. Osborn, 'Clement's *Hypotyposeis*: Macarius Revisited' *SecCent* 10 (1990) 233–5.

John Wortley

The 'Sacred Remains' of Constantine and Helena

There can be little doubt that, from the time of his death in 337 until the sack of the city in 1204, Constantinople did possess the mortal remains of the hero whose name she bore. It is equally clear that he had every intention that this should be so. His biographer, Eusebius of Caesarea, describes the elaborate pains he took to construct a magnificent mausoleum (*heroön*) for himself on the most elevated eminence within the city he had created, there where the Fatih Mosque of Mehmet II stands today.[1]

Less obvious is the fact that, in his disposition of his mortal remains, Constantine broke with tradition in a number of significant ways. Heretofore, as a general rule, the bodies of deceased emperors, having first been reduced to ashes by cremation, were then deposited in one of the two imperial mausolea at Rome. Diocletian had already diverged from this tradition by building himself a shrine for his ashes at Spalato (a replica of the Roma Quadrata) and Galerius too had erected a burial-place for his ashes at Thessalonica.[2] Constantine however departed yet further from tradition for he appears to have been the first emperor who intended, not his ashes, but his unburnt cadaver, to repose in his mausoleum.[3] This might not have been what he had in mind earlier in the reign, when he constructed the two mausolea with which he is credited at Rome, monuments which would subsequently receive the mortal remains of, respectively, his mother Helena (see below) and of his daughter Constantina.[4] With the completion of the new Rome on the Bosporus in 329, Constantine might well have thought — especially if the mausoleum formerly intended for himself was now designated to be occupied by his mother's remains — that, as *conditor* of the new city, it would be appropriate for his bones to remain there; for were not the bones of Romulus said to lie in Old Rome, the city of *his* founding? This may explain yet another break with tradition; all former emperors with the sole exception of Trajan had been buried (or rather, their ashes had been interred) *outside* the city, as custom (the *consuetudo Romana*) demanded for all the deceased of any rank. Yet Romulus was believed to lie *within* the city of Old Rome, so why should not Constantine lie within his own walls?

1.   Eusebius *VC* 4.58–60.
2.   A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (3 vols Paris 1943–6, rp. London 1972) 1:232–3.
3.   Constantine thus 'defied both the ancient Roman taboo against burial within the city limits and the recent tetrarchic tradition of placing the emperor's mausoleum inside the palace precinct', R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals: Topography and Politics* (Berkeley 1983) 58.
4.   Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:205, 228, 257, n. 1. Both Roman mausolea were rotunda; cf. the quotation from Mesarites below.

Tradition, however, claimed that Romulus' remains lay beneath the Forum at Rome;[5] why then did Constantine not elect to be buried in the Forum which bore his name, the focal centre of his eponymous city? This would seem to be the obvious burial-place because the central feature of that forum was the great porphyry column which also bore his name, topped by an impressive statue, the *Anthêlios*, which eventually (though perhaps not in his own time) came to be regarded as a representation (*icon*) of the great emperor himself. Yet, no matter how obvious it may seem to us, for reasons probably known to himself alone, Constantine opted for an alternative spot. It may have been represented to him that a burial in the Forum would have been too great an affront to his Christian subjects (possibly to his pious Roman ones too). At all events, he chose instead a site not far from his new city wall, i.e. outside the old city of Byzantium, which may represent some kind of concession to the *consuetudo Romana*. There he erected a circular or polygonal *heroön* which, according to a passage in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (a passage, one should add, which may well owe more to hindsight than to historical accuracy) was to be dedicated in honour of the Holy Apostles.[6]

The inspiration for this choice of site may not have been wholly Roman; Grabar suggests that it could just as well have been Hellenistic. Alexander the Great was one of a small group of outstanding heroes who had been accorded burial within city limits; there is no doubt that the new building on the fourth hill was in some ways very similar to a Hellenistic *heroön*. Maybe Constantine saw himself as both a second Romulus and a second Alexander; what is certain is that the mausoleum was not by any stretch of the imagination exclusively Christian in concept and almost certainly not, at first, by any definition, a Christian church.[7]

After the death of Constantine at Nicomedia on 21 May 337 his body was brought back to Constantinople in a golden coffin draped in purple. It lay in state in the imperial palace awaiting the arrival of the sons, probably for several weeks.[8] It was Constantius who eventually conducted his father's remains to be interred at what Eusebius calls 'the church dedicated to the Apostles of our Saviour' and there celebrated 'the customary rites'.[9] When Constantius and the

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5. It is not certain that these legends of Romulus would have been known to Constantine, but they might well have been.
6. Much has been made of the supposed centrality and elevation of the site (e.g. Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:230). The so-called 'fourth hill' did not however occupy a central position in the Constantinian city and, in fact, it rises several metres to the west of Holy Apostles to a summit that was well outside the city of Constantine.
7. Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:229–32. It remains to be explained why a site so far from the Palace was chosen. I am persuaded by the arguments of Cyril Mango ('Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of the Relics' *BZ* 83 (1990) 51–62, with plan) that the *heroön* was built by Constantine (thus before 337) while the Church of the Apostles was added to it, begun by his son before his death in 361, consecrated in 370.
8. Eusebius. *VC* 4.64, 66–7; Sokr., *HE* 1.40.1–2 (Hansen 91.10–17).
9. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν νέος Κωνστάντιος ὧδέ πη κοσμῶν τὸν πατέρα τῇ τε παρουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν καθήκουσι, τὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ὁσίας ἀπεπλήρου

military escort had withdrawn, the Christian clergy entered and performed Christian ceremonies in honour of the late emperor. His body, Eusebius tells us, now 'rested on a lofty and conspicuous monument', probably not unlike the tomb of Napoleon at Les Invalides. This is worthy of note; the relics of Christian martyrs and holy men would eventually be raised up in conspicuous places, but not for some considerable time to come. Until then they would remain below ground, decently interred — until men began to tunnel down to them. A yet more striking (and ambivalent) feature of Constantine's tomb is that it lay in the midst of twelve 'cenotaphs', six on either side (these are never mentioned again). What exactly this means is not clear; the question of where exactly the imperial catafalque was originally located in the heroön is a vexed one, but it need not detain us here because wherever and however it might have been originally disposed, things did not long remain undisturbed. In 359 Macedonius, the then Bishop of Constantinople, had the imperial remains transferred to the ancient church of Saint Acacius. His pretext for doing this was that the building in which the remains lay was in a ruinous state and threatening to collapse. Some, thinking it unlikely that a building erected so recently, and at imperial expense, would already be ruinous, have suspected the bishop of ulterior motives.[10] Was he trying to put a more specifically Christian stamp on the great emperor's mausoleum? Clearly there were others who suspected the bishop's motives: a violent disturbance broke out which so provoked the anger of the Emperor Constantius that he relieved the bishop of his throne.[11] The remains of Constantine were then returned to his *heroön* and set in a central location (possibly in the most easterly of the 'apses' surrounding the central space) from which they were never displaced (so far as we know) until their desecration by the Crusaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[12]

John Chrysostom, writing no more than forty years later, leaves little doubt that the imperial remains lay not in the main basilica of the Apostles (which Constantius had built) but in a subsidiary building (presumably the original *heroön*) which, he says, was like a vestibule to the main chamber.[13] In other words, mausoleum and basilica were apparently contiguous. This is confirmed in *De Ceremoniis* (written after two major reconstructions of the complex) where

Eusebius, *VC* 4.70. The phrase seems to conceal some embarrassment on the part of the writer.

10. Mango ('Constantine's Mausoleum' 60) thinks not: 'We know on independent authority that many of Constantine's buildings were unsound and had to be strengthened by his successor'.

11. Sokr., *HE* 2.38.40–3 (Hansen 168.8–18; PG 67:329–32); Sozom., *HE* 4.21 (PG 67:1177A).

12. P. Grierson, 'The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)' *DOP* 16 (1962) 1–63.

13. John Chrysostom, *In Ep. II ad Corinth.* Hom. 26.4 (PG 61:580–2), cited and commented on by G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une Capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris 1974) 408 and n. 2. An anonymous later Russian description of Holy Apostles' says: 'The tomb of the Emperor Constantine and of his mother Helen is behind the sanctuary, between the chapels'. G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington 1984) 148–9

the *heroön* is said to have been connected to the tribunes of the basilica by an exterior, wooden staircase;[14] but there might well have been direct communication between the two spaces at ground level. Nikolaos Mesarites gave this description of the *heroön* as it stood at the end of the twelfth century:

> Let us, if you please, go off to this church which lies toward the east, so that we may look at the things in it, in order to admire and describe them — this church whose founder our discourse has already declared to be Constantius. The whole church is domical and circular, and because of the rather extensive area of the plan, I suppose, it is divided on all sides by numerous stoaed angles, for it was built for the reception of his father's body and of his own and of the bodies of those who should rule after them. To the east, then, and in first place the body of Constantine, who first ruled the Christian Empire, is laid to rest within this purple-hued sarcophagus as though on some purple-blooming royal couch — he who was, after the twelve disciples, the thirteenth herald of the orthodox faith, and likewise founder of this imperial city. The sarcophagus has a four-sided shape, somewhat oblong but not with equal sides... [15]

So far then it has been reasonably established that Constantinople did house her founder's remains down to 1204 and where they were conserved. The question now to be answered is: at what point did Constantinople begin to regard those remains as holy; in other words, as Christian relics (*hiera leipsana*)? Certainly not from the very beginning because at the time of Constantine's death only martyrs' remains and supposed fragments of the True Cross were acknowledged as sacred relics. Later on, wonder-working holy men and certain outstanding bishops (John Chrysostom first among them) would be reckoned among the saints and their remains honoured as sacred relics; but these developments are characteristic of the fifth rather than of the fourth century.[16] The question of the extent to which Constantine was actually a Christian might not have troubled later generations but it could hardly have failed to trouble his contemporaries. Whatever his religious beliefs were, all the evidence suggests that they were by no means exclusively Christian. As Dagron remarks, in spite of the efforts of Eusebius to conceal the matter, 'il est clair que l'inspiration des Saints-Apôtres [i.e. the *heroön*] n'est pas purement chrétienne.'[17] The double funeral service mentioned above would seem to indicate an ambiance which was very far from being purely Christian. Indeed, it has been argued that this, combined with his

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14. *De Cer.* 2.7 (PG 112:1005B).
15. 'Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople' 39.1–4 ed. and tr. G. Downey *TAPS* n.s. 47 (1957) 855–924.
16. Yet as early as 356 Anthony of Egypt was careful to ensure that his corpse not fall into the hands of those who would treat it as a holy relic, or so says Athanasius (*Vita Antonii* 90). Anthony is probably the earliest case of a person who was not a martyr (other than those mentioned in NT) being treated as a saint. See J. Wortley, 'The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts' *RHR* 223 (2006) 5–28.
17. Dagron, *Naissance* 401–7.

portraiture in the guise of Helios / *sol invictus* (the Anthêlios) on the great porphyry column in the Forum Constantini, the various rites which took place at that column, and the ceremonies observed in the Hippodrome on 11 May from 330 onwards (to say nothing of his apotheosis portrayed on his consecration medal) indicate a definite attempt to create the cult of an emperor who was both the colleague of the gods and the friend of Jesus.[18] Since Christianity is an exclusive religion ('Thou shalt have no other gods before Me'), this religious ambivalence on the emperor's part must inevitably have created some disquiet about the nature of his faith; how then could he ever be revered as a Christian saint? It is a question which remains unanswered, yet the day undoubtedly arrived when Constantine was reckoned among the blest.

How early might that have been? When does evidence of a hagiological cult in his honour first appear? Alexander Kazhdan has demonstrated that the various strands of the legend of 'Saint' Constantine (and of Helena) made their appearance early in the ninth century, possibly related in some way to the joint reign of Constantine VI and Irene.[19] The first symptom of a hagiological cult, however, is in most cases not a legend but devotion to, or at, the tomb of the person in question. This there undoubtedly was in the case of Constantine from a very early date (witness the uproar when Macedonius displaced his mortal remains), but such a disturbance is no proof of *Christian* devotion to the dead emperor. It might just as well have been a civil protest against the remains being removed to an exclusively Christian temple from a decidedly ambivalent one. The devotion manifested by the rioters of 357 could have been similar to (and no more Christian than) the devotion displayed by those veterans who gathered and protested at the sepulchre of Constantine V Copronymus in 813.[20] There is however one allegation of Christian devotion to the great emperor's memory as early as the fifth century, but how far this can be trusted is a thorny question. Writing *ca* 433, the Arian church historian Philostorgius (c.368 – c.439) is said to have stated that, in his time, there were Christians who were practising some kind of rites in devotion to the memory of Constantine; devotion which was focussed, not on his tomb, but on 'his' statue atop the great porphyry column in the Forum. Thus Photius on Philostorgius' (no longer extant) *Ecclesiastical History*:

> This impious enemy of God also accuses the Christians of
> propitiating with sacrifices the image of Constantine standing on
> the porphyry column, of honouring it with lights and incense, of

18. Krautheimer, *Christian Capitals* 56–67.
19. A. Kazhdan, 'Constantin imaginaire: Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great' *Byz* (1987) 196–250, but the animadversions of Roger Scott, 'The Image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes' *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot 1994) 58 are to be noted. See also A. Markopoulos, 'Constantine the Great in Macedonian Historiography: Models and Approaches' *New Constantines* 159–70.
20. Theoph. AM 6305 (de Boor 1:501.3–27). This passage seems to indicate that at that time there was a gate between the Apostles' Church and the imperial tombs [ἡ πύλη τῶν βασιλικῶν τάφων] and that this gate was normally kept closed.

offering vows to it as though it were a god, and of offering prayers
and intercession to avert impending disasters.[21]

Thus Photius would like to dismiss this as a piece of anti-orthodox propaganda; understandably, for the rite described does no credit to Christians. On the other hand, it may just be possible to detect a Christianised version of this same rite in the sixth-century common source used by John Malalas and the writer of *Chronicon Paschale.* This source may speak of the Eucharist being celebrated at the Column, presumably in honour of Constantine, probably in the lean-to chapel at the foot of the column first attested in *De Ceremoniis* but possibly much older.[22] This is dangerous ground, for in this context 'the bloodless sacrifice' (Malalas 320.19) might not have its usual meaning of the holy Eucharist.

Nevertheless, the passage in question accords well with some other indications of a growing respect for Constantine as a *Christian* hero well before the appearance of the legends in the ninth century. Foremost among these is Malalas' break with the prevailing tradition that Constantine received Arian baptism on his deathbed by asserting that he (and his mother) were baptised by the orthodox Silvester of Rome much earlier in the reign, thus removing a palpable barrier to sanctity.[23] Even more striking are the 'Lines improvised on the occasion of the reading of the dispatch (i.e. at Constantinople in 630)[24] concerning the restitution of the Holy Woods [i.e. the True Cross]' by George of Pisidia. In his poem the Skeuophylax of the Great Church comes very close to hailing Constantine as a saint:

Let Constantine the Great now praise the kind of man you [the Emperor
    Heraclius] are
For none other is equal to the task of extolling you.
Oh Constantine, appear at [New] Rome again,
Applaud the child [*sc.* Heraclius] who, receiving your
Imperial inheritance in a sorry state has demonstrated it to be restored.
You should now leave the city which is above [Gal 4:26] to
Come and dance with us in this city below.
Afflicted and sorrowful was your soul

21. Οὗτος ὁ θεομάχος καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου εἰκόνα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πορφυροῦ κίονος ἱσταμένην, θυσίαις τε ἰλάσκεσθαι καὶ λυχνοκαΐαις καὶ θυμιάμασι τιμᾶν, καὶ εὐχὰς προσάγειν ὡς θεῷ καὶ ἀποτροπαίους ἱκετηρίας τῶν δεινῶν ἐπιτελεῖν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς κατηγορεῖ, Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.17 (*Kirchengeschichte* ed. J. Bidez & F. Winkelmann (2nd ed. Berlin 1972) 28 *non vidi, Epit. Photii* PG 65:480).

22. Malal. (Dindorf 320); *Chron. Pasch.* 528. See also *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris* ed. H. Delahaye (Brussels 1902) 673.21ff and Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 2.49 ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1907, rp. 1975) 2:177.13–178.7). For the chapel, R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin,* vol. 1, *Le siège de Constantinople et la patriarcat oecuménique* (Paris 1969) 295–8, no. 5.

23. Scott, 'Image' 9, quoting Malal. 13.2.12–16 (Dindorf 317).

24. The date is established by V. Grumel, 'La reposition de la vraie croix à Jerusalem par Heraclius: Le jour et l'année' *ByzF* 1 (1966) 139–49.

Until you learned that the Cross was
Returned and victorious; the Cross which
You first found hidden, in its original place;
The cross which your son [found] not only hidden,
But located in a Persian furnace [i.e. among fire-worshippers]
And brought it back to its original place.
You have a son by God's providence
Who, like unto Constantine reappearing,
Is fortified and protected by the life-giving Woods.[25]

Short though the step may have been from this to Constantine actually being treated as a saint, reliable evidence of an exclusively Christian liturgical celebration in his honour does not occur until early in the ninth century, although the rite could be much older. The *Typicon of the Great Church* prescribes a *synaxis* in honour of Constantine and Helena (of whom more below) 'our first emperors' on 21st May, the day on which Constantine died in 337. The service is to be held, not at the Column in the *Forum Constantini* (as, presumably, heretofore) but at the tomb in the *heroön*.[26] Whether this in itself is an indication that Constantine and Helena were now revered among the saints is a difficult question. Had they been mere mortals, the evidence would be decisive, but they were *augusti* — and emperors were not as other men are for the Later Romans. Most of the Later Roman emperors were buried in one of the two imperial mausolea (for Justinian built another one when Constantine's *heroön* was full). The tomb of Constantine (and, supposedly of Helena, but see below) was not by any means the only imperial sepulchre distinguished by an annual *synaxis*:

25. *Carmi de Giorgio di Pisidia* ed. L. Tartaglia (Turin 1998) Carm. 6.47–63 (239–47) (our translation):

> τοῖόν σε Κωνσταντίνος ὑμνήσοι μέγας·
> ἄλλος γὰρ ὑμᾶς εὐλογῶν οὐκ ἀρκέσει.
> φάνηθι, Κωνσταντῖνε, τῇ Ῥώμῃ πάλιν·
> κρότει τὸ τέκνον, πῶς λαβὼν πεφυρμένην
> ἔδειξε τὴν σὴν οὐσίαν σεσωσμένην.
> δέον σε νῦν μεθέντα τὴν ἄνω πόλιν
> ταύτῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν συγχορεῦσαι τῇ κάτω·
> στυγνὸν γὰρ εἶχες πνεῦμα καὶ τεθλιμμένον
> ἕως παλινδρομοῦντα καὶ νικηφόρον
> τὸν σταυρὸν ἔγνως, ὅν σὺ μὲν κεκρυμμένον
> τὸ πρῶτον εὗρες εἰς τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον,
> τὸ σὸν δὲ τέκνον οὐ κεκρυμμένον μόνον.
> ἀλλ' εἰς καμίνους Περσικὰς ἀφιγμένον
> πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀντανήγαγεν τόπους·
> ἔχεις δὲ τέκνον ἐκ Θεοῦ προθημίας·
> ὡς ἄν γε Κωνσταντῖνος εὑρεθῇ πάλιν
> τοῖς ζωοποιοῖς ὠχυρωμένος ξύλοις

26. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église* (2 vols Rome 1962–6) 1:296.8–32. On the date of the *Typicon, ODB* 2132–3. 21st May became a very important holy day at the Capital, with cessation of official business etc., *AASS* Aug.iii (Antwerp 1737) 578BC.

several other emperors received similar honours.[27] Are these all then to be
reckoned among the saints? Probably not since they include such an unlikely
candidate for sainthood as Justinian II, for example; yet it must be admitted that
a very thin line seems to have been drawn between the more outstanding
emperors and the company of the blessed.[28]

Be that as it may, Constantine (and, to a certain extent, Helena) were
honoured more highly than any other of the emperors, in three significant ways.
First, the commemoration of Constantine and Helena on 21 May is the *unique*
commemoration stipulated for that day. Rarely indeed is there a unique synaxis
in the use of Constantinople; certainly no other emperor was ever granted such a
distinction.[29] Secondly, it was with a triple synaxis that 'our first emperors' were
honoured on 21 May, meaning that their *synaxis* took place at three separate
locations: at the Great Church, at Holy Apostles' and 'at [Constantine's] sacred
temple in the Cistern of Bonus' (of which more below). Triple *synaxes* are not
unknown on other days, but never in honour of any other emperor. Thirdly, there
were churches and chapels dedicated in the name of Constantine (but not of
Helena). The only other person of imperial rank to receive an eponymous oratory
was Theophano, the first wife of Leo VI, who built it for her, perhaps in
remorse.[30] In all, Janin traced nine Constantinian dedications, of which the most
important was, predictably, the *heroön*, which is actually referred to in *De
Ceremoniis* as 'Saint Constantine's'. Next in importance is the chapel at the
column in the Forum already mentioned, then a chapel in the Palace of Bonus,
not far from Holy Apostles', of which the earliest known mention is in *De
Ceremoniis*. Of the remaining Constantinian dedications, one is attributed to

27. Thus *Typicon*: Theodosius I (9–10 Sept) and Placilla (14 Sept, ms *Fa* only);
    Theodosius II (30 July) and Athenaïs-Eudocia (13 August); the Blessed Pulcheria:
    with Irene, 7 Aug., *sola* 10 Sept or 17 Feb. Marcian (17 Feb) Leo I (5 or 20 Jan)
    Justinian I and Theodora (2 Aug and 14 Nov.) Justinian II (15 July), 'Constantine
    Marcian and their children' [*sic*] (28 Nov.), which could be a corruption of 'Tiberius,
    Maurice and their children' (thus V. Grumel, 'Le Mémoire de Tibère II et de Maurice
    dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople' *AB* 84 (1966) 249–53) — but maybe
    Constantine in this context is not a formal title for Tiberius, as Grumel suggests, but a
    corruption of Constantia, the wife of Maurice? This would make sense of the
    reference to 'their children', who were brutally murdered. The ninth-century
    empresses Irene, Theodora and Theophano were also honoured with annual synaxes:
    Synaxarium CP 372.2 and/or 877.56, 458.27.
28. Theodoret of Cyrr comments: 'Who is there who knows where the grave of Darius or
    of Xerxes is located, or of Alexander who conquered so many people in so short a
    time? And why do I speak of those of ancient times? For neither is the tomb of
    Augustus known nor the resting place of those who ruled the Roman Empire after
    him without knowing Him who created it and bequeathed it to them. *It is only the
    god-fearing emperors whose tombs are known*; and those among them who ruled
    impiously, their tombs are known but are accorded no honour whatsoever',
    Graecarum affectionum curatio 7 (PG 83:1029CD, italics added).
29. Mateos, *Typicon* 1:296.8–32; *Synaxarium CP* 700.32–4. There was a second
    commemoration of Constantine (alone) on 3 November, but there were three other
    commemorations on that day: *Typicon* 1:12.21–14.2.
30. Janin (*Églises CP* 1:245) notes two dedications to Saint Theophano, both in the
    vicinity of Holy Apostles'.

Basil I (3rd) and one to Theophano (7th),[31] indicating a florescence of the cult of Constantine early in the Macedonian era.

Fourthly, in addition to his bones, secondary relics believed to be of Constantine appear to have been preserved and cherished at the capital. The earliest clear evidence of this is found in the tenth-century description of the ceremonies at the three locations where the *synaxes* in honour of 'the great and holy Constantine' used to be celebrated on 21 May.[32] It might be expected that if a truly hagiological cult of 'our first emperors' were developing, the main emphasis of the day's celebrations would have been precisely where their mortal remains were thought to lie, but this was not in fact the case. It was a state occasion; as one might expect, the court processed first to Holy Apostles' where the emperors entered 'the tombs, or Saint Constantine's' by means of the exterior stairway mentioned above. The senior emperor present then offered incense at the tombs of his predecessors, one by one, ending up at the catafalque of 'the first and great Constantine, the holy and glorious emperor'. When the censing was accomplished the court proceeded to the chapel of the adjacent Palace of Bonus where the senior emperor, accompanied by the patriarch, entered the sanctuary (*bêma*) of Saint Constantine ('there are two *bêmata* there; one is Saint Helena's; the other — over which there is a silver ciborium — is Saint Constantine's.') It was here, in this palace chapel, rather than at Holy Apostles', that the eucharistic liturgy was consummated. This might seem to imply a certain disregard for the emperor's mortal remains but it transpires that, at least on this day of the year, the chapel of the Palace of Bonus housed a very distinguished Constantinian relic, 'the great cross of Constantine'. It is this cross which appears to have been the main focus of the celebrations there, for the emperors would station themselves before it at the reading of the Gospel.[33] This might possibly have been the cross of which Theodore the Lector wrote c.518. Concerning the fragment of the True Cross which Helena is reputed to have sent to her son, he alleges (as do earlier writers) that this relic (in his version, a portion of it) was placed in the statue *Anthêlios* atop the great column in the Forum Constantini while another part of the same relic was enclosed in a golden and bejewelled reliquary in the form of a processional cross, normally conserved in the Great Palace.[34] If this were the cross in question, it had been given a wider significance, for the troparion for the feast begins: 'Having seen the sign of the cross in the sky...'[35] This implies that this cross was believed to represent (maybe even to be) the famous Chi-Rho *labarum* which Constantine, after seeing

31. Ibid., 295–8.
32. *De Cer.* 2.6 (PG 112:1000A–1001B).
33. καὶ ὑποστρέφοντες ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἀνέρχονται τὰ βάθρα, καὶ ἵστανται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ μεγάλου σταυροῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου, ἐκδεχόμενοι τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου ἀνάγνωσιν, ibid. 1001AB
34. Theodoros Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. G.C. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte* (2nd ed. Berlin 1995) 13), quoted, translated and discussed in H.A. Klein, 'Constantine, Helena and the Cult of the True Cross at Constantinople' *Byzance et les Reliques du Christ* ed. J. Durand & B. Flusin (Paris 2004) 36–7.
35. Mateos, *Typicon* 1:296.15–20.

a cross in the sky, caused to be constructed under divine instruction and which he used to lead his troops to victory. There was a legend already circulating in the early fifth century concerning its transformation. Thus Sozomen: Constantine 'sent for some skilful artisans and commanded them to remodel the standard called by the Romans *labarum*, to convert it into the representation of the cross and to adorn it with gold and precious stones'.[36] The object in question is elsewhere said normally to have been conserved within the Great Palace, at the Church of Saint Stephen at Daphnê.[37] What its connection with the Palace of Bonus might be is not known.

The twelfth-century visitors to Constantinople knew of this cross and of its associations. Thus Nicolaus Thingeyrensis (who gives no location, but the Great Church is implied): 'Crux argentea, inaurata et lapidibus ornata, quam rex Constantinus fieri curavit, ad effigiem istius quam viderat in caelo'.[38] Anon. Mercati is more precise and also specifies that it lay in the Great Church: 'Sursum autem in pariete est argentea crux deaurata quam fecit sanctus Constantinus secundum figuram quam vidit in caelo per literas stellarum. Propter hoc enim posuit lapides smaragdinos quasi stellas'.[39] It may have been the same object which Anthony of Novgorod claims to have seen at the Nea Church 'en haut des portes du choeur' for he was told that it was with this that the great emperor went into battle, but Anthony is notoriously unreliable on locations.[40] While it may seem somewhat unlikely that the original *labarum* should still be in existence in the twelfth century, it is by no means impossible that there existed a reproduction of it, made on the basis of the instructions supplied by Eusebius, but with the cross more predominant than it may have been in the original.[41] It is significant in this context that, from the tenth century, the various legends of Constantine do start to use the word cross to describe the *labarum*.[42]

There may have been other relics of Constantine shown at the capital by the twelfth century, such as the bit for his horse, which (we know from elsewhere) was supposed to have been formed from the Holy Nails sent to him by his mother.[43] For the rest there is only the word of Anthony of Novgorod to go on. He claims to have seen that emperor's shield at the Nea, 'à la grille, près du grand choeur' and he adds this curious detail: 'sur ce bouclier des deux côtés on pose l'hostie pour donner la communion aux fidèles'. He claims to have seen the

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36. Sozom., *HE* 1.4 (Walford).
37. *De Cer.* 2.40 (PG 112:1188B).
38. P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (3 vols Geneva 1877–1904) 2:215.
39. *Anon. Mercati* 3.80–3 (ed. K.N. Cigtaar. 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais' *REB* 34 (1976) 211–67)
40. Ant. Nov. 57.
41. Eusebius, *VC* 1.28–31.
42. A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961) 183 no. 38, 89 n. 2.
43. Nicolaus Thingeyrensis (Riant, *Exuviae* 2:214).

silver carriage of Constantine and Helena too (at the Great Church) and also the crown of Constantine.[44]

It may then be said with some confidence that there were both primary and secondary relics of Constantine at the capital. There is also clear evidence of a distinctive religious observance in his honour, indeed, of a highly privileged feast. One thing, however, is still lacking to confirm that Constantine did indeed qualify as a saint: some indication that he was credited with the working of miracles. For this one has to wait until well after the fall of Constantinople. Thus Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (ca 1265–ca 1335):

> The President of good things later honoured [Constantine] with
> glory, as a faithful minister, granting him the grace of healing and
> of miracles, both at his own grave and also at the statue on the
> porphyry column, so that no illness was intractable there...[45]

These words were of course written long after 'Constantine's' statue had been toppled from the porphyry column in 1106[46] and his tomb desecrated by the Franks in 1204; yet they seem to echo a time when both were intact. It is an open question whether they preserve an ancient tradition or are merely wishful thinking on the part of the writer.

As noted above, when the Emperor Constantine the Great first appears in the liturgical formularies, it is in conjunction with his mother, Helena.[47] It is not at all clear why this should be so, nor is the appellation 'our first emperors' entirely correct. Eusebius certainly portrays her as a devout practitioner of the Christian faith her son had taught her and a great benefactor of both the churches and those in need, especially in the east and in the Holy Land.[48] The fifth-century ecclesiastical historians pick up the stories of her alleged finding of the Wood of the True Cross,[49] a story to which the seventh century George of Pisidia makes

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44. *Ant. Nov.* 57, 49. The crown may in fact have been the one which Leo IV the Khazar presumptuously wore and which caused the carbuncles from which he died to break out; Theoph. AM 6272 (De Boor 1:453.25–30). Heraclius also set a crown in the Great Church: Kedr. 2:20.3–8.
45. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.55 (PG 146:220D).
46. On 5 April 1106, in a severe gale, the Apollo-Helios statue was blown to the ground. *Patria CP* 1–45a (Preger 138–9); *Alexiad* 12.4.5 (Leib 3:66); Zon. 13.3.26
47. On Helena see (most recently) J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden 1992). See also S. Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found: from Event to Medieval Legend* (Stockholm 1991).
48. Eusebius, *VC* 3.43–7. There is however, no evidence that 'she sponsored churches at Constantinople' (*ODB* 909); J. Wortley, 'The Legend of Constantine the Relic-Provider' *Daimonopylai: Essays in Classics and the Classical Tradition Presented to Edmund G. Berry* (Winnipeg 2004) 487–96.
49. It is by no means impossible that, as tradition claims, Helena brought back a fragment of the Holy Wood from the Holy Land in 327 and placed it in her palace chapel, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, at Rome (Krautheimer, *Christian Capitals* 23), and that this might be one of the seeds from which the legend of the Invention sprang.

no reference (see above) and which is surprisingly weakened in the *Synaxary*. This is all it has to say about her in the entry for both emperors: 'And he [Constantine] having sent his mother Helena to Jerusalem in search of the venerable [pieces of] wood on which Christ our God was hung in the flesh and by her agency having recovered them (one of which she deposited in Jerusalem itself, one she brought back to the imperial city) she, upon reaching Constantinople, departed this life.'[50] It has been claimed that various authors inserted Helena as a major participant in legends about the life of her son[51] but the evidence of this is very scarce. The ninth-century legends add little more than the unflattering story of how she, an inn-keeper's daughter (or worse), came to bear Constantine to Constantius Chlorus and of the gift of the purple robe by which she and the boy were later recognised.[52] There is not a great deal here of the stuff saints are made of and, in truth, given her veneration of the martyr Lucian of Antioch and her dealings with Eusebius of Nicomedia (the teacher and the disciple of Arius respectively), it is surprising that she was not suspected of dangerously heretical tendencies rather than admitted to the ranks of the blessed. There is little doubt that it was mainly on account of her association with Constantine, regardless of her supposed invention (on his behalf) of the Holy Cross, that she was admitted to the list of saints.[53] For she undoubtedly executed his will in several ways, some of which (one might suspect) conveniently excused the son from committing himself exclusively to his new religion.

Helena lived to a ripe old age, but the date of her demise is unsure. A *terminus post quem* is supplied by the numismatic evidence (her effigy disappears from coins after 329), but that is the most that can be said with any certainty. Eusebius says that 'she died in the presence of her son,[54] who... held the corpse of the blessed [Helena] to be worthy of exceptional honour. He brought it back to the imperial city [ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν] with a numerous guard of honour and there laid it in the imperial sepulchres [ἡρίοις

50. *Synaxarium CP* 700.3–20 (21st May).
51. L. Brubaker, 'Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries' *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* ed. L. James (London 1997) 52. This article traces the emergence of a Helena-legend down to the 9th century but fails to discover any distinctive elements of sanctity.
52. Kazhdan, 'Constantin imaginaire' 212ff.
53. For the incidence of statuary at Constantinople depicting Constantine, Helena and the Cross see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* 189–94. The inter-dependence of Helena and Constantine is clearly expressed in the lines ('quos modice correxi') which Joh. Pinius cites from the *Menaea*: οἱ κοινὸν εἶχον γῆς βασιλεῖς τὸ στέφος / ἔχουσι κοινὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πόλου στέφος (Corona quos communis in terra extulit / Corona quoque communis in caelo beat). *AASS* Aug.iii (Antwerp 1737) 578B.
54. 'And when at length at the close of a long life, she was called to inherit a happier lot, having arrived at the eightieth year of her age, and being very near the time of her departure, she prepared and executed her last will in favour of her only son, the emperor and sole monarch of the world, and her grandchildren [...] Having thus made her will, this thrice-blessed woman died in the presence of her illustrious son, who was in attendance at her side, caring for her and holding her hands,' Eusebius, *VC* 3.46 (tr. Richardson).

βασιλικοῖς].'[55] Writing about a century later, the ecclesiastical historian Socrates follows Eusebius closely, but he misinterprets the phrase 'back to the imperial city'. Helena's body was brought (he writes) 'to the imperial city, *New Rome*, and was buried there,' i.e. in Constantinople.[56] Later on Alexander the Monk (who was Theophanes' source in this matter) even specified *where* in New Rome she was buried. Describing the funeral of Constantine in 337, he says that Constantius deposited the golden coffin of his father 'in an elevated position at the Apostles' Church where Helena his [Constantine's] mother was laid to rest.'[57] To this Theophanes adds that Helena was the first person to be buried *in that place*.[58] Now this ἐν αὐτῷ and the expression of Alexander the Monk 'where his mother was laid to rest' [ἔνθα ἀπετέθη ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ] create an ambiguity; do they only mean that mother and son lay in the same 'Apostles' Church' (which we know to be an anachronistic name for the *heroön*) or that both of them occupied the same elevated position, i.e., sarcophagus? Common sense would suggest the former, but later authorities did not hesitate to assert otherwise. The chapter on the tombs in *De Ceremoniis* may be the earliest of them: 'First of all, towards the east, there is located the tomb of Saint [*sic*] Constantine, made of porphyry, also called Roman [marble] in which he lies with Helena his blessed mother' writes Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[59] George Cedrenus goes even further, claiming that the great Emperor shared his tomb not only with his mother but also with his wife Fausta: strange bed-fellows indeed, since the one lady is supposed to have been responsible for the death (by strangling) of the other.[60]

Given the elaborate arrangements Constantine made for the disposition of his own mortal remains, it is amazing that anybody could ever have imagined that he would have suffered them to be laid at rest in a tomb already occupied by another (even if it were his own mother), not least because this would seriously have deranged the carefully planned symbolism of his *heroön*.[61] Whether that symbolism was pagan, Christian or both (all of which are possible), everything would fall to the ground and be neutralised if the focal sepulchre were known to contain anything other than the unique body of Constantine, the emperor and sole monarch of the world. Apart from that consideration, there is, admittedly, only an argument from silence that he *did not* share his mother's tomb but it is

55. Eusebius, *VC* 3.47. See Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* 73–6 on the death.
56. Sokr., *HE* 1.17.13 (Hansen 57.20–1, PG 67:121A).
57. Alexander the Monk, *De Inventione Crucis* PG 87.3:4068C. The date of this work could be anywhere between the mid-6th and the 9th century; *ODB* 60.
58. Theoph. AM 5817 (De Boor 1.27.10–13): πρώτη δὲ ἐτάφη ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ μακαρία Ἑλένη.
59. *De Cer.* 2.42 (PG 112:1188B–92A).
60. Kedr. 1:520; Zosim. 2.29. Anthony of Novgorod is formal: 'Dans l'église des Saints Apôtres reposent le tsar Constantin et sa mère dans un seul tombeau' (Ant. Nov. 59) and so is Robert de Clari: 'Se disoit on que Coustentins, li emperes, y gesoit & Helaine' ('La Conquête de Constantinople' *Historiens et chroniqueurs du Moyen Age* ed. A. Pauphilet, E. Pognon (Paris 1952, rp. 1986) c. 87 p. 76). *Anon. Mercati* 29 almost certainly agrees but there is a lacuna at that point.
61. Eusebius, *VC* 4.58–50

by no means an argument without strength. If she had indeed lain there, why was there no mention of Helena's remains when Bishop Macedonius moved the body of Constantine to Saint Acacius' in 359?[62] If her remains were there (and this argument holds good whether they were in the porphyry sarcophagus of the Emperor or elsewhere in the *heroön* which was supposedly threatening to fall down) Macedonius would have been obliged to evacuate them too in order to validate his pretext (if that is what it was) for moving Constantine. It could be argued that, given her less importance, she was assigned some discreet and distant tomb in a section of the *heroön* not in danger of collapsing, but this seems not to have been the case. A good bit is known about the tombs in the *heroön* and there is never a whisper of a separate tomb for Helena. As hagiologists are well aware, when nothing else whatsoever remains of a person regarded as a saint, there are three basic data which will nearly always prevail, the *coordonées hagiographiques* as Delehaye called them, *viz* a place of burial, a name and a death-date. It is the first of the three which is the perpetuator and guarantor of the other two, hence the tomb is the most important factor. Nevertheless, an independent cult will rarely emerge without the coincidence of all three *coordonées*. All we have for Helena is a name; we do not know her date of death; indeed, where we would most hope to find it, i.e. in the Constantinopolitan liturgical evidence, there is not the slightest trace of a commemoration of her *sola*, meaning other than as the adjunct of her son (whose death-date, it need hardly be added, she was most unlikely to have shared). The most likely reason for this is that there never was a separate tomb for her in the capital; no focal point around which an annual *synaxis* in her honour *alone* could be celebrated. Hence her death-date, if it were ever known, was not perpetuated and has been lost.[63] Instead, from at least the ninth century (i.e. from about the same time as the first mention of a shared tomb) it was taken to be 21 May, and this was the only day in the year when Helena was mentioned in the use of Constantinople. Many a later Byzantine empress fared much better, mainly because her tomb was known and could be gathered around for a commemoration. Not so for Helena; she was never accorded a secondary, sole commemoration by the eastern church, (although her son was — on 3 September), nor did the capital house any secondary relics of her to speak of; Nicolaus Thingeyrensis is alone in listing *Kusl sancte Helenae* (presumably an item of clothing) among the relics of the capital,[64] but it is totally in vain that one searches there for reliable evidence of some chapel or oratory dedicated in her

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62. Sokr., *HE* 2.38 (PG 67:329–32); Sozom., *HE* 4.21 (PG 67:1177A).

63. This is true only in the East: the Western church celebrates her demise on 18 August ('Romae via Lavicana sanctae Helenae matris Constantini Magni piissimi Imperatoris, qui primus Ecclesiae tuendae atque amplificandae exemplum ceteris Principibus praebuit' says the *Martyrologium Romanum*) which could be the correct date, since the West possessed her real tomb. There is no Greek hagiography of Helena *sola*; for Latin *Vita* etc. (including a long hymn) *AASS* Aug.iii (Antwerp 1737) 580E ff.

64. *Chlamys* according to Riant, *Exuviae* 2:214. 'Digitus sancte Helenae' was the 45th of the 54 relics Robert de Clari brought back to Corbie: Riant, *Exuviae* 2:199.

name prior to 1204.[65] All the foregoing considerations indicate that her hagiological existence was extremely tenuous; a mere extrusion of the cult of Constantine, rather than an entity in is own right.[66]

It should however be noted that Theophanes, having claimed that Helena was the first person to be laid in Constantine's sarcophagus, goes on to say that she was honoured there 'with magnificent commemorations and all-night vigils [μνήμαις φαιδραῖς καὶ παννυχίσι τιμηθεῖσα]'. This tells us nothing whatsoever about what happened in the fourth century, but it might say something about what went on in Theophanes' time, the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, just about the time when Constantine VI and Irene his mother were compared with Constantine I and *his* mother.[67] The language Theophanes uses certainly recalls celebrations in honour of a saint rather than a funeral liturgy. Hence there *may* once have been a time when Helena was fêted as a saint in her own right, but it was probably at her son's tomb and altogether in association with him.[68]

Given the rapidly expanding legends of 'Saint Helena' it is odd that there is so little evidence of an independent cult in her honour at the capital but the explanation is quite simple: her relics never came anywhere near Constantinople; it was Socrates (*ut supra*) who misunderstood Eusebius to say that they did. Caesar Baronius is usually credited with being the first person to have spotted Socrates' mistake although (as he points out) Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos was aware of it.[69] Even earlier, writing in the twelfth century, the judicious Zonaras treats the alleged translation of Helena with great circumspection and when speaking of Constantine's funeral studiously avoids any mention of the mother.[70]

Socrates' mistake is perfectly understandable; in his time 'the imperial city' was Constantinople, New Rome, and had been since 11 May 330, over a century before his time. But before that Rome on the Tiber was still 'the imperial city' (at least in name), and it almost certainly still was at the time when Helena passed away. It is now widely agreed that her embalmed body was taken to Old Rome and there laid to rest in a rich sarcophagus in a mausoleum which Constantine had provided for his own burial, later known as the *Tor Pignattara*. This was located near the church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro on the Via Labicana, just outside the Aurelian wall. The porphyry sarcophagus in which she lay,

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65. See *AASS* Aug.iii (Antwerp 1737) 578CD and Janin, *Églises CP* s.v. 'Helenae'.
66. Mateos, *Typicon* 1:296.8–14 and 1:14.1–2.
67. Kazhdan, 'Constantin imaginaire'.
68. Theoph. AM 5817 (de Boor 1:27.13–15) (the following lines seem to indicate that some sisters in Jerusalem honoured her memory, διὰ παντὸς θείαις μνήμαις αὐτὴν ἐμακάριζον); E. Gemillscheg in *ODB* 908.
69. Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198* (12 vols Rome 1588–93) anno 326, item 62. Nicephorus (who lived long after the Latins had destroyed the imperial tombs) tried to circumvent the dilemma by suggesting that Helena was first buried at Rome then two years later translated to New Rome: PG 146:121A.
70. Zon. 13.4.24 and 28.

'present *in situ* until the mid-twelfth century, when it was taken by Pope Anastasius IV (1153–4) for his own use', is now on display in the Vatican Museum.[71]

Apparently none of the above was known to the Venetians, for they celebrated, not once, but twice each year, the translation of the relics of Saint Helena from Constantinople to Venice in 1211, once on 21st May (the Feast of Constantine and Helena in the east, *ut supra*) then again on the Tuesday after Pentecost — which might conceivably have fallen on 21st May in the year when the relics arrived at Venice.[72] An account of the translation of the body ('tolto a Constantinopoli da Aycardo monaco') has been preserved:

> At the same time a galley-captain of the Moro family carried off the body of Saint Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, taken from Constantinople by Aycardo the monk, together with a small cross made of wood of the Holy Cross, with the intention of depositing them in the Church of Saint Mark. But when he was not far from the shore he struck a sand-bank where, at that time, they used to pay off the armed galleys. Although they made every effort by rowing and towing they could not get out of that place until the aforesaid galley-captain put the body mentioned above ashore, on the said sand-bank. Once that was done the galley immediately went its way, without being towed and with very little effort. When Moro saw what had happened, with the consent of the bishop, he had a chapel built at that place and deposited the said body there. In AD 1407 the site was given to the Benedictine monks of the Congregation of the Mount of Olives and one of the Talenti of Bologna, then living in Venice, had the monastery built, the one you see to this day.[73]

The intrepid Richard Hakluyt (ca 1553–1616) must have visited that monastery, for he claimed that the body of Helena was still lying at Venice in his day, remarking *huius corpus non minima nunc cura venetiis servatur*.[74] The church has survived, although little more than some fragments of the monastery remains. It is situated on the Isola di Santa Elena, Viale Santa Elena, at the eastern extremity of Venice. Time has not been kind to this sanctuary (it became a military warehouse in 1806) and much of its glory has departed. But in 1930 it

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71. J. Guyon, *Le Cimetière aux Deux Lauriers* (Vatican City 1987) 255–6 etc and, most recently, G. MacKie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function, and Patronage* (Toronto 2003) 56–7 and figs 42, 43. The relics appear to have gone to various destinations: *AASS* Aug.iii (Antwerp 1737) 577F.

72. Riant, *Exuviae* 2:294 and 302, but see his cautionary note on the use of Calendars, 1:ccxvij–ccxxj.

73. Ibid. 1:cvij n. 1, quoting Flaminius Cornelius (alias Flaminio Cornaro), *Ecclesiae venetae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis* (13 vols Venice 1749) 9:179–81 (our translation).

74. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* 73–6; Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:205, 228 and 257 n. 1. R. Hakluyt, 'The Trauaile of Helena' *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (12 vols in 3, London 1598–1600) vol. 5, *Central and Southern Europe* (http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/7900).

was constituted a parish church for the surrounding area, since when its fortunes have somewhat revived. In spite of these vicissitudes, the shrine of Saint Helena can still be seen there (between 6:00 and 6:45 pm). It lies under a glass cover beneath the altar of the Boromeo chapel to the right of the nave. The contents were investigated in 1929 by Dr. Ulisse Canziani. Within a silver mask and a pewter covering for the rest of the body he found the fairly complete skeleton (missing some lower bones which had obviously been stolen) of a person approximately 1.53 m. in height, 'modesta, ma non troppo per una donna'.[75] It remained, however, by no means certain that this person was a woman ('C'è qualche dubbio sul sesso femminile'), which leaves open the possibility that it may be not the mother but the son whose bones are conserved in Venice. For consider: as we have seen, the great marble sarcophagus which lay between the twelve 'cenotaphs' in the Mausoleum of Constantine could only have contained *his* bones, as Helena's lay in the Old Rome on the Tiber. Yet popular belief held that it contained *hers* too. So if the monk Aycardo truly believed he was offering the Venetians Helena's relics (which, of course, was not necessarily the case — he could have been a fraud), then he must have gotten them from where they were believed to lie: in Constantine's sarcophagus. This would mean that what the Venetians have cherished all these centuries as Helena's relics might possibly not be hers at all but those of her son, Constantine the Great (the fate of which is otherwise unknown).

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75. C. Corrain and M. Capitanio, 'Ricognizioni di alcune reliquie, attribuite a santi orientali, conservate in Venziana' *Quaderni di Scienze Antropologiche* 21 (1995) 15–61, item 22 (43–45), drawn to my attention by Professor Enrico Morini of the University of Bologna, to whom many thanks.

Bill Leadbetter

A Byzantine Narrative of the Future
and the Antecedents of the Last World Emperor

In 1985, in the course of an article discussing the different ways in which Malalas and Procopius had read and represented the same body of material, Roger Scott mused a little on sixth-century apocalyptic speculation. At the end of his article, he posed a significant question: 'For is it just possible that the arrival of the millennium had its effect too on an equally superstitious Justinian and, in consequence, really did affect the course of history?'[1] This is a fundamental question which raises the deep and recurrent issue of the relationship between apocalyptic narratives and history. Scott raises the recursive question: at what point might such narratives become self-fulfilling prophecies? The irony of this question lies in the response which is at the heart of this paper: it is not so much history which changes in response to prophecy, but prophecy which changes in response to history. This can be most clearly seen in the great gift of Byzantine apocalyptic to Christian prophetic discourses: the figure of the Last Christian Emperor.[2]

This figure was invoked as late as 1683 during the second siege of Vienna. As the Ottoman Turkish hosts of Kara Mustafa were surrounding the city, within its walls, broadsheets were distributed to inspire the defenders in their struggle with their infidel foe.[3] They reminded those within that the authority of the holy Roman Emperor derived from heaven itself and, according to ancient prophecy, it would be the Emperor of Rome who would annihilate the hosts of Islam and drive them back into the deserts whence they came, before handing over the rulership of the world to Christ himself.[4]

This was no seventeenth-century novelty, but a deeply ingrained tradition in western Catholic and eastern Orthodox Christianity.[5] Significant and enduring

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1. R. Scott, 'Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justinian's Propaganda' *DOP* 39 (1985) 109.

2. On Byzantine apocalyptic, see recently, David Olster 'Byzantine Apocalypses' *The Encyclopaedia of Apocalypticism*, vol. 2, *Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture* (London 2000) 48–73.

3. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibyll* (Halle 1898) 5; there was a 1677 commentary on Pseudo-Methodius entitled *Vaticinum de interitu Turcarum Sancti Methodii martyris*. On this, and on eighteenth-century Austrian interest in the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, see A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* (5 vols Leipzig 1889–94) 5:501ff.

4. M. Kmosko, 'Das Rätsel des Pseudomethodius' *Byz* 6 (1931) 273–4.

5. On the influence of the idea of the Last World Emperor in western mediaeval apocalypticism, see N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (rev. ed. London 1962) (still magisterial and influential after more than forty years) chapters I–V; on the receipt of the idea in Byzantine culture, see P. Magdalino, 'The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda' *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* ed. R. Beaton & C. Roueché (Aldershot 1993) 3–34.

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vocabulary of western mediaeval apocalyptic had emerged from texts initially written in a Byzantine context, the most enduring being this apocalyptic figure of a Last Christian Emperor. The long currency in Christian apocalyptic narratives has been remarked upon by Norman Cohn:

> there can be no doubt that in one form or another the prophecy [of the Last World Emperor] continued to fascinate and excite the common people of Germany, peasants and artisans alike, until well into the sixteenth century. In one Emperor after another — Sigismund, Frederick III, Maximilian, Charles V — the people contrived to see a reincarnation (in the most literal sense of the word) of Frederick II. And when these monarchs failed to play the eschatological role expected of them the popular imagination continued to dwell on a purely fictitious emperor, a Frederick who would arise from the midst of the poor... to oust the actual monarch and reign in his stead.[6]

The Last Emperor proved constantly mutable, depending upon historical circumstance. The earliest reference, in the Tiburtine Sibyl, looked to a *rex Graecorum* named Constans; a subsequent version to a *rex Romanorum et Graecorum*; and the eighth-century Latin text of pseudo-Methodius, less elaborately, to a *rex Gregorum* (sic) *sive Romanorum*.[7] The tenth-century French divine, Adso, in writing his treatise on the Antichrist, *de ortu et tempore Antichristi*, probably drew upon a version of pseudo-Methodius. In this deeply influential work, Adso transformed the apocalyptic king from a *rex Romanorum et Graecorum*, into a *rex Francorum*.[8] Almost immediately thereafter, the Last Emperor came to be identified with a range of monarchs. As Norman Cohn has demonstrated, there was an intensification of apocalyptic speculation on the eve of the First Crusade.[9] Benzo, Bishop of Alba, wrote a long poem addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, praising him as the successor to a line of great

6.   Cohn, *Millennium* 122ff.
7.   The earliest reference seems to be in the Tiburtine Sibyl, a document which may date back as early as the fourth century. For the reference, see Sackur, *Sibyll* 185. The next reference is in the Latin text of pseudo-Methodius, originally a Syriac text of the seventh century. On the Syriac version, see Kmosko, 'Pseudomethodius'; P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 36–51; W.E. Kaegi, 'The Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest' *ChHist* 38 (1969) 1–11; for a Latin text, Sackur, *Sibyll* 89.
8.   Sackur, *Sibyll* 110 (...*unus ex regibus Francorum...*). See the discussion of B. McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (rev. ed. New York 1998) 82–4; see also P.J. Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor' *MedHum* n.s. 2 (1971) 53; Cohn, *Millennium* 54ff. There is a significant literature on Adso's sources, but see P.J. Alexander, 'The Diffusion of Mediaeval Apocalypses in the West and the Beginnings of Joachimism' *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* ed. A. Williams (London 1980) 67ff.
9.   Cohn, *Millennium* 55; M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford 1969) 301ff.

emperors, and the fulfiller of the role of Last World Emperor.[10] As time went on, the legend was conflated with those of the sleeping Charlemagne, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II.[11] While the Frederick legend had a persistent strength it was not exclusive: Ladislaus of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary and Philip of Burgundy were both plausibly suggested by the fifteenth-century commentator, Wolfgang Aytinger.[12] The legend had its own consequences in the Byzantine east. The Apocalypse of Andrew Salos proposed a series of monarchs, rather than a single Emperor, although each of these share significant characteristics with the Emperor of pseudo-Methodius. Here, however, the Apocalypse does not propose a clear identity for its symbolic figures. This has led to uncertainty amongst scholars as to which succession of emperors is meant.[13] For the sake of this paper, the identity of the emperor really does not matter very much. What does matter is that there was an eschatological emperor or, in this case, series of emperors.

The Last World Emperor is a figure without direct scriptural warrant. As such the question of its origins has become a vexed and contentious one. Over a century, an initial context has become clear, however. The Apocalypse of pseudo-Methodius, the text which inspired the tradition, has been the subject of careful scrutiny by some generations of scholars. Beginning in the nineteenth century, when Gerhard von Zezschwitz first linked the mediaeval German legend of the Last World Emperor with the text of pseudo-Methodius, it was continued by Gutschmid (most particularly in his influential review of von Zezschwitz's work), and given critical focus by Ernst Sackur in his 1898 edition of the Latin texts of pseudo-Methodius, Adso and the Tiburtine Sibyl.[14] In 1931, Michael Kmosko took the study a step further when he argued that both the Latin and Greek versions were translations of a Syriac original, a text of which was preserved in a Vatican manuscript. This was subsequently confirmed by Paul

10. Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricium IV. Imperatorem libri VII*. Text and German tr. in H. Seyffert, *Benzo von Alba: sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV*. MGH *SS* 65 (Hanover 1996). See also Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy* 301; Cohn, *Millennium* 55; McGinn, *Visions* 88–93.

11. Alexander, 'Migration' 49; F. Shaw, 'Friedrich II as the "Last Emperor"' *German History* 19 (2001) 321–39.

12. McGinn, *Visions* 270ff, 274–6.

13. A.A. Vasiliev argued, on the basis of late and interpolated Greek and Russian texts, that pseudo-Methodius' Last World Emperor specifically referred to Michael III, an argument which also sees as valid the interpretation of the apocalypse in the Life of St Andrew Salos: 'Michael III in Apocryphal Literature', *ByzMetabyz* 1 (1946) 237–48. L. Rydén identified the emperors with Constantine and his successors: L. Rydén, 'Zum Aufbau der Andreas Salos Apokalypse' *Er* 66 (1968) 101–17; John Wortley has argued for the identification of the first of the emperors with Basil I: Wortley, 'The Warrior-Emperor of the Andrew Salos Apocalypse' *AB* 88 (1970) 43–59. Rydén reasserted his views thoroughly, although not convincingly, in the most complete treatment of the document to date: L. Rydén, 'The Andreas Salos Apocalypse: Greek Text Translation and Commentary' *DOP* 28 (1974) 199–261.

14. For an earlier summary, see Alexander, 'Migration' 51–5.

Alexander, and the text itself has recently been edited and translated with commentaries into both English and German.[15]

This century-long conversation about the text has produced an important consensus about its origins. There is fundamental agreement that the *Ur-text* of pseudo-Methodius was composed in Syriac towards the end of the seventh century. The precise date and context is still the subject of some disagreement, but there is none about the general circumstances of its composition.[16] The world in which pseudo-Methodius wrote was a chaotic and disordered one. The author was writing in the vicinity of Singara, on the fringe of the Roman Empire: a debatable land in which sovereignty alternated between the Romans and the Persians.[17] Within recent memory, the region had been taken from the Romans by the Persians, recovered by Heraclius, and then lost to the invading Arab armies. This was compounded by domestic sectarian violence between Monophysites, Nestorians and Chalcedonians and the outbreak of an epidemic in 686/7.[18] Pseudo-Methodius' apocalypse was one of a number of Christian responses to these calamities. Sebastian Brock rightly cautions readers of this period against a hindsight which assumes the inevitability and longevity of the Arab conquest.[19] Contemporaries knew no such thing: indeed they had the relatively recent example of Heraclius returning to win back the provinces which had been lost to the Persians.

In one sense then, it is not surprising that pseudo-Methodius might look to a Byzantine emperor to restore lost lands. But it is critical to note that he goes further than this. He does not just exhort the faithful to hold fast until the emperor returns: he writes an apocalypse in which all hell, literally, breaks loose. According to the Syriac text of the apocalypse, a Roman Emperor (lit. 'King of the Greeks') would attack the Ishmaelites from the Red Sea ('the sea of the

15. Kmosko, 'Pseudomethodius'. For the translation and commentary into English, see Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* 36–51. See also F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalpytic in the Early Muslim Period: pseudo-Methodius and pseudo-Athanasius* (PhD thesis, Catholic University of America 1985); A. Palmer & S. Brock, *The Seventh Century in West Syrian Chronicles*. Translated Texts for Historians 15 (Liverpool 1993) 222–42. For the edition, translation into German and commentary, see *Die Syrische Apokalypse des pseudo-Methodius* ed. and tr. G.J. Reinink. CSCO Scriptores Syri 220–21 (Louvain 1993). The Greek text has also been published in a critical edition: A. Lalos, *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 83 (Meisenheim am Glan 1976).

16. Kaegi, 'Reactions'; G.J. Reinink, 'Ismael, der Wildesel in der Wüste: Zur Typologie der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios' *BZ* 75 (1982) 336–44; F.J. Martinez, 'The Apocalyptic Genre in Syriac: The World of pseudo-Methodius' *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984: Literary Genres in Syriac Literature* ed. H.J.W. Drijvers, R. Lavenant, C. Molenberg et al. (Rome 1987) 337–52; Palmer-Brock, *Chronicles* 222, 225ff; McGinn, *Visions* 70ff.

17. Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* 27ff.

18. Martinez, *Christian Apocalpytic* 25–33; S. Brock, 'Syriac Views of Emergent Islam' *Studies in the First Century of Islamic Society* ed. G.H.A. Juynboll (Carbondale 1982) 9–21, rp. *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London 1984) 9–21. See also Kaegi, 'Reactions'.

19. Brock, 'Views' 9.

Kushites') and desolate their homeland. Whereupon his armies ('the sons of the Kings of the Greeks'[20]) will slaughter those remaining in the Holy Land. The oppression and suffering of the Ishmaelites would be seven times more intense than any for which they had been responsible, and all of their captives would return home. Then, says the writer, peace will reign but into the midst of this earthly paradise the barbaric peoples of the north, hitherto confined, will irrupt and ravage the world. In their savagery, they would be unstoppable, but God will then intervene, destroying them in the vale of Joppa, through the agency of an angel. Then, continues the writer, the King of the Greeks will come to live in Jerusalem and, when the Antichrist appears, will place his crown upon the Holy Cross at Golgotha and abdicate, handing over the rule to God. Then would begin the final tribulation, the victory of God and the consignment of the Antichrist to perdition.

Whatever the narrative framework — western European, early modern, Byzantine, Mesopotamian — there are particular commonalities about the last Emperor, deriving from pseudo-Methodius. The emperor is always described as pious and holy. He conquers the Holy Land and converts the pagans and/or Jews. It is at Golgotha, over which stood the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (site of the commemoration of both crucifixion and resurrection) that he gives up his earthly crown to God. Yet, for such a Christian figure, he is also one without obvious warrant in scripture, a latecomer to end-time traditions of Christian faith. The last Emperor, then, appears to be pseudo-Methodius' peculiar invention. Other, and contemporary Syriac documents, while no less apocalyptic, see the next stage in history as the coming of the Antichrist. For the authors of these texts the interposition of an entirely new chapter in end-time narrative was unnecessary and, perhaps even improper. It has been argued, quite rightly, that a writer like pseudo-Methodius, if looking forward to earthly deliverance from foreign rule would quite naturally imagine that such political salvation would come from Byzantium. But pseudo-Methodius goes much further, developing a narrative in which such salvation is divinely assisted, inaugurates an ephemeral earthly paradise, before the irruption of the peoples of the north and the eventual appearance of the Antichrist. For pseudo-Methodius, the Antichrist and the end are remote. For at least some of his contemporaries, their appearance seemed imminent.

In 1969, Walter Kaegi pointed out that such optimism about the inevitable victory of Rome was natural for 'a loyal Byzantine Christian'.[21] This has led to puzzled debates about the nature of the author's religious perspective. The pro-Roman stance would seem to indicate a Melkite, and yet Singara was a bastion of Monophysitism.[22] Reinink has responded to this paradox by arguing that the

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20. G.J. Reinink, 'Ps-Methodius' Concept of History' *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 1, *Problems in the Literary Source Material* ed. A.M. Cameron & L.I. Conrad. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1 (Princeton 1992) 151 n. 8.

21. Kaegi, 'Reactions' 145.

22. Kmosko, 'Pseudomethodius' 256, originally suggested that the author was a Melkite; Brock has been cautious in his suggestion that the author is a Melkite: Brock, 'Views' 19ff; Palmer-Brock, *Chronicles* 225ff; Martinez, *Christian Apocalyptic* 27ff

'King of the Greeks' to whom pseudo-Methodius refers is the successor and eschatological doublet of Alexander the Great, the first of the 'Kings of the Greeks'. This is an ingenious solution since it appears to take Rome (or at least Byzantium) out of the equation altogether.[23] Yet it is not entirely convincing. Reinink's pseudo-Methodius is an ecumenist, seeking to appeal across sectarian divides to common interests. For him Roman emperors can be anointed: Reinink has himself pointed out the writer's use of motifs from the Syriac *Romance of Julian* in which Jovian receives a heavenly crown (the same, in fact, which the Last Emperor will return to God).[24]

One solution to this has been to seek the origin of the idea of the Last World Emperor outside Christian tradition altogether. Paul Alexander, in a series of articles written towards the end of his life, suggested very plausibly that the Last World Emperor emerged intact from Jewish messianic tradition.[25] Alexander deployed three arguments here. The first was the clear similarity between sentiments in a later document, dependent upon pseudo-Methodius, called the *Cento of the True Emperor*, and later Jewish mode of translating Hebrew texts into Greek. Secondly, Alexander argued that the role of Jerusalem in the imagined future history points very strongly to a Jewish origin for the narrative figure. While this argument is not particularly strong, since Jerusalem also had a particular significance for Christians, especially after the location of the talismanic True Cross there by Constantine, Alexander also (and thirdly) pointed to a subtle linguistic argument. Noting that the first text of pseudo-Methodius had been written in Syriac, he cited one passage in which the Last World Emperor is referred to as 'redeemer' (*peruqa*) of the Christians. This word, he notes is used in the Syriac Old Testament to translate the Hebrew term *mashiah* (messiah), and in the New Testament, to render the Greek word *soter* (saviour). Alexander's argument depends, in part, upon what he sees as the isolated nature of Christian congregations in Sassanid Persia, 'cut off as they were from their co-religionists beyond the frontiers'.[26]

His arguments, and their premise of an isolated Christian community cut off from Roman Christian communities and therefore transfusing their theology from Babylonian Judaism, are both erudite and seductive. They are also not very strong. The *Cento of the True Emperor* is a prodigiously eclectic document which draws on a vast number of primary sources and styles. Alexander himself said of it: 'It is a precious document, but it should be used with great caution'. In exploiting the *Cento of the True Emperor*, therefore, for the study of the

is more definite (although not entirely unequivocal). H. Suermann is alone and unsupported in his suggestion that pseudo-Methodius wrote in the vicinity of Edessa: *Die Geschichtstheologie Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessischen Apokalyptik des 7 Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt-am-Main 1985) 162–7.

23. G.J. Reinink, 'Pseudo-Methodios und die Legende vom römischen Endkaiser' *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* ed. W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst & A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven 1988) 99–111; Reinink, 'Ps-Methodius' 153–68.
24. Reinink, 'Ps-Methodius' 171–5.
25. P.J. Alexander, 'The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and its Messianic Origin' *JWarb* 41 (1978) 1–15; Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* 174–84.
26. Alexander, 'Legend' 11.

expectation of a last Roman emperor, one should bear in mind that the incorporated passages, valuable as they may be, are due to the arbitrary judgment of the author and in many cases have no relevance whatsoever to the notion of the Last Roman Emperor.'[27] Neither can one give much weight to the Jerusalem argument. It depends on Alexander's assertion that a more logical and reasonable place for an Emperor to abdicate his power to God would be in his capital. This overlooks two basic points. Firstly, Jerusalem had featured in Christian apocalyptic narratives from the time of St John the Divine, who beheld a New Jerusalem descending from the clouds. Tertullian went so far as to say that this 'New Jerusalem' had frequently been glimpsed in the Palestinian skies, although he came to hold the belief that it would actually descend at Pepuza in Phrygia.[28] Constantine had recognized the importance of Jerusalem to Christian narratives, ordering the construction of major shrines in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The significance that Jerusalem continued to hold is evident from the shock that its fall, in 614, to the Persians occasioned.[29] Secondly, pseudo-Methodius links the act of abdication to the presence of the Cross (in a clear doublet with the *Romance of Julian*). Since its invention by Helen, the mother of Constantine, the 'True Cross', as it came to be called, was in the custody of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site in Jerusalem both of Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection.[30] The Cross itself came to have talismanic significance to the Empire, a symbolism not lost on Chosroes II who removed it to Persia.[31] The restoration of the cross by Heraclius, following his victory over Persia, provided one of the most enduring symbols of his recovery of the eastern provinces.[32] The connection between the act of abdication and the role of the cross in that abdication means that, for pseudo-Methodius at least, the only conceivable site for the abdication is Golgotha at the feet of the Cross. Finally, Alexander's argument about the use of the Syriac word *peruqa*, while seductive is not strong. The word is not actually used to describe the Emperor; rather, it is used by the 'Children of Ishmael' to mock the Christians in their distress. It is when the Children of Ishmael say 'The Christians have no Saviour' that the king of the Greeks wakes from his torpor to attack and overthrow the Ishmaelites.[33] The use of the word in this case does not so much describe the Emperor as the provocation which causes him to arise. The terminological link, while not illusory, is certainly more fragile than it appears at first glance. Moreover, emperors had been thought of in these terms before. Heraclius encouraged his

27. Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* 136.
28. *Rev.* 21:1–4; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.34.5–6; on Tertullian, see E. Osborne, *Tertullian: First Theologian of the West* (Cambridge 1997) 214–18.
29. W.E. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge 2003) 79ff.
30. E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460* (Oxford 1982) 40–9; J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden 1992) 55–70.
31. On the importance of the cross, see Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* 81–93.
32. C. Mango, 'The Temple Mount, AD 614–638' *Bayt al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem* ed. J. Raby & J. Johns (Oxford 1993) 6ff; Kaegi, *Heraclius* 205–7.
33. Ps.Methodius (Syr.) 13.10.

own soldiers to believe in their war with Persia as holy. He thus cast his own role as one of religious deliverer.[34]

Pseudo-Methodius was not a fantasist: he employed sources and drew upon existing traditions in composing his narrative. Both Reinink and, more especially, Martinez have been vigorous in their defence of an indigenous Mesopotamian/Syriac origin.[35] But that nevertheless leaves us with the paradox of a Monophysite narrative which looks to the Byzantine Empire, not for mere deliverance, but for ultimate salvation and the inauguration of the end of history. It is not unreasonable, before this matter is regarded as settled, to reopen the question of the origin of the last World Emperor. While this character might well have been an invention of pseudo-Methodius, this author did not exist in a cultural or social vacuum. There was a significant bibliography of apocalyptic and other literature to draw upon. Moreover, the very swiftness of the circulation of the document, with translations into Greek and Latin within a very few years of composition indicate both that this document touched a popular nerve and that it was produced, not in isolation, but within a wider cultural and religious conversation which readily crossed political and ethnic boundaries.[36]

There had always been a rich and popular apocalyptic tradition within Christian communities. Christians, of various stripes, had consistently sought to balance their lives in this world with their conviction that the world was ephemeral and soon to pass away. What might be described as the apocalyptic habit, of reading ultimate significance into historical events, was deeply ingrained. Biblical texts were scanned closely for the construction of a future history that many felt, or at least desired to be, imminent. Theologians, as they constructed the foundations of Christian teaching, also struggled with the vexed question of the timetable and nature of the end.[37] The wealth and diversity of this

34. I. Shahid, 'Heraclius Πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Βασιλεύς' *DOP* 34/5 (1980–1) 222; M. Whitby, 'A New Image for a New Age: George of Pisidia on the Emperor Heraclius' *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East: Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992* ed. E. Dabrowa (Kraków 1994) 192; J.D.T. Howard-Johnston, 'The Official History of Heraclius' Persian Campaign', ibid. 82.

35. Martinez, *Christian Apocalyptic* 7; idem, 'Apocalyptic Genre' 340; Reinink, 'Ps-Methodius' 161–8.

36. Brock, 'Views' 19; Sackur's Latin edition was based upon a large number of manuscripts, four of which date from the eighth century, and were in turn translations from the Greek (Sackur, *Sibyll* 59). Kmosko was bold enough to suggest a possible context for the initial translation into Greek: Kmosko, 'Pseudomethodius' 275. Given the increasing consensus for a date towards the end of the seventh century for the original composition of the text, the speed of distribution and translation into both Byzantine Greek and Merovingian Latin seems quite remarkable. See also Alexander, *Apocalyptic Tradition* 52–60.

37. Ernst Käsemann famously argued that the origin of Christian theology lay in apocalyptic hope 'auf die Epiphanie des zu einer Inthronisation kommenden Menschensohnes': 'Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie' *ZThK* n.f. 57 (1960) 184. Tertullian daily expected the descent of a New Jerusalem from the heavens, a hope encouraged by reports that it had already been glimpsed in the sky in some places (*Adv. Marc.* 3.34.5–6). Irenaeus set out a clear exegesis of Daniel 7 and *The*

apocalyptic culture makes it particularly difficult to imagine zones of cultural isolation in which indigenous traditions developed with no necessary reference outside itself. Many, and different, Christian speculations existed about the future in antiquity, from the Biblical Apocalypse of St John the Divine to the Sibylline Oracles from the troubled years of the third century.[38] These 'oracles' are of particular interest. Products of both Jewish and Christian communities, and self-authorized as the traditional female seers of classical polytheism, their pages spell out an alternative and vernacular history.[39]

A great deal of this literature was certainly circulating by the end of the third century. In his *Institutiones Divinae*, Lactantius refers at length to the authority of the ten Sibyls, and much of the prophetic literature which he cites had the obvious cachet of Sibylline origin.[40] There are other obvious citations in material connected with Constantine. In particular, the 'Speech of Constantine' — a sermon most probably delivered by the Emperor — makes reference to a Christian acrostic hidden in the text of the Eighth Sibylline, which he in turn attributes to the Sibyl of Erythrae.[41] This Sibylline tradition was consistently re-edited and glossed which indicates at the very least its consistent popularity amongst Graeco-Roman readers, generation after generation. This popularity, moreover, did not evaporate with the conversion of Constantine, and the apparent arrival of happier times. Rather, it seems in some way to have intensified. The first of the 'new generation' of Sibyls, the Tiburtine Sibyl, was produced in the latter part of the fourth century.[42]

Apocalypse of John (*Adv. Haer.* 5.26), while Hippolytus endeavoured to provide a calendrical framework (*Commentary on Daniel*, summary in Photius' *Bibliotheca* 59); Lactantius (*Institutiones Divinae*, 7.25.3–8) argues that there is still quite some time left until the end.

38. *The Apocalypse of Peter*, which was composed in the first half of the second century, perhaps in Palestine, had a wide circulation and hovered on the edge of canonical status: see J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford 1993) 594ff. The more elaborate *Apocalypse of Paul* was written some time later, probably in Egypt in the middle of the third century: Elliott *Apocryphal* 616. Both of these documents focus upon cosmology, unlike the (fifth-century?) *Apocalypse of Thomas*, which narrates a version of the ending of the world. For a survey and typology of early Christian apocalyptic literature, see A.Y. Collins, 'Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature' *ANRW* 2.25.6 (1976) 4665–711.

39. D.S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire: A Historical Commentary on the Thirteenth Sibylline Oracle* (Oxford 1990) 133–40.

40. Lactantius, *Institutiones Divinae* 1.6–14, ed. and tr. A. Bowen & P. Garnsey (Liverpool 2003) 17–19; R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978) 27–36.

41. Constantine, *Oratio ad Sanctos* 18. For a vigorous defence of Constantinian authorship and a most plausible context, see M. Edwards, *Constantine and Christendom: the Oration to the Saints; the Greek and Latin Accounts of the Discovery of the Cross; the Edict of Constantine to Pope Silvester* (Liverpool 2002) xviii–xxix.

42. *Vide infra.*

There has been an enormous amount of literature on the ways in which contemporary Christian writers sought to imagine Constantine. New theologies of power emerged, but what is particularly notable in this context is that, to such contemporaries as Lactantius and Eusebius, Constantine was not an eschatological figure. At the end of his *Church History*, Eusebius paints a picture of a new Promised Land into which Constantine has led the Church:

> All fear therefore of those who had formerly afflicted them was taken away from men, and they celebrated splendid and festive days. Everything was filled with light, and those who before were downcast beheld each other with smiling faces and beaming eyes. With dances and hymns in city and country, they glorified first of all God the Universal King, because they had been thus taught, and then the pious emperor and his god-beloved children. There was oblivion of past evils and forgetfulness of every deed of impiety; there was enjoyment of present benefits and expectation of those yet to come.[43]

This vision only prefaces Eusebius' later and grander depictions of Constantine. In his speech 'In Praise of Constantine', he quite specifically depicts the imperial court as a *mimesis* of God's heavenly throne.[44] The implication is clear: Constantine is God's representative on earth. Moreover, Eusebius develops this imagery even more explicitly in the last document which he wrote: his biography of Constantine, completed soon after the Emperor's death in 337. Here, Eusebius sees Constantine as a new Moses, founding the Church on a strong and secure foundation.

Constantine's conversion clearly had made a difference to the way in which many Christians perceived their own times. Many looked forward with a new smug confidence to a Christian future. Yet it was not so for everyone. But the emergence of a Christian ruler, nevertheless, had its effect upon popular eschatology. Christian eschatological visions before Constantine did not have to contend with such a proposition.

As already noted, apocalyptic sibylline literature did not cease with the victory of Constantine. Rather, it mutated and developed. The last in Lactantius' canonical list of Sibyls was the Sibyl of Tibur, and a document bearing the name of that divine seer was circulating by the end of the fourth century.[45] This document and its successors had a wide circulation during the Middle Ages, and a profound influence on people far distant from those for whom it was originally composed. By the tenth century it had been re-edited and supplemented so many times that the original had become thickly encrusted with glosses, elaborations

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43. Eusebius, *HE* 10.9.7–8.
44. Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini* 3.5; K.M. Setton, *Christian Attitude Towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century* (New York 1941) 40–56; H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley 1976) 75ff; T.D. Barnes, *Eusebius and Constantine* (Cambridge Mass. 1981) 254.
45. Sackur, *Sibyll* 162; P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*. DOS 10 (Washington 1967) 48–55.

and re-interpretations.[46] The significance of this document for this study is that, at some point, the text of the Tiburtine Sibyl began to feature a Last World Emperor.[47] Moreover, as is evident from what can be known of the earliest version of the text, it at all times adumbrated a future history in which the emperor is a defining figure.

The classic edition of the Tiburtine Sibyl is that of Ernst Sackur, published in 1898.[48] His text and commentary seek to disinter the original, and have themselves remained canonical for a century. The earliest version seems to tell a story something like this: the Sibyl (a daughter of Priam and Hecuba) was condemned to perpetual wandering until invited to Rome by Trajan. There, she was called upon to interpret a dream of nine suns which had been visited upon one hundred senators in the same night. The Sibyl then repaired to the Aventine, since it was free of pagan worship, and declared her prophecy. The nine suns were nine generations which are identified as periods of time within Roman experience. In the fourth of these, Christ is born; in the fifth, he sends out two fishermen to be his apostles; in the sixth, Jerusalem is destroyed after a siege; in the seventh, two kings (with short reigns) assault the faithful; in the eighth, Rome suffers many disasters; in the ninth, the original version suggests that there are kings from Egypt and Syria, and finally a king whose initial is 'C', who will reign for thirty years.[49]

This mysterious figure can only refer to Constantine, since the Sibyl has not yet exhausted her catalogue of historical events. Certainly this is how it has been understood by Sackur and by subsequent scholars. Their view is borne out by a later text, dependent upon the Tiburtine Sibyl: the sixth-century Oracle of Baalbek. This document has been studied and edited by Paul Alexander. His own conclusion is that the Baalbek Sibyl knew and developed the Latin Tiburtine text into an updated Greek translation.[50] The Baalbek Sibyl is identifiable as such because of the prominence of the city of Baalbek (ie: Heliopolis) in her narrative. The date of this document is readily identifiable by its departure into speculative fiction during the apocalyptic account of the reign of the Emperor Anastasius and the dependence of this text upon the Tiburtine Sibyl is clear from its emendation of it. The Sibyl of Tibur predicts that the world power of Constantinople will last a mere sixty years (ie: until 390).[51] The Baalbek version,

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46. Alexander, *Oracle* 66 for a graphic representation of the Sibylline tradition in Latin and Greek.
47. Alexander, in examining the source tradition, has argued that the figure of the last World Emperor was a late addition and originated with ps-Methodius: Alexander, *Oracle* 116. This proposition has been questioned by Maurizio Rangheri, who has argued that the idea was present in the fourth-century text of the Tiburtine Sibyl: see M. Rangheri, 'La Epistola *ad Gerbergam Regnam de ortu et tempore Antichristi* di Adso di Montier-en-Dur e le sue fonti', *StMed* 3rd s. 14 (1973) 677–732. Certainly, if the figure of the Last World Emperor did emerge in the late fourth century, it would strengthen the argument presented here.
48. Text in Sackur, *Sibyll* 117–87.
49. Sackur, *Sibyll* 181; McGinn, *Visions* 43–5.
50. Alexander, *Oracle* 41–65.
51. Sackur, *Sibyll* 128.

composed long after 390, suggests 'thrice sixty years', which would place the end of the world in about 510.[52] The Baalbek oracle, probably using the earlier text, also suggests far more detail about Constantine:

> After that there will arise a king named Constantine, a terrible and mighty warrior, and he will destroy all the temples of the Gentiles and the altars of Lebanon and their sacrifices, and he will humble the pagans. And a sign will appear to him in the sky, and his mother Helen will seek in the land of Judaea the wood of the cross where Christ the son of the living God will be crucified. And he will build up Byzantium, and the name of that city will be changed to Eudocopolis-Constantinopolis. And all the tribes of the seventy-two languages will inhabit her. Do not boast, city of Byzantium, thou shalt not hold imperial sway for thrice sixty of thy years.[53]

Thus, Constantine emerges as an apocalyptic figure in his own right. The Sibyl does not, however, portend an eschatological role for the Emperor. Rather, she needs to fit him within an eschatological framework, because of the change in historical circumstance which the Emperor represented. No longer could Christian apocalypticists perceive Rome as the enemy. Now the Empire was both eternal and good, the institution central to God's saving and redemptive intention. Lactantius, for example, asserted the eternity of the Empire, and linked the end of the world to the fall of Rome.[54] While this reversal of the perception of the Empire was driven by the reversal of the stance of the Empire itself towards Christianity, it also implied the development of a new apocalyptic figure: if there is a first Christian Emperor, there must also be a last.

Such a thought has an inevitable logic and must have occurred to more than one person. It emerges from the internal logic of the new dynamic of power, and therefore need not be sought either in external religious traditions or in parochial folk-tales. Other imperial narratives already existed and offered both concepts and vocabulary. A clue to one is offered in the Sibyl of Baalbek's reference to a series of emperors, most particularly the king from Heliopolis who kills a wicked king from the east and grants a tax exemption to the people for three and a half years, inaugurating a period of great prosperity. At that point, the Ruler of Perdition (ie the Antichrist appears), brings tribulation to the land and turns the Nile to blood. Enoch and Elijah then come to confront him and are slain, leading to the final intervention by Christ who raises Enoch and Elijah from the dead, slay the Son of Perdition and then come to judge the earth.[55] These events are almost directly paralleled in the Akhmimic version of the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, a document which emerged from within Christian communities during the struggle with Palmyra in the latter part of the third century.[56] This document

52. Alexander, *Oracle* 41, 53–65.
53. Alexander, *Oracle* 25 (text at §81).
54. Lactantius, *Institutiones Divinae* 7.25.7.
55. Alexander, *Oracle* 28ff, text §202–27.
56. For the date: D.N. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt: The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis 1993) 17–20; G. Steindorff, *Die*

foresees a King of Righteousness sent by the Lord 'so that the land not become a desert'. He remits taxes for three and a half years and brings great prosperity. Then the Lawless One appears claiming to be the Christ and performing many miracles. In the Sahidic version of the prophecy, Elijah and Enoch come to do battle with him and are slain, and are raised from death on the fourth day.[57] At that point, the apocalyptic texts diverge, but the relationship is clear.[58] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Baalbek Sibyl, taking advantage of the identity of the names of both Baalbek and Memphis (both, in classical antiquity, Heliopolis) obfuscated which city was meant, thereby transferring the location of the prophecy from Egypt to Syria.[59]

This observation is supported by a second point. The original Sibyl of Tibur wrote in Greek, and therefore somewhere in the Greek east of the Empire. In the earliest version of this text, the eighth-century Latin text, the Sibyl writes:

> Et post haec surget duo reges de Egypto et expugnabunt quattuor reges et occident eos et omnem exercitum eorum et regnabunt annos tres et menses sex.[60]

> *And after these things, two kings will arise in Egypt and do battle with the four kings and kill them and all of their army and reign for three years and six months.*

While the actual identity of the kings cannot be established, what is more puzzling is why Egypt is singled out. The most likely reason is because the author is himself drawing upon Egyptian traditions or narratives of the end of time. The text might have been written in Egypt, but even if not, it nevertheless draws upon the kinds of apocalyptic images and figures which feature in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah. The parallels between this document and the Baalbek Sibyl have been noted, both in the context of this paper and, more extensively, by Paul Alexander.[61]

The Elijah Apocalypse has recently been the subject of intensive study by David Frankfurter. Dating it to the period of the Palmyrene occupation in the latter part of the 260s, he argues that it is both Christian and Egyptian, drawing in large part from the Egyptian apocalyptic literature circulating in Egypt as anti-Roman polemic in the third century.[62] Egyptian apocalyptic (or *Chaosbeschreibung* literature as it has been labelled) has an ancient ancestry.[63] It is essentially Egyptian domestic apocalyptic and had its origins both deep within

Apokalypse des Elias, eine unbekannte Apokalypse und Bruchstücke der Sophonias-Apokalypse (Leipzig 1899) 18.

57. Frankfurter, *Elijah* 312–28 (text).
58. Alexander, *Oracle* 38ff.
59. Alexander, *Oracle* 58.
60. Sackur, *Sibyll* 181.
61. Alexander, *Oracle* 38ff.
62. See *supra*, n. 56. It is worth noting, in this context, that both of the texts of the *Oracle of the Potter* which we possess are papyri of the third century: L. Koenen, 'Die Prophezeiungen des "Topfers'" *ZPE* 2 (1968) 178–209.
63. J. Assmann, 'Königsdogma und Heilserwartung: Politische und Kultische Chaosbeschreibungen in ägyptischen Texten' *Apocalypticism* 345–78.

the Egyptian past, and also within the overall Egyptian political theology of kingship in which the true Pharaoh was one who banished chaos and disorder (*isfet*) and ruled in truth and justice (*ma'at*).[64] At the beginnings of the Twelfth Dynasty, with the establishment of a new house of Middle Kingdom Pharaohs, the *Prophecy of Neferti* suggested that a King would come to drive away chaos (*isfet*) and reestablish order in Egypt. That king was named Ameny in the text of the prophecy, and indeed, refers to Amenemhet, the first Pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, who, in all probability overthrew his predecessor, Mentuhotep IV in a palace coup. [65] Mentuhotep, was the less mighty (and perhaps even illegitimate) son of mighty fathers. His predecessors had re-established central rule in Egypt, but of Mentuhotep himself, very little is known. Omitted from the official king-lists, his reign corresponds instead to 'seven empty years'. While the *Prophecy of Neferti* is essentially royal propaganda, it drew upon themes of disorder and anarchy which feature consistently in Egyptian political literature.[66]

The *Prophecy of Neferti* talks of the suffering of the land, constructs foreigners as agents of disorder, and refers to the Pharaoh as the agent of divine order. Subsequent texts follow this model, notably the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, the *Oracle of the Lamb*, the *Demotic Chronicle*, and the *Potter's Oracle*.[67] These are all texts written some centuries apart, which express Egyptian royal ideology. While this ideology was adapted to suit different circumstances: re-establishment of central rule, occupation by foreigners (specifically Greeks and Romans) the theme of the Pharaoh as divine unifier and pacifier of the land is consistent. Moreover, these Pharaohs become increasingly messianic. In the documents of the Hellenistic period, the coming Pharaoh is given a divine mission and a reign of fifty-five years.[68]

64. R. Weill, *La Fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien: étude sur les monuments et l'histoire de la période comprise entre la XIIe et la XVIIIe dynastie*, (2 vols Paris 1918) 1:22–145; Frankfurter, *Elijah* 162–8.

65. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Los Angeles 1975) 139–45; Assmann, 'Königsdogma' 357–64; Frankfurter, *Elijah* 163–71.

66. Weill, *Fin* 1:35–7.

67. On the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, see Assmann, 'Königsdogma' 347–51, Frankfurter, *Elijah* 171ff; on the *Oracle of the Lamb*, see J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Era' *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979* ed D. Hellholm (Tübingen 1983) 285–7, Assmann, 'Königsdogma' 363ff, Frankfurter, *Elijah* 176–9; on the *Demotic Chronicle*, see Gwyn Griffiths, 'Apocalyptic' 279–83, Frankfurter, *Elijah* 174–6; on the *Potter's Oracle* see L. Koenen, 'Prophezeiungen' 178–209, *idem*, 'The Prophecies of a Potter: A Prophecy of World Renewal Becomes an Apocalypse' *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* ed. D.H. Samuel (Toronto 1970) 249–54, Gwyn Griffiths, 'Apocalyptic' 287–91, Assmann, 'Königsdogma' 362ff, Frankfurter, *Elijah* 179–82.

68. *Oracle of the Lamb*, 2.5 (cited by Frankfurter, *Elijah* 179); *Oracle of the Potter* (P. Rainer, 19.813, 39–43; P. Oxy. 2332, 63–71); J.Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions* (Leiden 1978) 78–82.

This is the same ideology, as David Frankfurter has clearly shown, which is expressed in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, with its expectation of a coming king who would, at least briefly, unite the land and slay its foes. This is a Christian document, but written in an Egyptian context amid the strife of the third century. It is Christianised *Chaosbeschreibung*, but it swiftly escaped from its Egyptian origin and was employed by the author of the earliest redaction of the Tiburtine Sibyl, as well as the Baalbek Sibyl. The parallels are simply too striking to be accidental. These are ubiquitous narratives which circulated widely, penetrating the fissiparous boundaries of politics and language. There are any number of contexts in which a Last World Emperor might have emerged into eschatological narratives. This paper has suggested that a most plausible version is the transmission of an Egyptian royal ideology into Christian narratives. The reason that this was possible was because the conversion of Constantine and the emergence of a Christian Empire had changed the way in which Christians themselves saw the Empire, and within it, the imperial office. The emergence of a Last Roman Emperor became a logical answer to the conundrum of Christian Empire. As with all apocalyptic, it mutated and transformed over time to suit the needs of its contemporary environment, but the ideology of a divinely appointed ruler who would defeat the mortal enemies of the land and re-establish a period of just rule is consistent from the Middle Kingdom through to the Byzantine period and beyond.[69] This paper began with a rhetorical question from Roger Scott on the degree to which apocalyptic, or prophetic, narratives might affect the course of history. One response to this question, which can be seen in the argument herein, is the reverse: it is the course of history which alters prophecy. Nevertheless, the deep cultural roots of this cultural symbol in part explain its durability, just as the apocalyptic phenomenon consistently expresses the enduring cultural triumph of hope over despair.

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69. For a discussion of this, and analogous phenomena, see Smith, *Map* 67–87.

Michael Champion

Kosmas Indikopleustes and Narratives
in Sixth-Century Liturgy and History

Introduction

The stridently polemical (and often neglected) *Christian Topography* of Kosmas
Indikopleustes resembles aspects of sixth-century Byzantine narratives in the
Chronicle of Malalas and the liturgical discourses of Leontios and Romanos.
Kosmas' scientific views are motivated by his Christian hope in the *eschaton*. He
thinks that Greek science undermines this hope. So he responds by undercutting
Greek scientific epistemology and constructing for Christianity an independent
epistemology, governed by the divine plan (*oikonomia*) and supported by a belief
that biblical prophecies are being realised in his day. Thus for Kosmas, the
present is closer to heavenly reality and more 'real' than the past. In their
different ways, Romanos' *Kontakia*, Leontios' *Homilies*, and (to a lesser degree)
Malalas' *Chronicle* also reflect and explore the divine plan. Kosmas' conception
of what is real, and his belief that Satan's power is empty in the sixth century, is
congruent with each writer. All these elements display urgent hope, supporting
and reflecting sixth-century optimism and expansion.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, traveller, merchant, and, perhaps, monk, began his
Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία alarmed because he thought that Christians like
Philoponos[1] were rendering Christian hope in the *eschaton* irrational by toying
with aspects of Greek science. Kosmas' response is two-fold. First, he undercuts
Greek science with new models in cosmology and physics. Second, he expounds
a divine plan of salvation (*oikonomia*). This gives him grounds for hope and
provides a new epistemology to replace that of Greek science. Christ, he thinks,
perfects the divine plan in which humans participate by recapitulating it. This
recapitulation inaugurates a new period of historical existence. Kosmas thus
proposes two stages of historical life divided by the incarnation. The first points
to the incarnation; the second closely resembles heavenly life.

These ideas — divine plan and division and change of historical experience
by the incarnation — resonate with aspects of the contemporary sixth-century
Homilies of Leontios, *Kontakia* of Romanos and Malalas' *Chronicle*. In varying
ways and to different degrees, Leontios, Romanos and Malalas all imagine their
world through the narrative of the divine plan. The urgent hope they take it to
offer supports and reflects sixth-century confidence. They revel (Malalas more
circumspectly) in a post-incarnation age of realised prophecy. Taking this
broader context into account will help to remove Kosmas from his current
isolated status as a polemical flat-earther, and provide insight into Christian ideas
which influenced sixth-century culture.

1. Philoponos was wedged between Neoplatonists like Simplikios, who viewed his
   Christian neoplatonism as a theologically disastrous intellectual betrayal, and
   Christians like Kosmas. See R. Sorabji, ed., *Philoponus and the Rejection of
   Aristotelian Science* (London 1987).

Kosmas Indikopleustes: Science,[2] Divine Plan, New Reality

In common with all Neoplatonists except Philoponos, Kosmas accepts that revolving spheres, if they existed, would axiomatically imply the eternity of the world.[3] Spheres would move perpetually because of their perfect geometry (7.2–3). But Kosmas finds no good reason to accept that revolving spheres do exist (2.18). However many elements one posits in the heavens,[4] Greek science cannot account for the physical and kinematic properties of heavenly bodies (1.5–13).[5] Complex epicycles introduced to explain planetary retrogressions undermine the spherical model (1.9–13).[6] The idea of the Antipodes is patently risible (1.14f, 20f). These and other problems demonstrate the general incoherence of pagan thought (cf. 1.16, 30ff; 9.5).

Kosmas therefore proposes a simpler cosmology, modelled on the tabernacle, with a flat earth supporting the heavens. The tabernacle is a fairly literal type for the universe (2.2):[7] its dimensions confirm measurements of the universe which Kosmas has determined from travel experiences. But while the solution eschews philosophy, Kosmas is aware of key problems in Greek cosmology (cf. 9.1–7) — problems that overtly philosophical thinkers like Philoponos and Simplikios grappled with — and argues accordingly.

Kosmas also rejects the Aristotelian theory of elements, since it fails to account for terrestrial phenomena like earthquakes (1.21–2), rain (1.23–5) and regional differences in climate (1.26). Many and contradictory qualities must be attributed to a single element to explain observed phenomena. The theory is therefore incoherent. Again, parallels in Philoponos (preserved in Simplikios) show that Kosmas was contributing to a living philosophical conversation.[8]

The view of matter that Kosmas proposes conflicts with the prevailing Neoplatonism but undergirds Christian narratives. Aristotelian matter is active, moving under the internal influence of its own nature.[9] But for Kosmas, matter is passive, dependent entirely on God. So rain falls not because it is water seeking its proper place, but because angels carry it, guided by God's providential concern for humankind (2.84f). Earthquakes are not caused by air seeking its proper place above earth; they are God's intervention to discipline humans. Matter does not have internal potency; the God who created matter has total

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2. Kosmas also argues for creation against Greek science: Cosmas Indicopleustès, *Topographie chrétienne* ed. W.Wolska-Conus (3 vols Paris 1968–73) 69ff. References to Kosmas follow the book and section numbering of Wolska-Conus' edition.

3. Philoponos is ridiculed (anonymously) for rejecting this principle. See 7.1.

4. Plato posited four (*Tim.* 31b; 40a; 58c); Aristotle the pure aether (*De Cael.* 1.2). See C. Wildberg, *John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's Theory of Aether* (Berlin 1988).

5. Cf. Philoponos in Simplikios, *in de Cael.* 88, 28–89, 26.

6. Cf. Philoponos in Simplikios, *in de Cael.* 32, 1-11.

7. Kosmas' typologies are more biblically literal than many earlier Christians'. See S. MacCormack, 'Christ and Empire, Time and Eternity', *Byz* 52 (1982) 291.

8. Cf. Philoponos in Simplikios, *in de Cael.* 88.

9. See e.g. Aristotle, *Phys.* 2.1 192b5–193a10.

sovereignty over it. Supremely, God can raise the dead and bring creation to completion (3.61;[10] cf. 1 Cor 15).

Kosmas' Christian hope in the end of the world and belief in a sovereign God motivate his engagement with Greek science. He is aware of contentious problems in Greek cosmology and has sufficient confidence to reject central Greek scientific ideas, certain that Christian teaching can provide an epistemology which surpasses established Greek science.

The divine plan of God's providential acts in history provides Kosmas' alternate epistemological foundation. This divine plan is effected in history, but is not identical with it. Rather, particular divine acts *in* history give meaning to history as a whole. The '*oikonomia* of God who produces and restores all things' points to the *eschaton*, the goal of creation (5.63).[11]

For Kosmas, the purpose (σκοπός) of God's divine plan is to make others exist to share his being, goodness and truth (3.86; 5.58, 228; 6.29).[12] From the moment God created humans, he promised all creation divine benefits (2.101–102). Life on earth allows interactions between God and humans, correcting and perfecting creatures for heaven (5.59f). The Exodus, for example, shows that toil and travail lead to enjoyment of the promised land; God is continually providentially present in history, moving humanity towards the promised end (e.g. 5.2,7f; 6.18).[13] Kosmas' divine plan shows continuity with that first elucidated by second-century writers;[14] Pauline texts provide stimulus.[15]

The continuity and development of God's action are ultimately secured in the descent of Christ by which humans ascend to God (6.19–22).[16] Humanity is redeemed by the incarnation of the Second Adam (2.90 cf. 2.101–102), who inaugurates a new humanity, recapitulating the divine plan in himself. The resurrection promises freedom and the end of evil (2.91). By the resurrection, humanity's struggle with the devil, evenly balanced before Christ, is now clearly weighted in humanity's favour (2.92–3). At the end of time, stars fall and day, night and toil cease (2.97). By the resurrection, we know that old things pass away and everything becomes new (2.99; 2 Cor 5:17). The world has undergone a measurable change for the better since Christ was raised (2.99; 2 Cor 5:17).

10. God's acts are marvellous (παράδοξα). They transcend our natural state (τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἤτοι κατάστασιν ὑπερβαίνει) (3.61).

11. My translation.

12. Σκοπὸς γὰρ ἦν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Θεῷ ἑτέροις μεταδοῦναι τοῦ εἶναι καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος λόγου τε καὶ γνώσεως καὶ ἀθανασίας καὶ μακαριότητος καὶ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὅσον ἐνδέχεται μετασχεῖν τὸν μετέχοντα (5.58).

13. The divine economies show ὡς τετίμηται τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις διδασκομένη καὶ ἐλπίζουσα οὐρανοβατεῖν (6.19).

14. The logic and content of Irenaeus' and Kosmas' economies are similar, however Kosmas' focus on eschatology links elements of economy and recapitulation differently from Irenaeus. For a concise account of Irenaeus' key problems, see E. Osborn, 'Irenaeus' *The First Christian Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Early Church* ed. G.R. Evans (Oxford 2004) 121–6.

15. Kosmas includes *Hebrews* among Paul's corpus but is aware of dispute (3.85; 5.226).

16. Cf. Irenaeus' 'exchange formula' (e.g. *Adv. Haer.* 5 pref., 5.1.1, 5.36.3).

Throughout, the divine plan declares an encompassing, secure hope (e.g. 3.87; 5.63). This hope stands at the centre of Kosmas' thought. All creation will be resurrected, made new and gathered into Christ at the end of time (5.58). The great salvation of God who produces and restores all things (5.253–4) is imminent. Enoch and Elijah ascended to heaven before death (5.82-5; Gen 5:24; 2 Kings 2:11), so Christians like Kosmas can be confident that even if they are still alive on the last day, they will be resurrected into the new creation.

But the divine plan is unfounded if the Bible is false, so Kosmas sets out to show otherwise. Scripture surpasses pagan texts by virtue of its antiquity, which supports its veracity (3.57). Kosmas works through over forty biblical figures, analysing their message (Book 5). The investigation reveals the divine plan which gives scripture unity and coherence, both measures of truth.[17] It also serves to proclaim progression and equivalence between the Old and New Testaments, since the New Testament is the realisation of Old Testament prophecies.

In this mutual relation between progression and equivalence, Kosmas finds an objective measure of biblical truth. The Bible is true if its prophecies are universally being fulfilled. And Kosmas is convinced that they are: travellers' tales prove it (3.62ff). Hence the biblical divine plan becomes Kosmas' standard of knowledge.[18] Kosmas' argument thus rests on a biblical hermeneutic which he argues for empirically from realised prophecy.

Kosmas sees God's divine purpose revealed in the physical structure of creation, and superimposes his theory of two states (6.14ff *et passim*) over his exposition of the divine plan. The earth is the stage for temporal life; the physical heaven provides the grounds for believing in the second, eternal state in heaven. In this way, biblical history is coordinated with the two physical states. In the first state, the resurrection is prophesied and God works for the benefit of humans. The incarnation heralds the second historical epoch, the time when the world lives by the power of the resurrection. 'Through Noah, we learn that from that first earth, all miserable and thorny, we were transferred to this earth, which humans now inhabit: an earth that is better, even almost equal to paradise. Through this we are taught the difference between the first and the second state' (6.16).[19]

This understanding colours Kosmas' conception of reality. Everything that *is* comes from God (3.34). Kosmas works with Neoplatonic categories (λογικα/ἄλογα, θνητα/ἀθάνατα, φθαρτά/ἄφθαρτα, αἰσθητα/νοητά) (3.34). But

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17. The catalogue of biblical figures is also found (differently ordered) in the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf Bonn 1832). Whether it is original to the *Topographia*, or whether Kosmas used a preexisting text within his argument, is unclear. See G. Mercati, *Opere Minori* (Vatican City 1937) 470–9.

18. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους γινόμενα παρεσκεύασαν πείθεσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν προρρήσεων· ἡμᾶς δὲ αἱ ἐκβάσεις τῶν προφητειῶν παρασκευάζουσι πείθεσθαι περὶ τῶν σημείων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησαν, οἷον γέγονε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ (3.62).

19. Translation after McCrindle (*Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk* ed. and tr. J.W. McCrindle (London 1897) 253.

for Kosmas, both poles of these dichotomies are God's works. Creation of humans, who unite these categories precisely as the image of God, demonstrates this (5.235). The divine plan, not Neoplatonic debates about hierarchy of being, declares what is real (3.34).

The Law was but a shadow (σκια, σκιαγραφήσειν), in which characteristic features (ὄψεις, χαρακτῆρας) cannot be discerned (5.4; Heb. 8–10). But Christians live in the time after Christ, where the features are apparent (5.6). Baptism, eucharist, church life and the gift of the Spirit are the characteristic features prefigured by passage through the sea, sojourn in the wilderness and the giving of the Law and Tabernacle (5.6). The *temporal* life of the Old Testament is replaced by the *eternal* life of righteousness, sanctification, redemption and blessedness that Christ achieves for humanity (5.6). The Neoplatonic dichotomy of time and eternity is transcended. Eternity enters time.

Nevertheless a third level of reality remains. This is the future state of heavenly life which is prefigured by post-incarnation earthly life. We move from characteristic features (εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων) to the things themselves (πράγματα), as from a (realistic) portrait to its subject (5.4). Only Christ has been in the things themselves (bodily transformation, incorruption, immutability, perfect knowledge, heavenly things and eternal life (5.6)). Only there will we know more exactly about God (5.6).

We may employ Platonic categories, together with Kosmas' understanding of prophecy, to explicate Kosmas' thought on these points. In Plato's famous simile of the divided line, different parts of the unified reality of the created order are set out (*Republic*, 509d ff). We can have opinions about shadows and physical objects. However, by employing mathematical reasoning (*dianoia*), we can move from opinions about these visible things to true knowledge in the intelligible world of the forms. Participation is the key category, as a 'lesser' section of the line shares characteristics with the next part of the line. Later Platonism and Christian thought emphasised participation as the way to progress from lesser to more complete knowledge, goodness and reality. The ultimate purpose of such participation is assimilation to divine reality.[20] This logic may support Kosmas' view of reality. Kosmas may take Old Testament prophecy to provide knowledge of the real things just as platonic mathematical objects provide knowledge of the forms.[21] In the time after Christ, prophecy is realised. The world of realised prophecy is analogous to the world of platonic forms as 'realised' mathematical object. After Christ in realised prophecy, participation (which is mathematically certain as an element of the divine plan) moves to its perfect form, assimilation; promise (mathematically certain) moves to reality (perfect form). Since prophecy is, for Kosmas, fulfilled after and in Christ, only a very thin membrane divides the reality of heaven from experience on earth after Christ. I have used this Neoplatonic model as an analogue to explicate Kosmas' logic: it is uncertain how much Kosmas himself was influenced by it. What is important for Kosmas

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20. Cf. the 'likeness to god' of *Theaetetus*, 176b.
21. Cf. J.C. Polkinghorne, *Belief in God in an Age of Science* (New Haven 1998) 129.

is that the incarnation entails heavenly things entering history, and that post-incarnation life provides proof of the coming paradise.

Our other sixth-century writers do not fight Kosmas' cosmological battles. They do frame their works with the divine plan and a similar view of post-incarnation reality, suggesting that these optimistic narratives partly constitute their shared culture.

Leontios and Romanos: Liturgical Narratives

In Leontios' *Homilies*, the divine plan declares what God is like, allowing him and his congregation to understand Christ's rule among them. The God who saves all now is the same God who has worked for humanity throughout history. Leontios uses the Old and New Testaments evenly since the New Testament is the new dispensation anticipated by the Old (1.4, 11; 2.1; 3.10, 12–13).[22] The Law prefigures the reality of grace (2.1). While God does not need justification (1.8), salvation history vindicates God (1.6–11; 9.7) who alone orders all things (1.9), ever faithful to his people (1.10–11). Like Father and Son, the Spirit is found in the Old Testament and must be worshipped (11.19, 16–18).

Leontios also suggests that Christ's kingdom is already present. Stylistic elements like monologue, dialogue, apostrophe and exclamation animate biblical characters in the imagination of the worshippers, bringing the saving plan into present experience.[23] Love acts now on earth (3.3). The fruits of the resurrection — friendship, riches, glory, freedom (8.11) — invigorate every level of society *now:* Christ's reign *is* powerful (3.1; 3.2; 8.1–2). Contemporary earthquakes signal divine movement which rivals the resurrection (1.1); both proclaim God's present sovereignty over passive matter. Optimism (as with Kosmas) marks Leontios' sermons.

Leontios' views on the devil show that he, like Kosmas, believes that Christ's reign constitutes reality. When Christ descends to hell, evil is undone (3.20, 22–3; 8.11, 22). Humanity shoots up to heaven as Satan falls (4.10; 8.11). So Leontios states that without human aid, diabolical things accomplish nothing (2.7; 4.14; 5.1, 2, 17; 10.5). They are intentions (διάνοια) only, not words, which have more actuality (4.4).[24] When Job apparently sins, he sins by the propositions of the devil (πρὸς τὴν πρότασιν). These are only κατὰ διάνοιαν, not real and active (ἐπ' ὄψεσιν, κατ' ἔμφασιν) (5.7–8). So, says Leontios, Job could only sin if he brought these intentions into action. Since he did not, Job did not sin at all (5.10). In contrast to the devil's fleshless inefficacy, God's speech is action (κατ' ἀπόφασιν). Only God's rule is real.

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22. See Leontios, *Leontius, Presbyter of Constantinople: Fourteen Homilies*, ed. and tr. P. Allen & C. Datema. ByzAus 9 (Brisbane 1991) 195–204.

23. For a list of rhetorical devices, see Leontios, *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae* ed. C. Datema & P. Allen. CCSG 17 (Leuven 1987) 44–8. References to Leontios follow the section numbering of this edition.

24. For Platonists, *dianoia* denotes the third section of the 'divided line', more real than physical objects (*Rep.* 509d–511c). In Leontios, *dianoia* is applied only to the *diabolos*. Assonance, not philosophy, operates. When Job thinks, his thought is *ennoia*.

The reality of Christ's reign informs Leontios' views of earthly rulers. Although the disordering of natural creation displays God's power over those who order (1.1) and Christ rejects imperial pomp (2.13; 3.7)[25] so that he alone can be proclaimed God by the Father (3.2; 3.6), there is also likeness. *Adventus* imagery links the emperor to Christ (2.2; 3.2).[26] Christ, like the Byzantine emperor, is universal king (βασιλεύς) of the one empire against tyranny (τυραννίς). Imperial and divine *philanthropia* are linked (2.18; 7.9), elevating the emperor to near-identification with Christ. In these examples, the Byzantine hatred of tyranny[27] and the importance of *philanthropia* are apparent. Classical narratives of empire are woven into a Christian story.

As with Kosmas, the divine plan imbues the stories Leontios tells his congregation. The immediate reality of Christ's rule, optimism, and the effect of both these ideas on representations of empire emerge.

The divine plan also suffuses Romanos' *kontakia* (e.g. 32.15; 29.6: οἰκονομία). Christ's incarnation gives meaning to Old Testament events, which reciprocally prefigure it (e.g. 6, 22). Christ recapitulates the divine plan as the Second Adam whom the prophets foretold (2.3–8, 22.2).[28] As Second Adam, Christ fulfils the Old Testament. Throughout, the divine plan shows that creation is linked inextricably to incarnation (e.g. 4.1f). Christ's creative acts and deeds are part of a divine, eternal plan which from the beginning till now has shown humans that, as God, Christ lives to save (2.17). The divine plan is that God in Christ descends as perfect human so that humans may ascend to God (4.1f, 6.3; cf. Irenaeus, *haer.* 5 pref). This understanding of a consistent divine plan organises Romanos' ubiquitous use of typology.

Within the divine plan, Christ fulfils prophecy (4.17). All prophecy points to the incarnation (4.9). And, as for Kosmas, the fulfilment of prophecy marks a decisive change in reality. 'To our ancestors, darkness, to patriarchs, images. But to the children, Truth itself' (6.4).[29] The light illumines all things, replacing shadows with reality (6.11). The *prooimion* of *Kontakion One* proclaims 'today' (σήμερον) as the incarnation of reality which, in 10.6, Christ guarantees. This 'today' is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy (1.3, 5) and marks the end of Satan (e.g. 22). All things are made new; ancient things pass away (2.6). As with Leontios, use of apostrophe and present-tense dialogue draws the worshippers

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25. Rejecting the trappings of empire is a homiletic *topos*. See Leontios, *Homilies* 37.

26. *Adventus* is not a common homiletic theme for the entry into Jerusalem, though see Romanos, *Cantica* ed. P. Maas & K.A. Trypanis (2 vols Oxford 1963) 32. References to Romanos follow the numbering of kontakion and strophe in this edition. See also Leontios, *Homilies*, 37.

27. Cf. 10.32.

28. E.g. 2.3–8 treat Christ recapitulating Adam; 2.9–11 have Mary recapitulating Eve. In 2.12–18, Christ declares the purpose and universal effect of recapitulation. The complex idea of recapitulation, especially strong in Romanos, is beyond the scope of this paper, but provides a further conceptual link between the second and sixth centuries.

29. Romanos, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist* tr. M. Carpenter (2 vols Columbia 1970–3) 1:60.

into the time of the incarnation so that they participate in this new reality (e.g. 2, 4, 15, 18).

A *caveat* is needed. Like Kosmas, Romanos sees a small but significant difference between post-incarnation earth and heaven. Consequently, he does not downplay suffering and destruction: Christ redeems a truly fallen creation. Nevertheless, optimism dominates. For example, *On the Second Coming* clearly predicts great disaster following great evil. But the Anti-Christ's hellish damnations are portrayed as reversal. After Christ's final victory, the righteous *again* (πάλιν) take the incorruptible, immortal and eternal kingdom. Humanity, whatever may be in store, has already tasted divine glory.

Malalas: Historical Narrative

With Malalas we move from liturgy to history, from enacting the drama of salvation to telling the story of the world 'as truthfully as possible' (pref.).[30] We must respect generic specificity. But liturgy and history each participate in the narratives of the other; both participate in other narratives that constitute their shared culture.[31] Similarity may therefore illuminate.[32]

Like Kosmas, Malalas appears to use the divine plan as an epistemological guide for his narrative. Clearly, not everything in Malalas conforms to the divine plan. Rather, creation, acts of God through history, the universal progression towards knowledge of God and the centrality of the saving work of Christ provide a general framework for his world-history. Malalas begins with the Christian creation account, sets the incarnation structurally at the centre of world history, and, like our other writers, takes Old Testament figures to prefigure Christ (e.g. 3.13). The divine plan helps determine Malalas' assessment of the 'truthfulness' of history.

Like Kosmas, Leontios and Romanos, Malalas depicts the present participating more fully in Christ's kingdom than did the past. Baptism has conquered Huns, Heruli and Indians — the kingdom is becoming universal. As Christ cancelled the debt of sin, the emperor cancels financial debts (18.23, 29), displaying *divine* φιλανθρωπία (18.23). Natural disasters also demonstrate the present's closeness to God's kingdom. Within the divine plan, they are the 'wrath of God', demonstrating God's sovereignty and control of his creation (18.19, 27, 40). Plague is likewise characterised as God's correction of his errant creatures, even his compassion on them.[33]

Another story, however, remains: some earthquakes happen *without damage* (e.g. 18.79, 123). These lucky escapes, perhaps scarcely worth mentioning amidst the repeated ruinous disasters of the sixth century, may enter Malalas'

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30. Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation* tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott et al. ByzAus 4 (Melbourne 1986) Preface 1. References to Malalas follow the book and section numbering in this edition.

31. J. S. Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge Mass. 1990).

32. Only a brief sketch is possible here.

33. Plague God's compassion: 18.92; cf. Prokopios, *Wars* 2.22-3; providential, benevolent earthquakes 18.112, 118.

chronicle precisely because they are inexplicable within the divine plan: whence this upheaval for no purpose?[34]

Believing that the present participates more fully in Christ's kingdom than the past did has a further important consequence. Like our other writers, Malalas depicts the present as more real than the past.[35] Hence aspects of the past which are similar to the present are more real than those which do not appear in the present. Continuities between past and present therefore deserve greater emphasis. So Malalas assigns a book to Augustan (imperial) Rome (9), a paragraph to Athenian democracy (4.7).[36] Half the *Chronicle* treats time after Christ, although it covers only one tenth of world-history quantitatively. But Malalas goes further. The perspective of the divine plan helps determine what past events Malalas believes are continuous with the present. So some aspects of the past which would appear very different from the present without the perspective of the divine plan, are taken to symbolise later reality. Plato and Democritus become proto-Trinitarians (7.15, 4.20). Using the divine plan as an epistemological basis for his chronicle may help explain Malalas' identification of continuities between past and present which appear discontinuous outside the framework of the divine plan.

Conclusions

As they approached Denmark's Kronberg Castle, Niels Bohr remarked to Heisenberg, 'Isn't it strange how this castle changes as soon as we imagine that Hamlet lived there.... None of [the physical attributes of the castle] should be changed by the fact that Hamlet lived there, and yet it is changed completely'.[37]

It is this sort of change that Kosmas, Leontios, Romanos and (to some lesser extent) Malalas experience as they imagine their worlds through the divine plan. For Kosmas especially, but with the other writers also, imagining his world through this story provides great hope. The divine plan is central to Kosmas' attack on Neoplatonic cosmology, religion and epistemology. It provides the content of the prophecies that are realised after the incarnation, and is the guarantee that Satan's power is defeated. Each writer shares this view of reality. It supports sixth-century optimism, although in describing sixth-century disasters, Malalas is more cautious.

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34. Drought leading to murder seems similarly evil and purposeless (18.139, 147).
35. Cf. R. Scott, 'Malalas and his Contemporaries' *Studies in John Malalas* ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke & R. Scott. ByzAus 6 (Sydney 1990) 83ff.
36. For this point, compare the insightful treatment of R. Scott, 'Malalas' View of the Classical Past' *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* ed. G.W. Clarke, B. Croke, A.E. Nobbs et al. (Rushcutters' Bay 1990) 149ff, 152, 158.
37. See the epigraph to G. Mills, *Hamlet's Castle: The Study of Literary Experience* (Austin 1976) quoted in J.S. Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge Mass. 1986) 42.

Stories are models that 'refigure' the world',[38] and the stories that our writers tell are instantiations of a model that suffused their shared culture[39] — that of the divine plan of salvation which, recapitulated and perfected by Christ, inaugurates a new humanity.[40]

38. P. Ricœur, *Time and Narrative*, tr. K. McLaughlin & D. Pellauer (3 vols Chicago 1984–8) 1:70–87. For refiguring in ethics, see 3:249, and for self and community formation through narrative, see 3:246–9.
39. For this modification of Ricœur, see Bruner, *Actual Minds*, 42.
40. This paper is dedicated to Roger Scott, whose creative teaching and insightful research opened the sixth century for me.

Annamma Varghese

Kaiserkritik in Two Kontakia of Romanos

The Byzantine sixth-century, and especially the reign of Justinian, produced a rich literature in which the name of Prokopios of Caesarea stands out. Prokopios' attitude to his emperor, however, was at best ambivalent with his wildly contrasting treatment of Justinian in *Secret History* and *Buildings*. *Wars*, on which his reputation as an historian rested for so long, appeared to have almost the status of an official history: but even in it signs of a veiled criticism of the emperor have been unmasked. By contrast the hymn-writer Romanos, whose contribution as a literary figure has taken longer to gain recognition, has been seen solely as a strong supporter of the regime, who used allusions to contemporary events in his hymns as a way of praising the emperor and his policies. A strong case has even been made for Romanos being the recipient of imperial patronage, and so part of Justinian's propaganda machine.[1]

It is difficult to challenge such a view since by their very nature Romanos' *kontakia* were presented and performed in a setting where obvious criticism of the emperor was out of the question. Not only is panegyric to be expected (with or without patronage) in works we think of as primarily for performance in the imperial Great Church but also in such a setting any kind of criticism of the emperor might seem as ridiculous as it was dangerous. This paper, however, wishes to challenge this view by drawing attention to Romanos' treatment of one contemporary issue, the fear of an imminent return of the Antichrist. It argues that when the early successes of Justinian had begun to turn sour, Romanos, despite his praise of the emperor elsewhere, then invited his audience to compare their current sufferings with the disasters associated with the end of the world, and by implication identify Justinian with the Antichrist who, in the guise of a Christian king, was responsible for their misfortunes.

Roger Scott suggested that sixth-century Byzantium may have been deeply concerned about the imminence of the end of the world in a paper that showed how John Malalas' *Chronographia* and Prokopios' *Secret History* reflected propaganda respectively for and against Justinian.[2] His suggestion was used by Paul Magdalino as the starting point for a more detailed discussion of eschatology as a causative factor in Byzantine history, while Elizabeth Jeffreys

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1. J. Koder, 'Romanos Melodos und sein Publikum: Zur Einbeziehung und Beeinflussung der Zuhörer durch das Kontakion' *AnzWien* 134.1 (1997–9) 63–83; P. Magdalino, 'The History of the Future and its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda' *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* ed. R. Beaton & C. Roueché (Aldershot 1993) 9: 'Romanos... can be regarded as Justinian's official hymnographer'. My citations of Romanos are from P. Maas & C.A. Trypanis, eds, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (Oxford 1963); English translations, sometimes slightly modified, are from M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist* (2 vols Columbia 1970–3).
2. R. Scott, 'Malalas, *The Secret History*, and Justinian's Propaganda' *DOP* 39 (1985) 99–109.

has argued that Malalas structured his chronicle deliberately to show that fears about what might happen at the end of the sixth millennium were misplaced since, contrary to popular opinion and dating, that event had taken place with Christ's incarnation.[3] But Malalas' need to reject the popular view does underline that the view was widespread. That this fear of the end of the world persisted at least to the middle of the century is shown by Agathias' report of the same concern in December 557, even though Agathias, writing with the security of hindsight, could mock such superstition.[4]

Scott argued that Prokopios' basic criticism of Justinian in *Secret History* was that he was a demon and that this in turn was linked to contemporary concern about the end of the world and the coming of the Antichrist. It is not so much the *Secret History*, however, that shows how it may have been possible for Romanos to criticize his emperor safely in public, but rather Prokopios' *Wars* where, as Averil Cameron has shown, Prokopios, though generally praising the emperor and his achievements, also on occasions included criticism.[5] *Secret History* was, as its Greek title makes clear, unpublished, so its criticism was presumably known only to a small safe audience. *Wars* on the other hand went close to being an official history and was certainly a public history. Prokopios had to mask his criticism in that work so that only a perceptive audience would recognize it, while the emperor, whether he spotted the criticism or not, would not technically have any grounds for criticism. Hence Prokopios both used allusion[6] and put his criticism in the mouths of enemies[7] and could claim that he was simply recording events as an honest historian, not making criticisms himself. It is this sophistication which allowed Prokopios to work his criticism of the emperor into a very public work. Romanos likewise was able to attack the emperor in public safely by not naming him and by re-interpreting his own version of imperial praise. His *kontakia* are made up a *prooimion* (prelude), a number of *oikoi* (strophes) and a refrain at the end of each strophe.[8] The refrain was probably used as an opportunity for audience participation in the mass.[9] Whatever the level of literacy among the sixth-century Byzantine population,

3.   Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 3–34; E.M. Jeffreys, 'Malalas' Use of the Past' *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* ed. G.W. Clarke, B. Croke, A.E. Nobbs et al. (Rushcutters' Bay 1990) 121–46.
4.   Agathias, *Historiae* 5.5.2 ed. R. Keydell. CFHB (Berlin 1967) 169.
5.   A.M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985) 134–51.
6.   Cf. his use of the wise-adviser scheme to mask criticism of the Vandal wars at *Vandal Wars* 1.10 through an allusion to Herodotus' account of advice to Xerxes against undertaking war against Athens. See R. Scott, 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Historiography' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 73.
7.   'The critique of Justinian in the *Wars*... is of course for the most part indirect' Cameron, *Procopius* 142.
8.   *Sancti Romani Melodi* xi.
9.   Koder, 'Publikum' 64: 'Jedenfalls scheint des Refrain den versuch einer regelmäßigen Aktivierung und Einbeziehung der Anwesenden darzustellen, und zwar sowohl in des liturgische Geschehen allgemein, als auch konkret in den Gedankenfluß der jeweiligen Dichtung.'

their exposure to this aural medium may well have been far greater than their exposure to any written literature. The potential for the *kontakia* to act as a powerful and effective platform for political propaganda is undeniable.

Romanos' praise of Justinian is well known especially his religious ideology. He openly follows Justinian's policy of attacking Jews, heretics and pagans, and perhaps more subtly scorns the Monophysites by frequently referring to the two natures of Christ.[10] Eva Catafygiotu Topping in particular has drawn attention to Romanos' unusual praise of St Peter, probably linked to Justinian's negotiations under Justin to end the Acacian schism with Rome, and to his use of *encomium* and *basilikos logos* to praise the emperor.[11] Johannes Koder concludes that these elements substantiate the notion that Romanos' work was intentionally propagating the doctrine of the imperial court and that his work was supported by some sort of imperial patronage.[12]

The *kontakion* that is accepted most clearly as an encomium of Justinian, while also providing several references to contemporary events, is *On Earthquakes and Fires*.[13] *On Earthquakes and Fires* refers to a number of natural disasters and effects of social unrest: earthquakes, storms, fires, the Nika riots, and the destruction of the Hagia Sophia These are all well attested in other sources but *On Earthquakes and Fires* explains them in terms of God's wrath and the sin of the population. The initial theme of the hymn is Christ as an agent of cleansing and healing who offers eternal life to those who repent. But the agent of renewal is the emperor. Regardless of whether or not the hymn was composed for the actual corner-stone laying ceremony of the Hagia Sophia, this hymn clearly focuses on the restoration of the church and the city itself after it was destroyed, and Romanos clearly venerates the imperial role in this restoration.

Eva Catafygiotu Topping argues that the hymn is written for Justinian, in the typical style of emperor-praise (*basilikos logos*).[14] She cites these examples from the hymn:

1. Romanos' use of 'royal imagery' to describe the destruction and the restoration of the city.

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10. *Sancti Romani Melodi* xxi–xxiii.
11. E. Catafygiotu Topping, 'The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodo*s*' *BMGS* 2 (1976) 1–15; eadem, 'Romanos on the Entry into Jerusalem: A *Basilikos Logos*' *Byz* 47 (1977) 65–91; eadem, 'On Earthquakes and Fires: Romanos' encomium to Justinian' *BZ* 71 (1978) 22–35.
12. Koder, 'Publikum' 67: 'Trotz des diesbezüglichen Schweigens der Synaxare erscheint aus dem Werk des Romanos gesichert, daß Kaiser Justinian bzw. Angehörige des Kaiserhofs ihn öfter beauftragten, daß also dieser Personenkreis such von den Hymnen des Romanos eine Möglichkeit versprach, das Kirchenpublikum nachhaltig zu beeinflussen.'
13. J.H. Barkhuizen, 'Romanos Melodos: On Earthquakes and Fires' *JÖB* 45 (1995) 1–18. Barkhuizen provides, at note 1, a convenient and sensible summary of attempts to date the hymn, favouring a date of 532 (Catafygiotu Topping following Mitsakis) or early 533 over Maas' 537.
14. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Earthquakes' 22.

2. The parallel evoked between the emperor who has rebuilt Constantinople and God/Christ who is the divine healer.

3. The comparison between the rule of the Biblical kings and their powers of restoration with that of the current emperor Justinian, the latter established as superior.

4. The emphasis on the concept that the emperor's kingdom must aspire to reflect the kingdom of heaven.

5. The depiction of the emperor as the saviour of the city.

Several of these examples follow the maxims set out in *An Exposition of Heads of Advice and Counsel* by Agapetos[15] written for Justinian:

> The emperor should be like Christ; both divine and mortal [cap. 21]; previous kings have been adorned by their office; you, most excellent Sire, have made your office even more illustrious;... they sent up their hymns of thanksgiving [cap. 52]; He gave you the sceptre of earthly power after the likeness of the heavenly kingdom... [cap. 1]; the glory of god-like government is prolonged for eternal ages, and it sets its possessors beyond the reach of oblivion [cap. 15].

Romanos here has used contemporary *topoi* of praise[16] to form his hymn to Justinian. It would have been difficult for the contemporary audience not to recognise that the hymn was praising Justinian's rule. The allusions listed above illustrate the promotion of the emperor as a positive and almost supernatural force, who rules and renews his kingdom as God rules his heavenly kingdom. The hymn reasons that despite the apocalyptic events that have recently afflicted Constantinople, Justinian is the saviour of the city who will restore his kingdom in the glory of God.

Catafygiotu Topping believed that this hymn was a work independent of the influence of the court. It does, however, seem at least possible that the work was commissioned by the emperor or the imperial court to promote Justinian's image as restorer and general benefactor of the city while offering a religious explanation of the recent events to the public (the earthquakes and the Nika riots). These recent events had more than unsettled the public; the population was convinced that these natural disasters were signs of the apocalypse. Agathias describes the endemic terror of the population in Constantinople a little later. [17] He reports mass litanies and hymns, the flight of many citizens to the mountains to become monks or ascetics and unprecedented acts of generosity by the powerful.

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15. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 54–61.
16. Catafygiotu Topping, 'Earthquakes' 30. The author points out that *synkrisis* and *praxeis* are described in rhetorical handbooks and are 'two essential elements of royal encomia'.
17. Agathias, *Historiae* 5.5.2 ed. Keydell 169. Cf. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 6. Agathias is referring to late 557; the events alluded to in *On Earthquakes and Fires* belong to the early 530s.

Such hysteria resulted from the great fear among sixth-century Byzantines that the apocalypse was near at hand. This was partly based on the conviction that 'the world had a finite and calculable lifespan corresponding to the six days of creation, a day being a thousand years in God's sight'.[18] The population feared that the sixth millennium would occur in their lifetime. *On Earthquakes and Fires* emphasises the positive outcome of these recent events, the renewed city and the chance to repent, in what appears to be a bid to calm the hysteria of the church-going population.

This hymn has thematic similarities with two other *kontakia, On the Second Coming* and *On the 10 Virgins (II)*, both of which have eschatological themes. *On the Second Coming* is a treatise on the apocalypse in kontakion form. It is devoted to descriptions of the rule of the Antichrist and God's last judgement of men. This hymn aims to educate the audience about the prophesied date and nature of the apocalypse and the signs of the presence of the Antichrist. *On the Second Coming* is representative of the common fundamentalist suspicion among the sixth-century population that not only was this the end of the world but that the Antichrist was present in their kingdom. What is intriguing is that *On the Second Coming* covers much the same topics as *On Earthquakes and Fires*. Like *On Earthquakes and Fires, On the Second Coming* describes the rage of environmental disasters upon man (earthquakes, storms, drought and famine) and a population in fear. Romanos in effect invites his audience to identify these apocalyptic prophecies with the real events occurring in their own lifetimes. The closeness in the descriptions of these disasters in the two hymns is striking. The following lines are examples of this unmistakable cross-referencing and shared imagery:

σείει γὰρ τὴν κτίσιν καὶ ποιεῖ βρύχειν τὴν γῆν ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν
    ἡμῶν·
τὸν χρόνον τοῦ σεισμοῦ δὲ στενάξαντες, πάλιν πρὸς τὸ ἔθος
ἐκδραμόντες λησμοσύνη δεδώκαμεν ἅπαντα τὸν φόβον·
διὸ προσέταξε νεφέλαις πολλάκις
τὰς ψεκάδας μηδαμῶς δοῦναι τὸν ὄμβρον

For He shakes all creation and makes the earth roar as a result of our sins.
Bewailing the time of the earthquake, again as usual,
Running away in forgetfulness, we gave ourselves to every fear,
And so He commanded the clouds,
By no means with a view to giving showers of rain
        (*On Earthquakes and Fires* strophe 13.3–7)

κινήσει φόβον καὶ φαντασίας καὶ κτύπους ἐν ἀέρι
ἐμποιοῦντας φρίκην πᾶσι καὶ δειλίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις·
σείεται τὰ πάντα γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης·

He will cause fear, and create displays and crashes of thunder in the air,
Which bring about fear and terror to men,
Everything on land and sea will be moved...

18. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 4; cf. C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980) 192.

(*On the Second Coming* strophe 12.5–7)

σεισμοὶ καὶ θνήσεις καὶ πᾶσα θλῖψις κρατήσει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ·
Earthquakes and deaths and every affliction will prevail in the world
(*On the Second Coming* strophe 13.5)

καὶ ὄμβροι ὅλως οὐκ ἔσονται...
And there will not be any rains at all...
(*On the Second Coming* strophe 10.2)

As well as sharing these themes, both hymns beg God for forgiveness, salvation and eternal life. However the two hymns vary in their explanations of the disasters. The same or similar events are given quite different interpretations. In *On Earthquakes and Fires* the events are explained as the work of God, evoking his potential wrath upon sinners who have not repented. However, the hymn's conclusion is positive; it celebrates God's mercy on mankind (and his mercy on the city) and emphasises God's willingness, above all, to give man ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον (the hymn's refrain). In great contrast, *On the Second Coming* takes the same events to mark the end of the world. These events are described as the direct product of the Antichrist: ἄλλον δὲ τοσοῦτον χρόνον κυριεύσει ὁ ἄδικος Ἀντίχριστος | δεινῶς τιμωρούμενος τοὺς σὲ περιμένοντας (strophe 6.7–8).

If the intention of *On Earthquakes and Fires* was to quell possible fears of the Byzantine population that the Apocalypse was nigh, *On the Second Coming* certainly subverts any optimism or comfort offered in the former. *On the Second Coming* underlines the presence and power of evil embodied in the Antichrist, the necessity of repentance before the last judgement and the futility of repentance once the apocalypse had arrived. While *On Earthquakes and Fires* presupposes God's infinite mercy, *On the Second Coming*, in contrast, is more pessimistic and stresses that man cannot take God's mercy for granted.

The myth of the Antichrist, however, would also have allowed for a contemporary interpretation. It is entrenched in the prophecies of the apocalypse. Biblical references tell us that the rule of the Antichrist is to precede the Second Coming of Christ and his presence on Earth will mark the 'last days' before final judgement. The idea is that the Antichrist will come in the body of a King pretending to be a Christian. This King then wreaks havoc on the Christian people by means of earthquakes, plagues, droughts and wars.[19] Romanos does seem to be letting his congregation reflect on the identity of this king. *On the Second Coming* is both a hymn to incite the repentance of the audience and to teach the population about the prophesied end of the world and the characteristics of the Antichrist.[20]

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19. See W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* tr. A.H. Keane (London 1896, rp. New York 1982) ch. 11 & 13; cf. A. Bredero, 'The Coming of the Antichrist' *Prophecy and Eschatology* ed. M. Wilks (Oxford 1994) 3–13.

20. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode, Hymnes: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes* (5 vols Paris 1964–81) 5:217.

The link between contemporary disasters and the apocalypse is then made clear in *On the 10 Virgins II*. As Paul Magdalino points out,[21] the relevance of the allusions it makes is unmistakable. The urgency of the hymn pushes the themes of *On the Second Coming* into a vivid reality for the audience. No longer a future prophecy, the apocalypse is now:

τί μεριμνᾷς ἃ οὐ προσήκει
καὶ ἀσχολῇ πρὸς πᾶν ἀνωφέλη‹τον›
τῶν μελλόντων καιρῶν;...

ἡ ἐσχάτη ἐγγύς
Why are you anxious about what does not concern you?
Why are you busy with everything useless
For the times to come?...
The last day is at hand.

(*On the 10 Virgins II* strophe 1.2–4, 6)

Romanos then continues by providing the same catalogue of disasters as in *On the Second Coming*: drought, plague, earthquakes, invasions, wars, all as Christ foretold and all are happening now. The disasters are at the gates and there is no escape:

ταῦτα καὶ νῦν θεωροῦμεν, ψυχή·
θύραι εἰσίν, οὐκ ἐπὶ θύραις·
ἐπέστη γὰρ καὶ πάρεστιν ἕτοιμα.
οὐκ ἐλλείπει οὐδέν.
ὥσπερ εἶπε Χριστός,
ἀλλ' ὡς προεῖπε, πάντα γενήσεται
καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ
καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς,
καὶ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἐγήγερται;
τὰ ἔσω φοβερά, τὰ ἔξω δὲ
μάχης πεπλήρωνται.

My soul, now we observe these things.
They are not at the door; they are the doors
They are at hand and are present and ready.
Nothing is missing
But it is just as Christ said.
As He foretold, everything will happen:
Famines and pestilence and continuous earthquakes,
And tribe upon tribe will be raised up.
Fearful things within and without,
Full of battles.

(*On the 10 Virgins II* strophe 4.1–11)

As in *On the Second Coming*, the symptoms of the end of the world are shown again to be earthquakes, plague, famine and war, not only in the passage

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21. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 6.

cited but repeatedly through the *kontakion*.[22] Yet the emphasis in *On the 10 Virgins II* is not only that this is happening now and 'the last day is at hand' (ἡ ἐσχάτη ἐγγύς) but that there is no escape:

οὐκ ἔστι ποῦ σωθῆναι·
πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος·
οὐδαμοῦ καταφυγή, φυγὴ δὲ πᾶσιν·
ἡ πύλη κέκλεισται,
ἡ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐσφραγίσθη·
οὐ γὰρ ἠβουλήθημεν
ἔνδοθεν εἶναι νυμφῶνος
βοῶντες· ''Ανοιξον!'
It is not possible to be saved anywhere,
For everywhere there is danger.
Nowhere is there a refuge; there is flight by all men.
The gate has been closed,
Mercy has been sealed;
For we were not chosen
To be within the bridal chamber, we are
Crying, 'Open!'
            (*On the 10 Virgins II* strophe 4.12–19)

Thus all three hymns share the same themes of environmental disasters but use three different approaches. *On Earthquakes and Fires* shows its awareness of the events that have afflicted the audience but argues that the population has been saved and restored, largely through the efforts of the emperor; *On the Second Coming* uses the disasters to describe the prophecies of the awaited apocalypse and sees the instigator of these disasters as the Antichrist in the guise of a Christian emperor who pretends to save his people from disaster; and *On the 10 Virgins II* verifies for the audience that the events described in the previous two hymns are one and the same and that they, the audience, are witnessing the 'last days'. *On the 10 Virgins II* is a sombre final appeal for men to repent. The mercy evoked in *On Earthquakes and Fires* is a very distant notion in *On the 10 Virgins II* where the optimistic refrain of ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον (Eternal Life) becomes the desperate βοῶντες· ''Ανοιξον' (crying out 'Open!' [the doors of heaven]).

On the Second Coming draws the audience into an apocalyptic world, answering questions[23] on how the world will end and describing the events leading to this end. Romanos narrates, in a somewhat prophetic style, the progression of the Antichrist's rule. The first major step in this progression is for the Antichrist to build a temple, deceiving God's people in imitation of Christ/God:

Ναὸν δὲ τότε ποιήσεται περιούσιον τῶν Ἑβραίων τὸ σύστημα
πλανῶν καὶ ἄλλους ὁ ἄνομος,

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22. The same collection of disasters is included in strophes 3, 5, 7 plus a further earthquake in 11. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 6, draws further apposite parallels with events described by Agathias and Malalas.
23. Whefohers in Grosdidier de Matons, *Hymnes* 5:225.

ὅταν πεπλασμένας φαντασίας ἐργάσηται καὶ σημεῖα ὁ τύραννος.

Then the lawless one will build a temple and lead astray
The proper assembly of Hebrews and others,
When the tyrant will perform false miracles and signs.

(*On the Second Coming* strophe 9.1–3)

In *On Earthquakes and Fires*, Romanos had taken this same event, the building of a temple, Hagia Sophia, to glorify and praise the one (Justinian) who was responsible for its construction:

Μεγάλα ὄντως καὶ φαιδρὰ καὶ ἄξια θαυμάτων καὶ ὑπερβεβηκότα
ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς ἔδειξαν νυνὶ
οἱ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν εὐσεβῶς τὰ πράγματα διέποντες·...
ὁ οἶκος δὲ αὐτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησιάς
ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀρετῇ οἰκοδομεῖται,
ὡς τὸν οὐρανὸν μιμεῖσθαι, τὸν θεῖον θρόνον...

Now our rulers have revealed things that are great, brilliant, and worthy
    of wonder,
Indeed surpassing all the men of old.
The rulers of the Roman Empire, at this time,
As they reverently manage affairs...
The very structure of the church
Was erected with such excellence
That it imitated Heaven, the divine throne...

(*On Earthquakes and Fires* strophe 23.1–3, 6–8)

As suggested earlier, *On Earthquakes and Fires* sees the imitation (by the emperor) of god's kingdom as a positive and venerable trait while, poles apart, *On the Second Coming* describes such imitation as a primary characteristic of the Antichrist:

ὑπὸ πολλῆς δολιότητος ὁ παγκάκιστος ὥσπερ πρᾶος ἐλεύσεται,
ὡς ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν·
τούτου γὰρ μιμεῖται τὴν φωνὴν καὶ προτρέπεται ἐκ τῆς μάνδρας
    τὰ πρόβατα·
καὶ πολλοὶ ὑπακούσονται καὶ ἀπελεύσονται πρὸς αὐτὸν
    ἀπατώμενοι·
καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐκ τούτων ἀφαιρεῖται
καὶ σφραγῖδα ἀπωλείας ὡς ἰδίοις ἐγχαράττει·

Through many wiles, the completely wicked one will come as a humble
    person,
As our good shepherd,
For he will imitate His voice and turn the flocks from the field
And many men will listen to him, and tricked, will go away,
And he will take away from them the seal of the Saviour
And he will mark them with his own seal of perdition...

(*On the Second Coming* strophe 11.1–6)

If it is easy to identify the emperor of *On Earthquakes and Fires* as Justinian, it is difficult not to identify the Antichrist of *On the Second Coming* as also being the same emperor.

The restoration work of Justinian is thus subverted. Romanos re-interprets his rule, in effect labelling him as the Antichrist. The miracles of the restored church and the city described in *On Earthquakes and Fires* are rendered πεπλασμένας φαντασίας. Two panegyric elements in *On Earthquakes and Fires*, the imitation of Christ and the rebuilding of the Hagia Sophia, become elements of kaiserkritik in *On the Second Coming* serving to serving to identify Justinian by inversion as the Antichrist. In this passage from *On the Second Coming* Romanos warns that the men who follow the one who imitates God/Christ will lose the gift of eternal life and the promise of salvation. Romanos is cautioning his audience, advising them that they are being tested through these disasters to see whether they follow Christ or whether they will continue to be tricked by Justinian (the Antichrist).

The hymn is not simply a 'scare tactic' to compel the audience to repent, but a very powerful example of anti-imperial propaganda by which Romanos would appear to be advocating, if not actual dissidence, at least deep distrust among the church-going population towards Justinian. Therefore it is only when viewed together that the significance of these three hymns can be fully recognised. Analysed as such alongside each other,[24] they provide a perfect representation of the dual nature of sixth-century propaganda and the two opposing interpretations of Justinian's reign. These hymns reveal the potential for panegyric to be subverted to become kaiserkritik, and in turn for kaiserkritik to be inverted to become panegyric. As Alexander Kazhdan pointed out for a later period, 'The Byzantines were capable of understanding the political implications of propaganda, although concealed usually between very vague expressions and images. They were capable as well of counter-propaganda, of the re-interpretation of imperial symbols and words, of imposing over them a perverse meaning.'[25] Romanos likewise was able to attack the emperor in public safely by re-interpreting his own version of imperial praise. *On the Second Coming* subverts the panegyric of *On Earthquakes and Fires* and creates a potent kaiserkritik of Justinian. *On the 10 Virgins (II)* links the apocalyptic prophecies in *On the Second Coming* to the plight of Constantinople described in *On Earthquakes and Fires*. As much as *On Earthquakes and Fires* constructs Justinian as a renewing agent of God/Christ, *On the Second Coming* depicts Justinian as the Antichrist himself and his reign as none other than the beginning of the apocalypse. More significantly the three hymns show the projection of the emperor into two divergent eschatological roles. As much as *On the Second Coming* casts Justinian in the negative eschatological role as the tyrant Antichrist who brings doom upon mankind, *On Earthquakes and Fires* uses apocalyptic

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24. With regards to the actual day on which the hymns were performed, see Carpenter's notes on each kontakion. Carpenter, *Kontakia* 2:237; 369 and 167: *On Earthquakes and Fires* 'is marked for the fourth day of the third week of Lent'; *On the Second Coming* 'is marked for the Sunday of Carnival week' and *On the Ten Virgins II* 'was written for the Tuesday of Holy Week.'

25. A.P. Kazhdan, 'Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries' *Prédication et Propagande au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident* ed. G.Makdisi, D. Sourdel & J. Sourdel-Thomine (Paris 1983) 27.

themes to present Justinian as a messianic figure — the ultimate restorer of God's kingdom on earth who prepares the city and its Christian population for 'eternal life'.

If we can accept that the three hymns are referring to the same material, as the correspondences suggest very strongly, then Romanos certainly has presented contrasting views of the emperor and the reign. It is probably not possible to show whether this reflects a change of mind, and, if so, in which direction. But a change from praise to criticism is supported by what little we can infer about the dates of the three *kontakia*. As previously mentioned, the events alluded to in *On Earthquakes and Fires* belong to the early 530s and it makes sense for the *kontakion* to have been composed close to the events it describes. Whether or not *On the Second Coming* was composed about the same time is unclear but Paul Magdalino has argued for a mid 550s date for *On the 10 Virgins (II)* on the basis of its allusions.[26] A shift from praise to blame would also fit that change from optimism to pessimism which Roger Scott has suggested was a feature of the reign, as well as perhaps fitting the normal attitude to most long-lasting regimes. The early energy of the reign, which saw the 'Endless Peace' with Persia, the recovery of Vandal Africa and the initial successes in Gothic Italy, the codification of the laws and the building of Hagia Sophia were accompanied also by a strength in literature and art. As things began to go wrong and the reign dragged on, there was also a decline in literature or at least its publication. A change by Romanos from seeing Justinian as God's agent in *On Earthquakes and Fires* to being the Antichrist of *On the Second Coming* would fit this interpretation of the reign.

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26. Magdalino, 'History of the Future' 6. Given that Romanos appears to have come to Constantinople during the reign of Anastasios, and that at least his praise of Peter in line with imperial policy should probably be dated to the reign of Justin, a change from praise to criticism seems much more likely than vice-versa.

Andrei Timotin

Byzantine Visionary Accounts of the Other World:
A Reconsideration

1. Paul Magdalino's and Evelyne Patlagean's theories

In a recent and stimulating paper[1] Paul Magdalino argued that the Byzantines
were preoccupied with the end of the World around the year 1000 (AM 6500),
basing his thesis on various sources, including apocalyptic visions and
prophecies,[2] together with astrological and astronomical works.[3] As apocalyptic
visions Magdalino cites five texts which appear to have been written in the tenth
to eleventh centuries:[4] two *visions* having an independent circulation, the *Vision
of Kosmas the Monk* (*BHG* 2084, 2085) and the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* (*BHG*
1868–70b), and three Lives of saints which include one or more visionary
accounts of the Other World or of the end of the world: the *Life of St Andrew the
Fool* (*BHG* 115), the *Life of St Basil the Younger* (*BHG* 263–4f) and the *Life of
St Niphon* (*BHG* 1371z).

Twenty years ago Evelyne Patlagean also brought together almost the same
group of texts — omitting the *Life of St Niphon* and the *Vision of Kosmas*, but
including the Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary* — in a seminal article[5]
giving some Byzantine examples of *faire croire* in the ninth to eleventh
centuries. The four texts are presumed to reflect a contemporary interest in
systematizing the representations of the Other World,[6] and the symbolic

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1. P. Magdalino, 'The Year 1000 in Byzantium' *Byzantium in the Year 1000* ed. P.
Magdalino (Leiden 2003) 233–70. See also *idem*, '"What we heard in the Lives of
the Saints we have seen with our own eyes": The Holy Man as Literary Text in
Tenth-Century Constantinople' *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle
Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* ed. P.A. Hayward & J.D. Howard-
Johnston (Oxford 1999) 83–112.

2. See also I. Ševčenko, 'Unpublished Byzantine Texts on the End of the World About
the Year 1000 AD' *TM* 14 (2002) 561–78; P. Magdalino, 'Une prophétie inédite des
environs de l'an 965 attribuée à Léon le Philosophe (Ms. Karakallou 14, fol. 253v–
254r)' *TM* 14 (2002) 391–402.

3. See also P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Reception of Classical Astrology' *Literacy,
Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond* ed. C. Holmes &
J. Waring (Leiden 2002) 33–57.

4. Magdalino, 'Year 1000' 244–5: 'It is surely significant that the surviving Byzantine
visionary accounts of heaven and hell can all be dated to the late tenth or early
eleventh century.' See also *idem*, 'What we heard in the Lives' 99.

5. E. Patlagean, 'Byzance et son autre monde: observations sur quelques récits' *Faire
croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au
XVe siècle*. Table ronde, Rome, 22–23 juin 1979 (Rome 1981) 201–21.

6. Ibid. 207: 'Ces quatre œuvres, créées pendant la période que délimitent à Byzance les
IXe–XIe siècles, constituent donc des justifications narratives des représentations de
l'autre monde, et, conjointement, du système théologique et normative.' Cf. also L.

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codification of the corporal punishments.[7] The theory is also supported by references to contemporary legislation, to the apocryphal work *Letter of Christ*, and to some hagiographical pieces such as the ninth-century *Life of Grigentios* (*BHG* 706–706i).

Magdalino and Patlagean have succeeded in convincingly sustaining the two theories. It is likely that in tenth-century Byzantium there was a remarkable penchant for apocalypticism and a preoccupation with the current representations of the Other World. However, we should perhaps hesitate about accepting without question that there is a real dependence of the above-mentioned 'visions' or 'apocalypses' on these preoccupations of the period. It seems to me that the texts are different enough in their purpose, structure and content, so as not to be adequately explained by these theories. The aim of the present article is to focus on this problem by a fresh and closer examination of the texts.

2. Editions, date and state of scholarship

a) There are two versions of The *Vision of Kosmas the Monk* (hereafter *VCosm*): a short version, to be found in the *Synaxarion*,[8] and a long version, edited, translated and annotated by Christina Angelidi.[9] The edition of the long version, which survives in nine manuscripts, is based on the Londin. Addit. 28270, written in 1111.

Both versions include chronological evidence. Kosmas, *koitônitès* of the emperor Alexander, retires shortly after the emperor's death to a monastery — in the long version, the imperial monastery of the Théotokos tou Eusébiou — where he will have the vision, in 933. The long version also mentions that Kosmas lived thirty years after the vision, which allows considering the year 963 as *terminus post quem*.[10] Certainly the text cannot have been composed much later.

b) The *Apocalypse of Anastasia* (hereafter *ApocAnas*) was edited by Rudolf Homburg on the basis of three manuscripts, none earlier than the fifteenth century.[11] Unlike *VCosm*, the dating evidence in *ApocAnas* is anachronistic. The nun Anastasia is supposed to have lived in the days of emperor Theodosius II,

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Rydén. 'Literaryness in Byzantine Saints' Lives' *Les 'Vies de saints' à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique? Actes du IIe Colloque International philologique ERMHNEIA. Paris 6–8 juin 2002* ed. P. Odorico & P.A. Agapitos (Paris 2004) 55.

7. Patlagean, 'Byzance' 209: 'Tous les récits utilisent la même symbolique où des tourments corporels et des bêtes répugnantes infligent aux damnés des punitions à l'image de leur faute, selon un code qui ne nous est d'ailleurs pas toujours lisible.'

8. *Synaxarium CP*, 107–114.

9. C. Angelidi, 'La version longue de la vision du moine Cosmas' *AB* 101 (1983) 73–9. The long version includes a prologue, the relation of the vision and an epilogue, while the short one omits the prologue and the epilogue.

10. Ibid. 76.

11. R. Homburg, *Apocalypsis Anastasiae* (Leipzig 1903). The three manuscripts used are Paris. Gr. 1631 (probably the 15th c.), Ambrosianus A 56 sup. (1542) and Panormitanus III, B (acephalic, 15th–16th centuries).

and her vision would date to AM 6015 (AD 506/7). However, the presence of emperor John I Tzimiskes, who died in 976, among the damned whom Anastasia encounters in her journey to hell may imply — if it is not an interpolation — a date close to the events.[12] The text includes only one other historical reference, which alludes to an unknown *protospatharios* Peter of Corinth (30.2–3 ed. Homburg).

c) The *Life of St Basil the Younger* (hereafter *VBiun*), which has no critical edition so far, is known in three versions: a long version in the Greek Ms. 249 of the Synodal Library in Moscow (sixteenth c.),[13] an abridged one in Paris. Gr. 1547 (thirtenth c.)[14] and a third one, which reproduces the visions, but omits the historical material, in cod. Iviron 478 (thirteenth c.).[15] Christina Angelidi recorded 24 manuscripts from the twelfth to the nineteenth century.[16]

Many chronological references are to be found in *VBiun*. The first one refers to a series of events related to Basil's arrival in Constantinople: he is arrested and taken to Constantinople, where he is interrogated and tortured by the *parakoimômenos* Samonas, then cast into the sea and rescued by dolphins, and finally comes back to the city where he is sheltered by a pious couple (fols. 2–13 ed. Vilinskij). The author of *VBiun*, who calls himself Gregory, dates these events to the tenth year of the reign of Leo VI and his brother Alexander, that is in 896, although, as Lennart Rydén has observed, this date is anachronistic, because Samonas did not become *parakoimômenos* until some ten years later.[17] The next chronological reference is the rebellion of Constantine Doukas in 913, which Basil is supposed to have predicted and about which Gregory gives a detailed description (fols. 14–21).

The third chronological reference consists of a number of details which hint at the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44). First there is the allusion to the period when there were seven royal figures in the palace: Constantine VII with his wife Helen and Romanos with his two younger sons, Stephen and Constantine, and their wives (fols. 22 and 32). Next there is Basil's prediction that Helen would give birth first to another girl and then to a boy who would be called Romanos (fols. 31v–32), undoubtedly Romanos II born in 938. Third there is a reference to the Rus' attack on Constantinople in the year 941, which Basil is said to have predicted four months in advance, so indicating the beginning of the 940s as a *terminus post quem* for this part of the *Vita*. Finally, Basil is supposed

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12. Cf. Patlagean, 'Byzance' 202; Magdalino, 'Year 1000' 245.

13. There is no accessible edition of the manuscript, which was variously published in a four-piece mosaic by A.N. Veselovskij, *Sbornik otdela russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk* 46 (St Petersburg 1889) 6 suppl. 10–76 (fols 66–147 = *BHG* 264d), and 53 (1891) 6 suppl. 3–174 (fols 147v–351 = *BHG* 263), and by S.G. Vilinskij, *Zapiski Imperatorskogo novorosijskogo universiteta* (Odessa 1911) 283–326 (fols 2–66 = *BHG* 263) and 326–46 (fols 351–78 = *BHG* 264b).

14. Only fols 1–34v were edited in *AASS* 24–39.

15. Vilinskij, *Zapiski* 5–142.

16. C. Angelidi, Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Νέου (Ioannina 1980) 3–17.

17. L. Rydén, 'The *Life* of St Basil the Younger and the Date of the *Life* of St Andreas Salos' *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday* ed. C. Mango & O. Pritsak. HUkSt 7 (Cambridge Mass. 1984) 571.

to have died on March 26 in the middle of Lent, which could mean either 944 or 952.[18]

The story of Kosmas (fols. 49v–51v), who wants to become emperor, but who becomes a monk with Gregory's help, seems to show that the author of *VBiun* was acquainted with the history of the chamberlain Kosmas who retired from the world and became abbot in a monastery, as recounted in *VCosm*. Although Gregory does not mention the vision in connection with Kosmas, echoes of it appear in his vision of Theodora's death.[19] If one accepts this supposition, *VBiun* was undoubtedly composed after 963. The text offers no conclusive reference with regard to the *terminus ante*, but its good knowledge of the political context suggests that its composition should not be much later.

d) The *Life of St Andrew the Fool* (hereafter *VAnd*) was edited, translated and richly annotated by Lennart Rydén.[20] Rydén recorded 112 manuscripts from the eleventh to the nineteenth century[21] and a majuscule fragment from the tenth century.[22]

As *ApocAnas*, *VAnd* is inconsistently placed in the proto-Byzantine period, in the reign of Leo I (457–74). On the basis of various arguments, Rydén placed it towards the end of the reign of Constantine VII, in the sixth decade of the tenth century.[23] Rydén's position is based mainly on the close similarities between *VAnd* and *VBiun*, between *VAnd* and the *Life of St Philaretos the Merciful*,[24] on the several elements which *VAnd* has in common with a tenth-century *Vision of Daniel*, and on the majuscule fragment.

Nevertheless, his arguments failed to convince both Ihor Ševčenko, who accepted a seventh- or eighth-century date,[25] and Cyril Mango, who argued for the late seventh century.[26] Rydén responded to Ševčenko's scepticism in 1983

18. Ibid. 572. Cf. Angelidi, *Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου* 19–20, 86–95.
19. Rydén, '*Life* of St Basil' 575, 577. Cf. Angelidi, *Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου* 107–108.
20. L. Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, vol. 1, *Introduction, Testimonies and Nachleben*, vol. 2, *Text, Translation and Notes*. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4 (Uppsala 1995).
21. See the list of mss. in ibid. 1:151–6. The oldest manuscripts are two eleventh-century mss. of Ἐθνική Βιβλ. (Athens) no. 523 and 1014.
22. The fragment of *VAnd* (l. 1880–2100), considered as the autograph by Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:72, is contained in Cod. Gr. 443 of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (14th c.), which is provided with flyleaves consisting of eight parchment folios, written in majuscule hand in the tenth century. According to Rydén, it is a simplified form of the so-called *Auszeichnungsschrift* (H. Hunger), used by the author for corresponding with the anachronistic date of the *vita*.
23. L. Rydén, 'The Date of the *Life of Andreas Salos*' *DOP* 32 (1978) 127–55 and *Life of St Andrew* 1:48–54. Magdalino, 'Year 1000' 245, also agrees with a tenth-century date.
24. L. Rydén, 'The Revised Version of the *Life of St Philaretus the Merciful* and the *Life of St Andreas Salos*,' *AB* 100 (1982) 485–95.
25. I. Ševčenko, 'Levels of Style in Byzantine Literature' *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 289–312.
26. C. Mango, 'Daily Life in Byzantium' *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 337–53', especially 341 n. 26; *idem*, 'The Life of St Andrew the Fool Reconsidered' *RSBS* 2 (1982) 297–313, rp C. Mango, *Byzantium and its Image* (London 1984) VIII.

with new arguments from a systematic comparison of *VAnd* and *VBiun*,[27] and to Mango's objections in 1995.[28]

This still leaves the problem of explaining why a tenth-century author would place his work anachronistically in the fifth century. One possible explanation might be the tenth-century interest in rewriting Early Byzantine hagiography. For instance it is this that seems to have persuaded the author of *VAnd* to take a sixth-century saint, Symeon Salos, as a model for his hero, and to say explicitly that Andrew 'loved to read the Holy Scriptures but even more the Passions of the martyrs and the Lives of the God-bearing Fathers' (15, 632C transl. Rydén).[29]

e) The *Life of St Niphon* (hereafter *VNiph*) is accessible in two versions edited by A.V. Rystenko.[30] No manuscript is earlier than the twelfth century.

Like the authors of *ApocAnas* and *VAnd*, the author of *VNiph* similarly places the events he narrates in the proto-Byzantine period, in the fourth century, but the text comprises events which are more clearly related to the medieval Constantinopolitan context. The anachronistic evidence was pointed out by Rydén who dated it between the end of tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century: a *protovestiarios* — a title not firmly attested before the ninth century — who brought Niphon to Constantinople (5.24–8 ed. Rystenko), the church dedicated to St Anastasios (108.20), supposedly founded by the Empress Irene in the late eighth century, and the eleventh-century Halmyropolis (4.16).[31] As *terminus ante quem*, one can plausibly accept the year 1059, since Eustathios Boilas' testament mentions a book-title ὁ Νίφων. Moreover, Rydén pointed out a series of relevant similarities, both linguistic and thematic, between *VNiph*, *VAnd* and *VBiun*.[32]

f) The *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*[33] is, together with the *Apocalypse of Paul*, one of the most influential extra-canonical Christian apocalypses, which

27. Rydén, '*Life* of St Basil' mainly 577–86 and *Life of St Andrew* 1:215 (index of quotations from *VBiun*). Cf. also Angelidi, Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου 98–102, and decisively Magdalino, 'What we heard in the Lives' 87–99.
28. Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:43–5 and 54–6.
29. Cf. Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:579–80, and 'The Holy Fool' *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. S. Hackel (London 1981) 113.
30. A.V. Rystenko, *Materialien zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-slavischen Literatur und Sprache* (Odessa 1928). The edition is based respectively on four and three manuscripts. The most ancient manuscript of the first version dates from the 12th c. (cod. Panteleimon 79), while the basis manuscript of the second version dates from the 17th c. (cod. Panteleimon 801).
31. L. Rydén, 'The Date of the Life of St Niphon, *BHG* 1371z' *Greek and Latin Studies in Memory of Cajus Fabricius* ed. S.-T. Teodorsson (Gothenburg 1990) 33–40.
32. Rydén, 'Niphon' 38–9, and more consistently in Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:190–1 and 216–17 (the *index* of quotations from *VNiph*).
33. Cf. M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout 1992) 211–2 (CANT 327); J.H. Charlesworth, *The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: A Guide to Publications, with Excursuses on Apocalypses* (New York 1987) 413–15; W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (2 vols Tübingen 1989) 2:627.

circulated in various versions in Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Armenian, Slavic and Romanian traditions.[34] It was a very popular work in the Byzantine world and in the Byzantine cultural orbit. The Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary* (hereafter *ApocMar*), whose common title in the manuscripts is Ἀποκάλυψις τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου περὶ τῶν κολάσεων, 'The Apocalypse of the all-holy Mother of God concerning the Punishments,' is known in a large number of manuscripts but has no critical edition. Only a few texts, very different one from another, have been published so far.[35]

The earliest manuscript is from the eleventh-twelfth century (Oxf. Bodl. Misc. Gr. 56, ed. James), but the text must have been composed much earlier. It is largely dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul* 31–44 (ed. Silverstein & Hilhorst 136–61), a Greek apocryphal apocalypse dating in all probability from c.400 AD,[36] which includes Paul's journey to heaven and hell, where he sees the heavenly city, the places of the just, the Judgment and the torments of the damned. He intercedes for the damned and thus they are given a respite of one day and one night.

Accepting that the presumably tenth-century *ApocAnas* was inspired by *ApocMar*,[37] this could also provide a *terminus ante*, but adopting a *non liquet* is more honest, because of the shortage of reliable dating evidence.[38]

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34. See R. Bauckham, 'The Four Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary' *The Fate of the Dead: Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden 1998) 332–62, who considers that there are four different original apocalypses: the Greek, the Obsequies, the Ethiopic and the Six Books Apocalypse; S.C. Mimouni, 'Les *Apocalypses de la Vierge*: État de la question' *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 101–12; A. Wenger, 'Foi et piété mariale à Byzance' *Maria: études sur la Sainte Vierge*, vol. 5 ed. H. du Manoir (5 vols Paris 1958) 956–62.

35. I. Sreznevskij & G.S. Destunis, 'Choždenie presvatija bogorodica po mukam' *EvORJaS* 10 (1863) 551–74 (Old Slavonic and Greek texts [Vienna Theol. 333]) rp. along with modern Greek, Old Slavonic and Romanian texts, in B.P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni*, vol. 2, *Cărţile poporane ale românilor în secolul XVI în legătură cu literatura poporană cea nescrisă* (Bucharest 1879) 312–67; C. Gidel, 'Étude sur une apocalypse de la Vierge Marie' *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* 5 (1871) 92–113 [*BHG* 1052] rp. without the Greek text, in C. Gidel, *Nouvelles études sur la littérature grecque moderne* (Paris 1878) 312–30; M.R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota* (Cambridge 1893) 109–26 [*BHG* 1050]; H. Pernot, 'Descente de la Vierge aux Enfers d'après les manuscripts grecs de Paris' *REG* 13 (1900) 233–57 [*BHG* 1051, 1053, 1054]; A. Delatte, *Anecdota atheniensia* (2 vols Liège 1927) 1:272–88 [1052, 1054i]. For unpublished manuscripts, see also Mimouni, '*Apocalypses*' 105 fn. 32, and Bauckham, 'Apocalypses' 335.

36. P. Piovanelli, 'Les origines de l'*Apocalypse de Paul* reconsidérées' *Apocrypha* 4 (1993) 25–64. While awaiting the synoptic edition being prepared by Piovanelli for *Clauis Apocryphorum*, I have turned to the long Latin version (the most similar to the lost Greek original text) by T. Silverstein & A. Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul: A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions* (Geneva 1997).

37. This seems to me almost certain, despite Bauckham's reservation ('Apocalypses' 336 fn. 7). Cf. also Homburg, *Apocalypsis* vii–viii, and Patlagean, 'Byzance' 204, 209–10, 212.

3. Purpose, structure and content

a) *VCosm* belongs to the category of διηγήσεις ψυχωφελεῖς for which there are abundant witnesses in the Middle-Byzantine period.[38] The story, precisely placed in a particular time and place, unlike most of the stories of this kind, recounts the vision of hell of an ex-chamberlain who had retired from the world to a monastery in North-Western Asia Minor.[40] Leaving his body, he finds himself surrounded by demons who lead him by force to the place where the damned are hurled down by a terrifying demon. After he leaves it, he is guided by saints Andrew and John to Abraham's bosom, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the palace placed at its periphery.[41]

There is a rich patristic[42] and iconographic tradition[43] about demons surrounding the soul at the moment of death which is to be related to Kosmas' vision. The depiction of the city (85–6.162–74 ed. Angelidi) is certainly inspired by Apoc 21:10–20, and plausibly by the *Apocalypse of Paul* 23 (ed. Silverstein & Hilhorst 120–1). The heavenly palace (86–7.178–208) has apparently no traditional reference, and it seems to reflect mostly the author's interest in transposing imperial ceremonial into the Other World.[44]

Kosmas' vision is said to have served as an aetiology for the unification of the two monasteries under his administration (89.247–50): the monastery of Théotokos tou Eusebiou and the patriarchal monastery of Traïanou. As Christina Angelidi pointed out,[45] the allusions to the oral form of the discourse (79.7 and 11) and to Constantinople (79.22: τὴν προκαθεζομένην ταύτην... πόλιν) suggest that the text would have been written to be read in the capital, plausibly for an ecclesiastical audience (79.17: μακαριστοὶ πατέρες).

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38. Cf. Bauckham, 'Apocalypses' 336 and Mimouni, '*Apocalypses*' 109. Mimouni (ibid. 108) seems to place the *terminus ante* in the seventh century, when the Theotokos' image as intercessor emerges in Byzantium.

39. The manuscript tradition witnesses this morphological affinity. The oldest manuscripts, Venet. Marc. Gr. 346 (year 992) and Scolariensis Ω IV 32, Gr. 584 (year 1034/35) are inserted in collections of edifying stories as *Lausiac History* and *Pratum Spirituale*; see Angelidi, 'La version longue' 77 n. 19 and 22.

40. For a summary of the vision, see C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of the New Rome* (London 1980) 151–4.

41. Some of these motifs will inspire, in the post-Byzantine period, a yet unpublished similar story of the 17th century; cf. A. Timotin, 'Une source byzantine d'un texte post-byzantin inédit, la *Vision de Sophiani*,' *Byzance, les Balkans, l'Europe* (in press).

42. See A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise: Das Wirken der Geister beim Heimgang des Menschen in der Lehre der alexandrinischen und kappadokischen Väter* (Rome 1958); J. Rivière, 'Le rôle du démon au jugement particulier chez les Pères' *RSR* 4 (1924) 43–64, and *idem*, 'Mort et démon chez les Pères' *RSR* 10 (1930) 577–626.

43. See R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen*. ByzVindo 5 (Vienna 1971) mainly 117–18.

44. Mango, *Byzantium* 153. Angelidi, 'La version longue' 97 n. 19 suggests identifying it with the Kathisma Palace of Constantinople.

45. Angelidi, 'La version longue' 76–7.

Its form and its specific edifying purpose — the vision is explicitly used for strengthening an exhortation for corporal and spiritual penitence (89.262-70) — suggest attaching *VCosm* to a class of edifying stories[46] inspired by a rich homiletic tradition concerning *hora mortis*,[47] rather than to a group of apocalyptical texts.

b) *ApocAnas* is a traditional apocryphal apocalypse presented as an edifying story. Just like Kosmas, the nun Anastasia practices harsh asceticism, gets ill and, on regaining her strength after three days, relates what she saw and heard during her voyage to the Other World. Guided by the archangel Michael, she sees the heavenly throne guarded by a sword of fire, the three saints Sunday, Wednesday and Friday, who claim to have been treated disrespectfully before the throne of God, the inflictions of the sinners tormented in hell and the heavenly hierarchy in paradise, the bishops, the priests, the deacons, and the emperors sitting on their imperial thrones. Near them she notices an ominous man deprived of his throne, John I Tzimiskes, the murderer of Nikephoros II (27.5 ed. Homburg).

The image of the heavenly throne surrounded by angels, apostles, prophets and martyrs is reminiscent of the *Apocalypse of Paul* 14 (ed. Silverstein & Hilhorst 86-7), which depends on Apoc 4:10, Ps 98:1-5, and Is 6:1-3.[48] The image of the three saints is certainly reminiscent of *The Letter of Christ* (the *Sunday Legend*),[49] but the worship of saint Sunday appears in *ApocMar*, too (337.16-7 Hasdeu; 248.4 Pernot). The various kinds of sinners (thieves, liars, calumniators, sodomites, sorcerers etc.) tormented in hell are reminiscent of *ApocMar*. The narrow bridge over the river of fire (19.1-2 ed. Homburg), which is related to Mt 7.13, also appears in *VCosm* (83.101-3 ed. Angelidi),[50] in *VBiun* (fol. 68v Veselovskij) and in the *Life of St Philaretos the Merciful* (114.875 ed. Rydén).[51] The image of the archangel Michael as psychopomp is ubiquitous both in the *Apocalypse of Paul* and in *ApocMar*.

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46. See J. Wortley. 'Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell in Byzantine "Beneficial Tales"' *DOP* 55 (2001) 53-69.

47. See the contributions collected in S. Felici. ed., *Morte e immortalità nella catechesi dei padri del III-IV secolo* (Rome 1985) and more recently, B.E. Daley, '"At the Hour of our Death": Mary's Dormition and Christian Dying in Late Patristic and Early Byzantine Literature' *DOP* 55 (2001) 72-90. For the Latin tradition, see É. Rebillard, *In hora mortis: évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IIe et Ve siècles dans l'Occident latin.* BEFAR 283 (Rome 1994). See also J.A. Fischer, *Studien zum Todesgedanken in der alten Kirche* (Munich 1954) and J. Pelikan, *The Shape of Death: Life, Death and Immortality in the Early Fathers* (London 1962).

48. Cf. R. Ganszyniec. 'Zur Apocalypsis Anastasiae' *BNJ* 4 (1923) 271, who implausibly considers that the text is directly reminiscent of Apoc 4:10 and Is 6:3.

49. See F. Halkin. 'Les trois saintes Dimanche, Mercredi et Vendredi' *AB* 86 (1968) 390. Cf. also H. Delehaye's review of Homburg's edition in *AB* 23 (1904) 100. For the present state of scholarship on the *Letter of Christ*, see M. van Esbroeck, 'La lettre sur le dimanche descendue du ciel' *AB* 107 (1989) 267-84.

50. See Angelidi. 'La version longue' 93 fn. 8.

51. For the motif of *pons subtilis* in Byzantium, see L. Rydén, *The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices* Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 8 (Uppsala 2002) 43-5.

If the allusions to Tzimiskes and Peter of Corinth are not posterior interpolations — which I consider quite possible, taking into account the flagrant anachronism and the complete lack of other historical evidence — they could suggest a provincial origin,[52] and probably a circle linked to Nikephoros II.[53] A provincial origin is also supported by the rough, unrefined form of the story.

c) *VBiun* is a heterogeneous and asymmetrical work, divided into two different parts.[54] The former concerns the events of the saint's life before Gregory, his disciple and hagiographer, meets him. This part includes various historical data related to a recognizable historical and social context, the tenth-century Constantinopolitan *oikos*,[55] and Gregory's vision of the posthumous status of Basil's servant, Theodora, which is reminiscent of the similar vision of Kosmas in *VCosm*.[56] The latter presents events for which Gregory was an eyewitness. This part also includes the most important section of the *vita*, Gregory's vision of the Last Judgement, unique for its length in Byzantine literature.

Guided by an angel, Gregory reaches the heavenly throne surrounded by angels, and the city of God prepared for the just, where an angel descending from above announces the Last Judgement. The various groups of the just and the sinners are carefully identified and described. A large section depicts the appearance of Christ as a judge and the saints' entrance to the heavenly Jerusalem. At the end the vision presents the intercession by the Theotokos.

The pictorial description of the Last Judgement is broadly inspired by Apoc 21:18–21,[57] but a series of motifs are certainly related to the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[58] The particular interest in describing the groups of the just and the sinners evokes the *Apocalypse of Paul*, *ApocMar* and *ApocAnas*; nevertheless the Theotokos' intercession brings *VBiun* closer to *ApocMar*. An iconographic reference cannot be excluded.[59]

Unlike *VCosm* and *ApocAnas*, Gregory's vision has a more specifically edifying purpose. The hagiographer insists particularly on the vision's context and motivation. After a continuous and complete reading of the Old Testament,

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52. Patlagean, 'Byzance' 202.
53. From such an anti-Tzimiskes circle might also emanate, following Ševčenko, 'Texts' 574 n. 28, the eschatological prophecy from Athos, Karakallou 14 (fols 253r–254r) published by Magdalino, 'Prophétie'. However, there are also other cases where initial pro-Nikephoros evidence was subsequently replaced by a pro-Tzimiskes message; see the iconographic example from Cappadocia analysed by N. Thierry, 'Un portrait de Jean Tzimiskès en Cappadoce' *TM* 9 (1985) 477–84.
54. For an abstract of *VBiun*, see Angelidi, Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου 32–40.
55. See *VBiun*, 9.38 ed. Vilinskij. For *VBiun* as source for the social life of the tenth-century Byzantine aristocratic *oikos*, see P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos' *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries* ed. M. Angold. BAR Int.Ser. 221 (Oxford 1984) 97–8 rp. *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium* (Aldershot 1991) II. Cf. also Rydén, '*Life* of St Basil' 573–4, 583.
56. See above, n. 19.
57. Cf. Angelidi, 'La version longue' 96 n. 18.
58. For a list of the borrowings, see Angelidi, Βίος τοῦ Βασιλείου 110–11.
59. See B. Brenk, 'Die Anfänge des byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung' *BZ* 57 (1964) 106–26, and Stichel, *Verhältnis*.

Gregory meditates in his room on his sins and suddenly falls into a heretical thought (λογισμός). The Jews were not mistaken, they are pious, they always honoured God properly as they still do, so it is impossible that they should not be rescued (fols. 148r-151r Veselovskij). Anguished by this thought, Gregory runs to his spiritual father, Basil. Since Basil's explanations do not bring any end to his doubts and lack of confidence, Gregory asks for a vision;[60] thanks to Basil's prayers, he will receive the vision of the Last Judgment, where he notices the Jews among the sinners.

VBiun is far from being the only text in Byzantine literature broaching this question. Another anonymous story, preserved in an eleventh-century *codex, The story of the Jew who will refuse to come back to life in order to be baptized,* also treats a hermit's interest in the fate of a virtuous Jew in the Other World.[61] As in *VBiun,* the Jew is in hell because he is not baptised; moreover, he will refuse the baptism even *post-mortem.* Gilbert Dagron also noticed two intriguing parallels, in a seventh-century homily on the dreams of Antiochos of Saint-Sabas, and in a conference by John Cassian,[62] where the subjects of a similar anguish end up by converting themselves to Judaism. In the same situation, more prudently, Gregory asks for his spiritual father's advice, hence the opposite consequences. Nevertheless, these three texts all focus on the same problem, on the same challenging fascination exerted by a living presence and, equally, on the effects of an incautious reading practice.

Gregory's vision of the Last Judgment is an answer to this impasse and at the same time a warning against a dangerous temptation. That is why the main task of the vision is to confirm and to legitimate an ecclesiastic and strongly anti-Judaic answer: there is no redemption apart from Christ and the Jews are irremediably fated for damnation. The theme is not new in Byzantium and the roots of the polemics are to be found in the Church Fathers.[63] However an interest in this subject reappears in the period of the composition of *VBiun,* as is

60. Demanding a vision in order to clarify a problem related to the Other World destiny of a person or of a group is also the topic of an edifying story, the oldest manuscript of which dates to the eleventh century; see F. Halkin, 'La vision de Kaïoumas et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou' *AB* 63 (1945) 56–64. It is the story of a seventh-century rich man, who was condemned to remain eternally suspended between heaven and hell, because he had been both generous and sinful and he had never given up any of these features. His post-mortem status was revealed in a vision to abba Kaïoumas.

61. The text was edited by P. Canart, 'Trois groupes de récits édifiants byzantins' *Byz* 36 (1966) 5–25 (22–3 for the edition). As Canart reasonably pointed out, 'dans une société ou se mêlaient Juifs et chrétiens, le problème a dû se poser réellement à plus d'une conscience droite.' (ibid. 12)

62. G. Dagron, 'Judaïser' *TM* 11 (1991) 372–7.

63. One of the most widespread texts is undoubtedly *Doctrina Jacobi nuper baptizati;* cf. G. Dagron & V. Déroche, 'Juifs et Chrétiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle' *TM* 11 (1991) 17–273, containing an historical introduction by Dagron (17–46). Greek text and French translation by Déroche (47–229) and commentary by Dagron (230–47) and by Déroche (248–73). A repertoire of anti-Judaic texts compiled by V. Déroche is to be found in the same volume, 'La polémique anti-judaïque au VIe et au VIIe siècle: Un mémento inédit, les *Képhalaia' TM* 11 (1991) 275–311.

demonstrated by the persecutions and anti-Judaic legislation under Basil I, Leo VI and Romanos Lekapenos.[64]

It seems clear that this is the hagiographer's main interest in displaying Gregory's vision of the Last Judgement, rather than any particular interest in eschatology. He uses traditional and heterogeneous apocalyptical matter to help him deal with a contemporary issue.

d) *VAnd* is one of the most intriguing pieces of Byzantine hagiography. Its puzzling composition and its 'modern' use of literary fiction in dealing with hagiographical matter still represent a challenge for Byzantinists.[65] Andrew is a fictitious saint, placed by an anonymous hagiographer in the reign of Leo the Great (457–74), when he, a young Scythian (probably Russian), is brought to Constantinople as a slave in the house of a *protospatharios*. One night he dreams that he defeats the devil in single combat, whereupon Christ asks him to become a fool for His sake.

Andrew's new style of life, illustrated by a series of independent episodes, consists in wandering along the streets of Constantinople, where he is the victim of the invectives of passers-by, and in sleeping under the porticos with the dogs. Andrew is versed in biblical exegesis and has the gifts of *voyance* and prediction. He predicts to his pupil that he will become archbishop of Constantinople, he perceives the hidden sins of many persons and thus he foresees their future damnation. Another important detail: just like Basil, but unlike the traditional saint's model, Andrew at no stage ever lived in a monastery.

Like the apostle Paul, he is taken into heaven, where he contemplates both the Garden of Eden, and the heavenly throne of Christ surrounded by myriads of seraphim, cherubim and angels. He also shows his pupil the punishments of the sinners in hell, developing the notion, common in Antiquity, of equating animals with destructive passions.[66] The last section of the *vita* presents him predicting to his pupil the events before the end of time. This is the so-called *Apocalypse of Andrew Salos*, the sources and the interpretation of which have been the source of much discussion and dispute in various commentaries.[67]

64. See mainly J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (Athens 1939) 133–47 and A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry: From Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London 1971) 82–105. On the Jews' baptisms in the reigns of Basil I and Leo VI, and on the status of the Jewish communities in the ninth and tenth centuries, see also G. Dagron, 'Le traité de Grégoire de Nicée sur le baptême des Juifs' *TM* 11 (1991) 347–53.

65. On *VAnd* see mainly Rydén, *Life of St Andrew*; Magdalino, 'What we heard in the Lives'; J. Grosdidier de Matons, 'Les thèmes d'édification dans la Vie d'André Salos' *TM* 4 (1970) 277–328.

66. See a list of sources in H. Dörrie, 'Kontroverse um die Seelenwanderung im kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus' *Hermes* 85 (1957) 414–35.

67. The text was published by L. Rydén first in 'The *Apocalypse of St Andrew the Fool*: Text, Translation, and Commentary' *DOP* 28 (1974) 197–261 and then in *Life of St Andrew* 2:259–85. For the interpretation, see apart from Rydén's various contributions, mainly Mango, *Byzantium* 208–11, and 'Daily Life' arguing for a late seventh-century date and supporting a close relationship with an eighth-century Daniel apocalypse.

As for the idea of turning a holy fool[68] into the hero of a hagiographic work, the author of *VAnd* is an epigone of Leontios of Neapolis, author of the *Life of St Symeon Salos*. The text says explicitly that Andrew imitated 'the admirable Symeon the old' (28.648B ed. Rydén), and it seems that eleventh-century Byzantine readers were interested in this very aspect, because in one of the oldest manuscripts *VAnd* appears close to the *Life of Symeon*.[69] However, apart from this borrowing, the analogy between the two works is rather superficial.[70] As Rydén remarked, in *VAnd* the possibilities of this episodic composition have been highly exploited, and unlike Leontios of Neapolis, the author does not intend to turn the material into a homogenous narrative structure.[71]

The goal of the author of *VAnd* seems aimed at communicating a traditional exhortatory message (*parainesis*) through various *exempla* and by treating apocalyptic and apocryphal topics. There is no particular reason to consider that any one of these concerns prevails over the others. Unlike St Basil's hagiographer, the author of *VAnd* is certainly preoccupied with the end of the world, but the apocalyptical interest hardly seems something that can be isolated and treated separately from its edifying purpose.[72]

The highly traditional message of Andrew Salos' hagiographer is that man lives in a world in which good and evil forces fight for his soul and this fight will carry on until Christ finally defeats the Antichrist. In this fight, the main weapons are humility, which is the very reason for feigning foolishness (16.637A ed. Rydén; cf. I Cor 3:18), compassion, generosity and permanent vigilance.

The author of *VAnd* in fact uses various and heterogeneous sources, but this does not make the approach 'encyclopaedic' in the sense that fits the cultural enterprise of the 'Macedonian Renaissance'.[73] Rather it is related to a sort of collage of the collections of edifying stories, which provide much of his inspiration and which would correspond to a particular reading practice and a

68. A rich bibliography on the spirituality of *saloi* has been collected by V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis.* Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 3 (Uppsala 1995) 154–62.

69. Ms. Gr.'Εθνική Βιβλ. (Athens) 523, fols 1–71 (*VSymSal*) and fols 72–276v (*VAnd*); cf. Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:161.

70. See Grosdidier, 'Thèmes d'édification' 304–11; Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:35–6, and idem, 'Holy Fool' 108–13.

71. Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:30–1.

72. See Grosdidier, 'Thèmes d'édification' 327–8, although one cannot agree with the author with regard to the content of the edifying message.

73. Cf. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 125; Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:51, stresses the 'encyclopaedic' — i.e. proper to the age of Constantine Porphyrogenitus — character of the apocalyptic section; Magdalino, 'Year 1000' 256–7, reversing the terms, thinks that the cultural encyclopaedic production which began in the reign of Constantine VII has a *sui-generis* apocalyptic character and can be related to the contemporary preoccupation with the millennium.

specific culture of collecting material,[74] rather than to a particular period. The borrowings of *VAnd* from *Pratum spirituale* seem to support this hypothesis.[75]

However, this does not imply that *VAnd* is a simple anthology of edifying stories. It rather reflects a considerable endeavour in reworking and reshuffling the existing material. If we accept a tenth-century date, then this activity corresponds to the contemporary enterprise of Symeon Metaphrastes in rewriting a large amount of Byzantine hagiography from the previous century, the low-keyed style of which had become unacceptable to a certain literary taste.[76] In other words, *VAnd* author's concern is, in my opinion, metaphrastic, i.e. refashioning, rather than encyclopaedic. 'A traditional edifying enterprise in a fresh and challenging form for a Constantinopolitan secular audience',[77] would be a convenient way of defining *VAnd*.

e) *VNiph* represents, like *VAnd*, a complex and intriguing work of Byzantine hagiography. Rather than a *vita* in a classical sense, it is, like *VAnd*, a synopsis of the cardinal Christian virtues in a hagiographical form.

Niphon is presented as a pious young layman who, like Andrew, lives in Constantinople in a dignitary's house. Tempted by the devil, he goes astray in his usual style of life, which he regains afterwards, with the help of the Theotokos. The devil will keep on tempting him, but Niphon will smartly destroy all its plans. The author in fact describes the history of this daily confrontation, never failing to point out the benefit that each sequence brings to the reader.

From this point of view, there are many similarities between the narrative frames of *VNiph* and *VAnd*. Like *VAnd*, *VNiph* has a paratactic structure, consisting in a series of more or less independent episodes, among which *erotapokriseis* and visions of various kind are to be found. Most of them concern the same set of traditional insights: a plea for humility, charity and unceasing penitence, the fight with the demons, the threat of the torments of hell, and the importance of the liturgy and prayer. On to this canvas, the author of *VNiph* has inserted a vision of the Last Judgement, the general frame of which is reminiscent of the *Apocalypse of John* and which presents common points with Gregory's similar vision in *VBiun*, especially with regard to the description of the long procession of all the saints.

In order to support the dating evidence of *VNiph*, Rydén and Magdalino have stressed one particular passage (88.14-9 ed. Rystenko), which seems to contain

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74. See P. Odorico, 'La cultura della Συλλογή. 1) Il cosidetto enciclopedismo bizantino. 2) Le tavole del sapere del Giovanni Damasceno,' *BZ* 83 (1990) 1–21.

75. See *VAnd* 136–40, 744C–48B and Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale* PG 87.3: 2932B–3C. Cf. Rydén, *Life of St Andrew* 1:30.

76. See, for example, C. Høgel, 'The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes: Literary Aspects of the Metaphrastic Martyria' *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography* ed. C. Høgel (Bergen 1996) 7–21.

77. Concerning the secular audience of the *vita*, see *VAnd*, 74–89 ed. Rydén. Cf. Grosdidier, 'Thèmes d'édification' 319–21; Magdalino, '*Oikos*' 97.

an eschatological allusion.[78] Before the Judgment, Christ is said to examine the aeons, represented by seven books. When He comes to the seventh aeon, He is revolted by its impiety and decides to cut it in the middle. Since each aeon corresponds to one millennium and the world was believed to have been created about 5500 BC, Christ seems to announce that the world will end around the year 1000 AD.

Without ignoring the apocalyptic perspective induced by this anachronism, it is noteworthy that this is the single allusion of this kind and that, on the contrary, the text has no particular apocalyptical concern. Like the author of *VBiun*, Niphon's hagiographer gives himself a reason for the vision of the Last Judgment. In this case it is the saint's meditation about the Last Judgement and the moment of death which introduces the vision. This reflection is strongly connected to the practice of penitence, and in my opinion, the vision serves as an imaginative support for this mental and corporal penitence. Such a spiritual exercise consisting in meditating upon the moment of death and the Last Judgment is well attested both in edifying stories,[79] and in monastic[80] and homiletic works.[81]

As for the content of the vision, *VNiph* is reminiscent of Apoc 1–4, but the author focuses less on its eschatological matter, and more on the impressive and awesome image of the Last Judgement. It is not irrelevant that the three influential Byzantine exegeses of the *Apocalypse*, that is those of Oikoumenios, Andrew of Caesarea and the tenth-century Arethas, do not consider the Kingdom of one thousand years as a temporal indicator, but as un undetermined long period, with no precise chronological implication.[82]

78. Rydén, 'Niphon' 36–8; Magdalino, 'What we heard in the Lives' 269. See however Rydén's reservation (*loc. cit.*), with regard to the apocalyptic significance of this chronologically confused passage.

79. See *Apophthegmata Patrum, I Sys* 3.1–56 (mainly 33, 38, 44, 48) ed. J.-C. Guy, SC 387 (Paris 1993) 148–83; Palladius, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* ed. E.C. Butler (Cambridge 1904) Prol. 4 41; *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* 1.37–44 ed. A.J. Festugière (Brussels 1961) 22–6; Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 141–2, 146, PG 87C.3004, 3024–5. Cf. I. Hausherr, *Penthos: la doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien OCA* 132 (Rome 1944) 75–82.

80. See John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi* 6, PG 88.793–801; Dorotheos of Gaza, 'Oratio 12' *Oeuvres spirituelles* ed. L. Regnault & J. de Préville, SC 92 (Paris 1963) 380–401; Symeon, *Oratio theol. 10* ed. J. Darrouzès, SC 129 (Paris 1967) 258–327. Cf. N. Constas, "'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream": The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature' *DOP* 55 (2001) 91, 100–1.

81. See Origen, *Homélies sur les psaumes 36 à 38* ed. E. Prinzivalli, SC 411 (Paris 1995) 236–7, 320–3; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* VII.22, *Discours funèbres, en l'honneur de son frère Césaire et de Basile de Césarée* ed. F. Boulenger (Paris 1908) 50. Cf. J. Mossay, *La mort et l'au-delà dans Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Louvain 1966) 83–109.

82. Cf. C. Mango, 'Le temps dans les commentaires byzantins à l'Apocalypse,' *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge (IIIe–XIIIe siècles)*. Colloque CNRS (Paris 1984) 434–5.

A non-eschatological interpretation of the Last Judgment in *VNiph* is supported by the coalescence of the Judgment theme and the *memento mori* topic (75–9 and 104–6 ed. Rystenko). Moreover, the author seems to aim deliberately for this effect, when he repeatedly asserts that those who will pray for saint Niphon in the liturgy will be forgiven at the Last Judgement; these are the words that the saint utters before his death and which conclude the *vita* (180–1 ed. Rystenko). This is undoubtedly one of the more significant reasons for the considerable popularity of *VNiph* in Byzantium and, through translations, in the Slavic and Romanian worlds.

f) *ApocMar* is one of the latest apocalypses to include a journey of an authoritative figure to hell and an intercession for the tormented damned.[83] The archangel Michael is said to guide the Theotokos through hell and to explain the punishments to her, each punishment corresponding to a particular kind of sin. The composition is rather basic and stereotypical, but the visual effect is outstanding and remarkably striking. The end of the text describes the Theotokos praying for mercy for the Christian damned, excluding Jews (255.15–6 ed. Pernot). Michael and various saints join her. As a result, the damned are granted a respite of their punishment for fifty days each year, corresponding to the period from Easter to Pentecost.

As R. Bauckham pointed out, *ApocMar* is almost certainly dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[84] The narrative frame, the punishments of the damned in hell, the intercession, and the respite granted to them are influenced to a great extent by it. However, *ApocMar* displays a rarely intelligible relationship between the punishments and the specific sin, which seems to be chosen rather arbitrarily. At any rate they reveal an ecclesiastical origin and a broadly edifying concern.

The overwhelming number of Greek, Slavonic and Romanian manuscripts of *ApocMar*, with so many of them produced between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, in comparison with the paucity of the Greek manuscript tradition of the *Apocalypse of Paul* makes it likely that *ApocMar* ended up replacing the latter in Byzantium and played in the East the part assigned by the medieval West to the *Apocalypse of Paul*.[85]

4. Conclusions

Undoubtedly the texts deserve a more thorough analysis than is possible in this article. Here I have aimed only at reopening the dossier, by trying to show the extent to which the narrative frame and specific purpose of these texts needs to be taken into account as being just as important as their particular subject-matter,

83. Other examples are to be found in the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra*, and the Latin *Vision of Ezra*. Cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell. An Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia 1983) 106–26.
84. Bauckham, 'Apocalypses' 335–6.
85. For the circulation of the *Apocalypse of Paul* in the medieval West, see P. Dinzelbacher, 'La *Visio S. Pauli*: Circulation et influence d'un apocryphe eschatologique' *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 165–80.

and that if this is done it allows a different interpretation from the one that currently prevails.

What then needs emphasising in particular is that, with the exception of an independent section of *VAnd* and an equivocal allusion in *VNiph*, none of the other four texts has any particular apocalyptical concern in an eschatological sense. Secondly, aside from *VBiun*, where Gregory's vision of the Last Judgment is somewhat tentative in organizing the various apocalyptical sources, none of the texts shows any particular interest in systematising the Other World representations.

This interpretation is not, however, in conflict with those of either Magdalino or Patlagean, but rather it suggests that the visions are not as relevant as other sources as support for their theories. Nevertheless all the texts discussed above do include and make use of various apocalyptical topics, related mainly to the *Apocalypse of Paul* and to the *Apocalypse of John*, but they do this for different and rather mundane purposes.

ApocMar and *ApocAnas* are standard apocalypses with an edifying goal, addressed to a low-keyed and presumably provincial audience. In fact the description of the Other World is very superficial and it focuses almost exclusively on hell and on the punishments of the damned, plausibly in order to redress or to strengthen certain social practices.

VNiph and *VAnd* come from a different social milieu and they are addressed to a specific audience whose literary taste they reflect. In my opinion, their particular interest in eschatology and the Other World is also subordinated to an exhortatory purpose meant to provide a trustworthy imaginative support to a spiritual exercise concerning *hora mortis*. This also applies to *VCosm*, which however seems to have been written in tenth-century Constantinople, in a standard traditional form, for an exclusively ecclesiastical public.

Finally, *VBiun*, though issued almost certainly in the same milieu as *VAnd* and *VNiph*, with which it has various common features, has a different goal. The author's interest in describing the Last Judgment has to be looked for where the author explicitly indicates, by means of Gregory, Basil's pupil, both in the context of the relationships between Jews and Christians in Middle-Byzantine Constantinople and equally in the monastic reading of the Old Testament. This latter was in Byzantium an intellectual practice which never ceased provoking questions, perplexities, commentaries, and sometimes unexpected conversions. With Gregory's vision, the author of *VBiun* tries to reinforce a Christian interpretation of the Old Testament and plausibly to reduce the risk of the possible conversions to Judaism by legitimating a strongly anti-Judaic ecclesiastical answer to an intriguing question.

In conclusion, there is no common reason for these visions or apocalypses. They come from different social environments, speak to specific audiences and have different purposes. In my view, their authors' apocalyptical or normative interest is not predominant in any of these cases. I have tried to suggest some solutions, those I consider the most plausible, but they are inevitably provisory. Future research should take into account more thoroughly the provenance milieu of the texts and their reception by investigating the manuscript traditions. A more extensive examination of their sources could also provide new elements,

since it would integrate the texts better in the context of contemporary literary production.

Peter A.L. Hill

A Ninth-Century Passion Harmony[1]

During my years at the University of Melbourne there were many occasions when I benefited from Roger Scott's support and encouragement. Always a good listener, Roger took a sincere interest in my efforts in the field of Syriac studies, to the extent that when the necessity arose he graciously stepped-in and supervised the final stages of my doctoral dissertation. Thus it seems appropriate that I offer in his honour this discussion of a Syriac text.

A. The Harmonizing Tradition

In AD 172 Tatian edited the texts of the four canonical Gospels into a single, harmonized narrative known as the Diatessaron.[2] Originally composed in Syriac, Tatian's work was one of a number of early harmonies. In Rome, Tatian's teacher, Justin Martyr, apparently used a harmonistic 'Memoirs of the Apostles.'[3] The tantalizing 'Gospel of the Hebrews' may have been a harmony, and there are ancient reports that harmonies were created by Ammonius of Alexandria and Theophilos of Antioch. Still, the Byzantine Church was to adhere strictly to the separate Gospels,[4] preferring to textually co-ordinate Gospel parallels and similarities by means of the so-called Ammonian sections

1. Based in part on a paper, 'The Harklean Passion Harmony', read at the *IXth Symposium Syriacum*, Kaslik, Lebanon, September 2004, and forthcoming in the proceedings of the Symposium due to be published in *Parole de l'Orient*. The following abbreviations are used:

B.M. 18714 = British Museum Add. 18714	C = *Vetus Syra*, Curetonian
Camb. 1903 = Cambridge Add. 1903	Camb. 1700 = Cambridge Add. 1700
Diat^e = Arabic Diatessaron	H = Harklean version of the New Testament
H^{mg} = Reading of H margin	HPH = Harklean Passion Harmony
Min. 105 = Birmingham, Mingana Syriac 105	N.C. 334 = Oxford, New College MS 334
P = Peshitta New Testament	Paris 31 = Bibliothèque Nationale Syr. 31
Paris 51 = Bibliothèque Nationale Syr. 51	Paris 52 = Bibliothèque Nationale Syr. 52
S = *Vetus Syra*, Sinaiticus	Vat. 268 = Vatican cod. syr. 268

2. For a general introduction to the Diatessaron, see B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitation* (Oxford 1977) 10–36; W.L Petersen, 'The Diatessaron of Tatian' *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* ed. B.D. Ehrman & M.W. Holmes (Grand Rapids 1995) 77–96. The standard critical introduction is now W.L Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*. Supplements to *VChr* 25 (Leiden 1994).

3. See W.L. Petersen, 'Textual Evidence of Tatian's Dependence Upon Justin's ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ' *NTS* 36 (1990) 512–34.

4. It must now be considered doubtful whether the late 2nd century (?) fragment from Dura-Europos (0212) is from a Greek copy of the Diatessaron as generally has been thought; see D.C. Parker, D.G.K. Taylor & M.S. Goodacre, 'The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony' *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts: The Papers of the First Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* ed. D.G.K. Taylor (Atlanta 1999) 192–228.

and Eusebian canons. Further afield, however, Gospel harmonies were to have a widespread and enduring impact. An 'Old Latin Diatessaron' existed and a 'Vulgatized' text, represented by the sixth century Codex Fuldensis, influenced an array of Western harmonies. In the East, Tatian's work was dominant. Witnesses include a magisterial commentary on the Diatessaron by St Ephrem, and an array of quotations in various Eastern Church Fathers and in works such as the *Liber Graduum*. Of the Syriac versions, the *Vetus Syra* (S and C), the Peshitta (P) and the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary each betray, albeit to varying degrees, the influence of the Diatessaric tradition, as do also the Georgian and Armenian versions. The popular appeal of harmonies in the East endured long after the formal proscription of the Diatessaron in the fifth century. Indeed, the Arabic Diatessaron (Diat[a]) was translated from a Syriac *Vorlage* in AD 1025 and a tertiary witness to the Diatessaron, the Persian Harmony, was derived from a Syriac source in the thirteenth century.[5]

1.   The Passion Harmony

An intriguing aspect of this great harmonizing tradition, but one that has received relatively little attention to date, is the phenomenon of harmonized readings in the Syriac lectionaries: most notably the Harklean Passion Harmony (HPH), a narrative of Christ's sufferings and crucifixion which harmonizes selected materials from the Harklean (H) Gospels.

A colophon attached to several copies of the HPH advises that it was prepared by Rabban Daniel and Isaac his disciple.[6] Daniel, who flourished in the ninth century, was born at Beth Bātīn in the province of Harran and, as a monk, studied under the West Syriac teacher Metropolitan Benjamin of Edessa (d. 843).[7] In addition to the HPH, Daniel's works include a *scholion* (reflecting the school of Benjamin) on the homilies of St Gregory the Theologian,[8] a short commentary on the words of the same Father, two treatises on the Eucharist and the Chrism, another on the celebration of the Eucharist, and a biography of St Paul. Most likely his assistant was the same Isaac who later became bishop of Nisibin.

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5.   Likewise it may be noted that the majority of Western vernacular harmonies derived from the Diatessaron were translated almost contemporaneously from about the mid-12th to late 13th centuries.

6.   See B.M. 18714, fol. 133a. This colophon is found also in Vat. 268, Camb. 1903 and Min. 105.

7.   I.A.I. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* tr. M. Moosa (2nd rev. ed. Piscataway 2003) 393–4, cf. 382–3. Patriarch Barsoum (1887–1957) may be generally relied upon for his encyclopaedic knowledge of Syriac MSS, both in Western libraries and in the Eastern collections (many of which suffered great loss during World War I and its aftermath). Quite independently, Anton Baumstark concluded also that Rabban Daniel flourished in the 9th century; see J. De Zwaan, 'Harclean Gleanings from Mingana's Catalogue' *NT* 2 (1957–8) 1, 7.

8.   See W Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since th Year 1838* (3 vols London 1870–2) 2:442.

Given that the general structure of the HPH is delineated by a series of lectionary headings, which reflect the liturgical observances of the period from Maundy Thursday through to the morning of Easter Saturday, it is reasonable to suppose that part of the motive behind the work was to supply a convenient, comprehensive and progressively unfolding Gospel-based account of the Passion events which would comport with the liturgical observances of Holy Week.[9] As to method, the colophon tells us only that Daniel and Isaac gathered 'all the memorials (= ὑπομνήματα) which are in the Four Gospels that concern the saving Passion of the Lord.' Probably this means that the HPH was redacted directly from the separate Gospels, albeit that the editorial process was informed by the harmony tradition and the work modelled to some degree upon whatever lectionary was in use at the time.

Unfortunately the colophon does not indicate why Daniel chose to use the text of H rather than that of P (the Peshitta New Testament). Completed in AD 615/16 by the West Syriac bishop, Thomas of Harkel, H comprises both a philological and textual revision of the Philoxenian version (completed AD 507/8).[10] The Syriac textline of H is a 'mirror translation', or virtual calque, of the Greek original. The emphasis is upon formal equivalence: the word is the unit of translation, Greek sentence structure is followed slavishly, neologisms and lexical stereotyping are regular.[11] At the same time, Thomas sought to conform the textline to an idealized Greek standard, effectively of the Byzantine text-type but with a significant admixture of other readings, and one that reflected the testimony of the Greek witnesses he employed (three for the Gospels). His textual concerns led him to denote the textual state (*vis-a-vis* his Greek standard) of certain readings in the text with critical signs (asterisks and obeli), and to furnish the H margin with an array of variant readings in Syriac, philological glosses in Greek and Syriac, and other critical accoutrements.

Thomas provided a Syriac model of the Greek text which, by virtue of its formal translation style, hardly seems intended for the purposes of public worship. However, the MSS evidence shows from a very early stage, and probably from the outset of the tradition, that continuous-text copies of H were rubricated with lections; a practice with antecedents in copies of P from about

9.   Barsoum, *Pearls* 61, credits Rabban Daniel with the arrangement of the Gospel lections for Passion Week.

10.   For general introduction to H see A. Juckel, 'Introduction to the Harklean Text' *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions* ed. G.A. Kiraz (4 vols Piscataway 2004) I:xxxi–lxxxii. See also S.P. Brock, 'The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harclean Problem' *New Testament Textual Criticism — its Significance in Exegesis: Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger* ed. E.J. Epp & G.D. Fee (Oxford 1981) 324–4. P.A.L. Hill, 'How Thomas of Harkel Read St Luke' *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church*, vol. 3, *Liturgy and Life* ed. B. Neil, G.D. Dunn & L. Cross (Strathfield 2003) 315–25; idem, 'The Harklean "Currency Annotations"' *JECS* 56 (2004) 105–27; G. Zuntz, *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*. British Academy Supplemental Papers 7 (London 1945).

11.   See S.P. Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity' *GRBS* 20 (1979) 7, 12–13.

the fifth century onwards.[12] Moreover, there are a good number of H lectionaries, and quotations from H found their way into a variety of West Syriac liturgical texts. Consequently, whatever the reasons that led to the lectionary use of H,[13] the circumstance that H was already employed in that capacity may have had considerable bearing upon Daniel's decision to use it as the textual basis for his harmony.

The number of available HPH witnesses is at present unknown. Barton and Spoer identified twenty-nine MSS, including five 'Nestorian' witnesses,[14] though in all probability the actual figure greatly exceeds that number. Known witnesses are of three types:

a. Copies of the Gospels or New Testament to which the HPH is appended, usually following St John. Witnesses of this type include Vat. 268 (H Gospels, 9th cent.), the oldest extant copy of the HPH; Camb. 1700 (H New Testament, I & II Clement, AD 1169/70);[15] Camb. 1903 (H Gospels, 19th cent. transcribed from a 12th cent. copy); N.C. 334 (H Gospels, P Acts & Epistles, *circa* 13th cent.); Paris 31 (P New Testament, AD 1203); Paris 52 (H Gospels, AD 1165); Harvard Syriac 14 (P New Testament, AD 1210); and Harvard Syriac 15 (P New Testament, 12th cent.).

b. Lectionaries in which the HPH is either appended as a distinct work or else incorporated with the readings for the Holy Week cycle. Lectionary witnesses include B.M. 18714 (P lectionary, AD 1214); Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate MS 12/21 (P & H lectionary, 11th cent.); and Paris 51 (H lectionary, AD 1138).

c. Copies of collected works. Min. 105 (AD 1831–3), for example, comprises the H Gospels with a *catenae* commentary, other biblical and exegetical materials and the complete text of the HPH plus a separate text of the harmony for Holy Thursday.

2. Previous Research

In the 1880s the Abbé Martin drew the attention of Western scholars to the phenomenon of Syriac lectionary harmonies and made the observation that the

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12. F.C. Burkitt, 'The Early Syriac Lectionary System' *ProcBrAc* 11 (1923) 314.

13. In the liturgical context, where euphony is as much a consideration as textual accuracy, it seems inadequate simply to posit that it was the 'exact text type' of H which led to its use in lectionaries: so A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac.* CSCO 128 Subs. 3 (Louvain 1951) 122.

14. G.A. Barton & H.H. Spoer, 'Traces of the Diatessaron of Tatian in the Harclean Syriac Literature' *JBL* 25 (1905) 193–5, though mistaken in the inclusion of Bibl. Laurentian Plut. 1.40, the oldest dated H witness (AD 757). J.D. Thomas, 'A List of Manuscripts Containing the Harclean Syriac Version of the New Testament' *Near East School of Theology Theological Review* 2 (1979) 26–32, specifies only five HPH witnesses, but this figure merely reflects the not uncommon failure of manuscript catalogues to note the addition of the HPH to copies of the scriptures, and of its incorporation in lectionaries.

15. The Mohl Codex, which also happens to be the primary witness to the Syriac translation of I & II Clement.

HPH exhibited certain similarities to Diat[a].[16] At the start of the twentieth century, George Barton and Hans Spoer published selections from the HPH collated from two Jerusalem lectionaries.[17] They found that certain sections of the HPH sustain a marked affinity with Diat[a], both in terms of arrangement and of the textual profile, though they concluded that most of the HPH had been constructed independently of the Diatessaric tradition. Interest in a possible connection with the Diatessaron again emerged in the use of HPH witnesses and harmonized P and H lections in A.-S. Marmardji's reconstructed 'Évangélaire diatessarique syriaque'.[18] Then, in the course of discussing the Dura-Europos fragment, Daniël Plooij adverted to the existence of Syriac Passion harmonies.[19] But the most significant study of the HPH is Morris Weigelt's unpublished 1969 doctoral dissertation, which comprises a comprehensive introduction to a critical edition collated from six MSS.[20]

Unfortunately, Weigelt's study suffers from three major limitations. First, although the edition has been carefully collated the apparatus is extremely cumbersome. Second, as one begins to investigate the HPH witnesses it becomes apparent that his collated MSS do not adequately represent the breadth and complexities of the textual tradition. Third, of necessity, Weigelt compared the text of the HPH with Joseph White's edition of the H Gospels.[21] However, it is now well-established that White's edition reflects a much revised text that is far removed from the H archetype.[22] Hence Weigelt's dependence on White's edition inevitably vitiates his textual comparison of the HPH with H. These matters aside, Weigelt makes a number of important and original observations. Of particular note is the determination that the MSS witnesses are divided between those that present the HPH as a sequence of relatively large blocks of material from the Gospels, ranging to over twenty verses in length ('Sequence

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16. J.P.P. Martin, 'Le Διὰ Τεσσάρων de Tatien' *Revue des questions historique* 33 (1883) 349–94; 44 (1888) 5–50; idem., *Introduction à la critique textuelle de Nouveau Testament, Partie Theorique* (Paris 1883) 707–10.

17. Barton-Spoer, 'Diatessaron' 179–95; H.H. Spoer, 'Spuren eines syrischen Diatessarons' *ZDMG* 61 (1907) 850–9.

18. A.-S. Marmardji, 'Évangélaire diatessarique syriaque' *Diatessaron de Tatien* (Beirut 1935) Appendix 1–75. Lessons 35–40 in this compilation are from the HPH base, so it appears, on two Charfet MSS, Codices 1/3 and 1/12, supplemented by textual data from Barton-Spoer, 'Diatessaron'.

19. D. Plooij, 'A Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron in Greek' *Expository Times* 46 (1934–35) 471–6.

20. M.A. Weigelt, *Diatessaric Harmonies of the Passion Narrative in the Harclean Syriac Version* (PhD thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary 1969). The edition comprises an Appendix: 'Collation of the Harclean Syriac Passion Harmony' 1*–129*. Weigelt's study informs the brief account of the HPH in Metzger, *Early Versions* 74–5.

21. J. White, ed, *Sacrorum Evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana ex codd. mss. Ridleianis in bibl. coll. Nov. Oxon. repositis nunc primum edita: cum interpretatione et annotationibus* (2 vols Oxford 1778).

22. White's edition is based on New College MS 333 (12th cent.?), remarkable for its extreme Graecizing features, supplemented by N.C. 334, a copy of Bar Salibi's 12th cent. revision of H, and Bodleian MS Or. 361 (14th cent.).

A'), and those that exhibit a longer and more intricate sequence characterized by much shorter blocks of material and involving frequent shifts from one Gospel to another ('Sequence B').

B. The Liturgical Structure of the HPH

The HPH is arranged as a series of lections commencing with the dawn of the Thursday of Holy Week and ending with the dawn of the Sabbath of the Gospel: i.e. from the plot to betray Jesus (Lk 22:1–7) to the sealing of the tomb and setting of the guard (Mt 27:62–6). Sequence A appears to reflect the earlier stratum of the HPH tradition. It is this sequence which is attested by the oldest extant witness, Vat. 268: a copy that must have been produced within a generation of the HPH archetype. Sequence A comprises twelve lections. These lections and a summary of the Gospel materials employed are listed as follow:

Sequence A (HPH) Lections and Summary of Content:

1. Dawn of the Thursday of Mystery Mt 26:17-18 Mk 14:15 Lk 22:1-13	7. Friday 3rd Hour Lk 22:66-23:16 Jn 19:7-12
2. Vespers of the Friday of the Crucifixion (i.e. Thursday twilight) Mt 26:20a, 21-22, 23c-29 Mk 14:20 Lk 22:14b-15, 28-30 Jn 13:2, 16-19, 21-30	8. Friday midday Mt 27:37a, 40d-43 Mk 15:20c-24a, 27-30d Lk 23:26c-32, 34a, 39-45a Jn 19:13-17a
3. Friday 1st station of the night Mt 26:30-34b, 35-46 Mk 14:30c-e Lk 22:31-32, 35-38, 43-44 Jn 13:31-32; 18:2	9. Friday 9th Hour Mt 27:51-54 Mk 15:34-35 Lk 23:46a-c, 48-49b Jn 19:28-30c
4. Friday 2nd station of the night Mt 26:47-50, 52b-55a, 56 Mk 14:51-52 Lk 22:51c-53 Jn 18:4-14	10. Adoration of the Cross Mt 27:55-56 Mk 15:40e-41c-e Jn 19:31-37
5. Friday 3rd station of the night Mt 26:57, 58c-e, 60d-75 Mk 14:55-56 Jn 18:15-16, 18-23, 26	11. Sabbath vespers Mt 27:57, 58b-59a, 60c-e Mk 15:43d-45a Lk 23:50b-51, 54b-56 Jn 19:38c, 39-42
6. Dawn of the Friday of the crucifixion Mt 27:1-19, 24-25 Mk 15:4d Lk 23:19 (cf. v. 25) Jn 18:28a, 28c-38; 19:1-5	12. Sabbath dawn Mt 27:62-66

Sequence B follows the same scheme of lections, except that various Sequence B witnesses insert one or more additional readings after the first lection, namely: a) Consecration of the Chrism, Mt 26:1-13; b) The washing of feet, Jn 13:1-11; c) Following the washing of feet, Jn 13:12-18.

Given the circumstance that Rabban Daniel must have used a lectionary in preparing the HPH, it is of interest that the content of Sequence A comports well with the Early West Syriac lectionary tradition (5th cent.).[23] Indeed, while the measure of agreement may be coincidental, it proves that both sequences of the HPH agree with the Early West Syriac lectionary by building upon the order of events set out in Matthew[24] and in minimizing materials from Mark. Further, both sequences of the HPH focus on the physical events of the Passion to the extent that, in sharp contrast to the Byzantine tradition,[25] nearly all of the Upper Room discourse in John is omitted.

The defining characteristic of Sequence B (as opposed to Sequence A) is that its lections combine short citations that move frequently between the Gospels. This difference between the two sequences obtains throughout but is best demonstrated by setting out one of the lections. Accordingly, Table I below compares the content of the eighth lection in two Sequence A MSS, Vat. 268 and B.M. 18714, with two Sequence B witnesses, Camb. 1700 and Barton and Spoer's Jerusalem Lectionary A, and with the corresponding section (ch. 48) of Diat[a].

Table I: *Contents of the Eighth Lection of the HPH*
in Sequence A & B Witnesses Compared with Diat[a]
('Same' = Vat. 268; [...] = Defective)

Sequence A		Sequence B		Diat[a]
Vat. 268	B.M. 18714	Camb. 1700	Jerus. Lect. A	
Mt 26:47[a] [-]48-50[b]	Mt 26:47	Mt 26:47-48		Mt 26:46[b]-48
		Mk 14:44[e]		Mk 14:44[e]
Jn 18:4-9	Same	Jn 18:3-5	(Jn 18:3-5)[26]	Jn 18:4[a-c]
Mt 26:50[c-e]	Mt 26:48-50	Mt 26:49-50[a]	Mt 26:49-50[a]	Mt 26:49-50[a]
		Lk 22:48[b-e]	Lk 22:48[b-e]	Lk 22:48[b-e]
		Mt 26:50[b]	Mt 26:50[b]	Mt 26:50[b]
				Lk 22:52[a]
		Jn 18:6-9	[Jn 18:4[b]-5?]	Jn 18:4[b]-9
			Jn 18:6-9	
		Mt 26:50[c-e]	Mt 26:50[c-e]	Mt 26:50[c-e]

23. Compare the outline from B.M. Add. 14528 in Burkitt, 'Early Syriac Lectionary System' 308–10.

24. Thereby reflecting the lectionary pattern followed by the Church of Jerusalem in the 4th/5th cents.; compare A. Renoux, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*. PO 36 (Turnholt 1969–71) 260–77 & 287–93.

25. For a convenient outline of the relevant section of the Byzantine lectionary, see F.H.A. Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (2 vols London 1897) 1:82–3.

26. In the Jerusalem Lectionary A, these verses occur in the seventh lection.

		Lk 22:49	Lk 22:49	Lk 22:49
Jn 18:10-11	Same	Jn 18:10	Jn 18:10-11[a]	Same
		Lk 22:51[a]	Lk 22:51[a]	
		Jn 18:11[b]	Jn 18:11[b]	
		Lk 22:51[b]	Lk 22:51[b]	
		Jn 18:11[c-e]	Jn 18:11[c-e]	
Mt 26:52[b]-53	Mt 26:52[b]-54	Mt 26:52[b]-54	Mt 26:52[b]-54	Mt 26:52[b]-54
[Lk 22:51[c-e]]	Same	Same	Lk 22:51[b-e]	Lk 22:51[b-e]
Mt 26:55[a]	Same	Mt 26:55[a-b]	Same	Mt 26:55
Lk 22:52-53	Same	Lk 22:52[b]-53	Lk 22:52-53[b]	Lk 22:53[c-e]
Mt 26:56	Same	Same	Same	Same
				Jn 18:12[a-b]
Mk 14:51-52	Same	Same	Same	Same
Jn 18:12-14	Same	(Jn 18:12-15[a])[27]	Jn 18:12-15[a]	Jn 18:12[c]-17

As in this instance, whatever the differences between witnesses attesting the same sequence, the differences between the two sequences are greater. Of the two Sequence B witnesses, Camb. 1700 is perhaps closer to Sequence A than is the Jerusalem Lectionary, but manifestly both are nearer each other than to either of the Sequence A copies or to Diat[a]. The main difference between the witnesses in both sequences generally is the accrual of Gospel materials in several copies.

The eighth lection is one of five sections in which, it has been argued, the arrangement and content of Sequence B evidence the influence of the Diatessaron.[28] From Table 1 it may appear that Sequence B is closely allied with Diat[a], nevertheless there are differences that may outweigh the similarities. For instance, while Camb. 1700 has incorporated a number of blocks of material verbatim with Diat[a] (Mk 14:44[c], Mt 26:49-50[a], Mt 26:50[b], Mt 26:50[c-e], Lk 22:49), there are elements also in Diat[a] that are passed over (e.g. Lk 22:52[a]) and others which have been recast (with Jerusalem Lectionary A) at odds both with Diat[a] and Sequence A: most noticeably the way in which Jn 18:10-11 and Lk 22:51 have been combined. Also, it could be argued that Sequence A is nearer than Sequence B to Diat[a] at both the start and end of the lection. More generally, in contrast to Diat[a] the narrative of Sequence B is often disconnected, repetitive and contains a number of literary and chronological infelicities.[29] Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Sequence B represents a reworking of Sequence A designed to bring parts of the HPH into closer conformity with the Diatessaric tradition or with some other Gospel harmony.[30] Much work and a well-developed critical methodology will be required to delineate the actual relationship between the HPH and the Diatessaric tradition. But what is required first is to determine whether or not Sequence B was derived from Sequence A.

27. In Camb. 1700, these verses commence the ninth lection.
28. Barton-Spoer, 'Diatessaron' 184-93.
29. Barton-Spoer, 'Diatessaron' 184; Weigelt, *Diatessaric Harmonies* 324-5.
30. Barsoum, *Pearls* 394, states that Daniel used the Diatessaron in composing the HPH but, presumably, this comment reflects his familiarity with copies of Sequence B rather than any independent statement in the Syriac tradition to that effect.

C. The Harklean Background to the HPH

1. Revisional Developments

The H text was subjected to multifarious changes, many of an *ad hoc* nature but others as the result of purposeful revisions. It appears that some of this revisional activity may have been designed to 'update' the H text by conforming it to progressive changes made to the Byzantine text. Other variations included the discarding of readings in the H margin and the assimilation of marginal readings into the H textline.[31] Naturally, then, questions arise as to whether the HPH was subject to similar types of revision and whether the HPH reflects the textual character of one or other of the H recensions.

Weigelt found 125 'significant' differences between the text of White's edition of the H Gospels and that of one or more of his six collated HPH MSS.[32] In reality, the greater number of these differences merely reflect the preservation by the HPH witnesses of readings from the older stratum of H as against the manifestly revised character of White's MSS. With the possible exception of one or two Sequence B witnesses, such as Paris 31, there is no discernable shift in the HPH witnesses towards the type of text exhibited in White. At the same time there remains a lesser but still considerable number of instances where the reading of the HPH witnesses is at odds with the H text as attested by the Gospel text of Vat. 268.[33] From the data presently available it appears that the majority of these are attested by the Sequence B witnesses and that they may, in many cases, comprise distinctive Sequence B readings. Here we give three examples:

a. Mk 15:15 — all Syriac authorities read 'that *he might be crucified*,' but H (Vat. 268 Mk), White and HPH Sequence A MSS render σταυρωθῇ by using the *Ethp'el* imperfect of *slabh*, the verb by which H regularly renders σταυρόω. The Sequence B MSS with S and P, use the *Ethp'el* imperfect of *zqaph*, a term with a relatively broad semantic range.

b. Lk 23:15 — the H text (Vat. 268 Lk) with White and the Sequence A MSS has Pilate say 'for *I sent you* to him (i.e. Herod)', rendering ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν (A D W Ψ fam¹ 𝔐). Some Sequence B witnesses, Paris 31, Paris 52 and Camb. 1700, read with S C and P, 'for *I sent him* (i.e. Jesus) to him (i.e. Herod)', which is also the reading of N.C. 334 (Lk.). H^mg supplies another variant: 'for *he sent him back* to us' (ἀνέπεμψεν γὰρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς 𝔓⁷⁵ B K L T ℵ Θ 892 1241 *al* aur f vg^mss co).

31. See A. Juckel, 'Zur Revisionsgeschichte der Harklensis' *Bericht der Hermann Kunst-Stiftung zur Förderung der Neutestamentichen Textforschung für die Jahre 1992 bis 1994* (Münster 1995) 50–68; idem, 'Ms Vat. Syr. 268 and the Revisional Development of the Harklean Margin' *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 1.1 (1998), available http://syrcom.cua.edu/hugoye/Vol1No1/MsVatSyr268.html; idem, 'Die Bedeutung des Ms Vat. syr. 268 für die Evangelien-Überlieferung der Harklensis' *OC* 83 (1999) 22–45. Compare W. Strothmann, 'Die Handschriften der Evangelien in der Versio Heraclensis' *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Aßfalg* ed. R. Schulz & M. Görg (Weisbaden 1990) 367–75.
32. Weigelt, *Diatessaric Harmonies* 199–219.
33. The witness which supplies the base text for Juckel's edition of H in Kiraz, *Comparative Edition*.

c. Jn 19:2 — Vat. 268 (HPH), with White, furnishes a Syriac transliteration of
the Greek accusative, στέφανον 'wreath' or 'crown' whereas H (Vat. 268
Jn.), with P and most Sequence A and Sequence B MSS, employ the native
Syriac term, *klilā'*.

These instances serve to highlight the probability that many variant readings in
the HPH tradition were occasioned intentionally. Assimilation to revised
readings in the H tradition (e.g. Lk 23:15) is a likely cause. But allowance must
be made also for the influence of the other Syriac versions, especially P (e.g. Mk
15:15), for lexical preferences (e.g. Jn 19:2) and for independent revisions that
sought to conform the Syriac text to some body of Greek testimony. Another
possibility is that on those occasions when the HPH was appended to a copy of
the Gospels that the HPH text may have been conformed to the accompanying
Gospel text. This possibility needs to be investigated, although there is nothing
known at present to suggest that in such circumstances the HPH was not treated
in isolation. Certainly such appears to be the case with Vat. 268, for it is not too
difficult to find instances where the reading of the HPH in Vat. 268 and the
corresponding continuous Gospel text of Vat. 268 differ. Jn 19:2 above furnishes
one such instance and another three examples follow:

a. Mk 15:29 — 'Three *days*' Vat. 268 (Mk), with White and Paris 51, has
'days' in the *status emphaticus*, whereas Vat. 268 (HPH), with B.M. 18714,
has 'days' in the *status absolutus*.

b. Lk 22:3 — Vat. 268 (Lk), with B.M. 18714, Paris 51, N.C. 334 and Camb.
1700, reads 'from *the number of* the twelve'. Vat. 268 (HPH) attests the
shorter reading, 'from the twelve' (D b c f ff^2 g^1 i l q vg).

c. Lk 22:71 — Vat. 268 (Lk), with B.M. 18714, Paris 51 and Paris 31, reads
'*but* we hearing' while Vat. 268 (HPH), with Paris 52 and Camb. 1700,
reads '*for* we hearing'.

As in the instances just cited, it is to be noted that the Sequence A witnesses,
such as B.M. 18714 and Paris 51, tend to agree with the Gospel text of Vat. 268
as against the HPH text in Vat. 268. There is a considerable degree of agreement
between the Gospel text of Vat. 268 and Sequence A of the HPH, nevertheless
the differences between the Gospel and HPH texts of Vat. 268 tend to the
conclusion that the HPH ancestor was from a *stratum* of the H tradition
significantly different in character to the Gospel text of Vat. 268. If that was the
case then the question arises as to whether it is the HPH text or the Gospel text in
Vat. 268 which is actually nearer to the H archetype. The problem will become
all the more intriguing should the readings of the HPH in Vat. 268 at variance
with the Gospel text of Vat. 268 be found regularly attested by another H Gospel
witness.

2. Marginal Readings and Critical Signs

The marginal readings, Greek philological glosses, and readings denoted by
asterisks or obeli, are features that Thomas incorporated in H so as to enhance
the critical utility of the version, as also to preserve valued textual and exegetical
traditions. However, almost from the outset, the significance of these features
was discounted by copyists with the result that they failed to be preserved in
many of the H copies. In the case of the HPH it seems that there are even fewer

witnesses which exhibit marginal readings (e.g. N.C. 334 and Camb. 1903), or critical signs in the textline (e.g. Camb. 1903). Indeed, given the state of the physical evidence, it must be doubted whether Rabban Daniel did retain the H marginalia and critical signs. Nevertheless, it happens that when marginalia and critical signs do occur in HPH witnesses that they not infrequently represent genuine H readings (e.g. Mk 14:15 and Lk 22:3 below) while, in other instances, their exhibition reflects known secondary revisions within the H tradition. By way of illustration a few examples follow.

a) Marginal readings

*   Mt 26:17 — HPH (= H) reads, 'that we may prepare *for thee to eat the Passover*'. The text of Camb. 1903 omits 'for thee to eat the Passover' but the phrase is read by Camb. 1903^{mg}. The omission may have been accidental (σοι φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα is attested by all authorities), nevertheless the marginal reading is indexed like a regular H^{mg} reading rather than as a scribal correction, suggesting that the phrase was consigned to the margin as a variant reading. It may be noted that the retention in the margin of readings excised from the textline comprises a common class of secondary revisions in the H tradition.

*   Mt 26:29 — HPH (= H) reads, 'in the kingdom of my Father', to which is indexed in N.C. 334^{mg}, 'until the kingdom of God comes' (= Lk 22:18). The marginal gloss is independent of the H tradition.

*   At certain places the HPH tradition was influenced by the assimilation of H^{mg} readings. For instance, in Mt 26:40, most HPH witnesses read with H, 'and he (Jesus) says to Peter, "So *were you not able*…"', rendering οὐκ ἰσχύσατε with reference to the disciples. H^{mg} glosses '(not) thou able' (= ἴσχυσας), the reading of the Marcan parallel (14:37), which was taken into the HPH textline by B.M. 18714. In other cases it is possible that the testimony of H^{mg} mitigated against the retention of H readings in the text of the HPH. Thus we find that the citation from Ps 22:18 which H with many other witnesses (Δ Θ Φ 0250 f$^{1.13}$ 348 1424 1579 TR lat arm geo) quotes in Mt 27:35, is omitted by the HPH due, perhaps, to a negative assessment occasioned by the H^{mg} gloss which advises that Thomas found the psalm citation neither in his Greek copies nor in 'the former Syriac (copy)'.[34]

b) Obeli

The obeli generally denote words lacking in Thomas' Greek standard but which were retained from his Philoxenian exemplar, or else glossed, so as to keep the Syriac textline intelligible whilst 'mirroring' the sense of the Greek original.[35]

*   Mt 26:17 — HPH (= H) reads, 'the disciples came', except that N.C. 334 and Camb. 1903 add the Syriac particle *den* so as to smooth out the transition between the two selected clauses, i.e. the final clause of Lk 22:7 and the second clause of Mt 26:17: '…on which it was proper to kill the passover. *Then* the disciples came…'. In Camb. 1903 this *den* appears *cum obelo*. If the *den* was read as part of the citation from Mt 26:17, then it is

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34. Further on this marginal gloss see Hill, 'Currency Annotations' 112–13.
35. See Juckel, 'Introduction' xxxiv–xxxv.

possible on that understanding that an editor obelized the particle to indicate that it lacked supporting Greek testimony.

- Lk 22:3 — HPH (= H) reads, 'being *one* from the number of the twelve,' the 'one' (*hadh*) appearing *cum obelo* in Camb. 1903. Vat. 268 (H) lacks the obelus in Lk 22:3, but it is attested by White's edition which, on this occasion, is to be preferred. Most likely Thomas retained the *hadh* from his *Grundtext*, though the term lacked a verbal equivalent in his Greek copies. Accordingly, it follows that Camb. 1903 has either preserved or restored to the text an obelus original to H.

c) Asterisks

The asterisks denote elements incorporated into the H textline on the basis of testimony additional to that of Thomas' Greek standard. These readings were textual minuses in the Philoxenian exemplar, though in some instances they may have comprised marginal glosses in that copy. It must be assumed that these readings were normally attested by either the text or margin in one or more of Thomas' Greek copies.

- Mk 14:15 — HPH reads 'prepared (by having been) furnished', the reading of H except that 'prepared' is *sub asterisco*. Camb. 1903 likewise attests the asterisk, which in H indicates that ἔτοιμον (omit M* 565 998 1574 2145 1 r² vg arm) was lacking in Thomas' Greek standard.

- Jn 13:16 — for literary reasons the HPH inserts the phrase, 'Again Jesus said to them' prior to the citation of Jn 13:16–19. In Camb. 1903 the word-order is varied, *den* replaces *tùbh* ('again'), and the phrase appears *sub asterisco*. Presumably the variation was predicated upon stylistic considerations but, regardless of whichever wording is original, the asterisk in Camb. 1903 appears to be secondary. It may be that an editor added the asterisk to show that the phrase was inserted supplementary to the Gospel text: though, by the same token, similar additions elsewhere in Camb. 1903 are not subject to the application of either asterisks or obeli. Perhaps, then, the inserted phrase was read as if part of Jn 13:16 rather than as an independent, editorial gloss, with the consequence that the asterisk was applied in imitation of H to denote a textual plus.

Much more could be said about the HPH, such as its literary style, chronology of events and what it tells us about the understanding of the Passion in the Syriac tradition. Clearly, whatever its relationship to other Gospel harmonies or to the Diatessaron in particular, the HPH is a significant harmony in its own right and occupies an important place in the history of the Syriac lectionary. Moreover, it is to be expected that by comparing the respective texts and their variants the HPH will yield valuable data with respect to the *Revisionsgeschichte* of H. In light of these considerations the present writer has begun work on producing a comprehensive critical edition. Hopefully, when that task is completed, Rabban Daniel's harmony may begin to receive the scholarly attention that it deserves.

Geoffrey Nathan

'Pothos tes Philoktistou':
Anicia Juliana's Architectural Narratology

Constantinople in the year 500 CE had enjoyed almost two centuries of constant growth, improvement and adornment. By the end of the fifth century the city had pretensions of being a true rival to Rome in its wealth and in the expression of that wealth. The cultural narrative found in the urban topography had shown its mark clearly: it was a world-class capital wherein the aristocracy and especially the imperial family sought to exceed the works of their ancestors. The city was a canvas, by no means virginal, yet one upon which the elite hoped to leave their signature. The triumph of Christianity by the end of the fourth century, supposedly through the enactment of Theodosius I, offered the impetus and the form of that competitive activity.

More practically, Theodosius' grandson, Theodosius II, built massive walls that had physically doubled the size of Constantinople. The New Rome was thus a half-empty city for much of the fifth century. So in the *urbs* and elsewhere commissioning public architecture, in particular Christian structures, became a legitimate expression of ancient *noblesse oblige*. The importance of using and redeploying classical art and architecture in new ways was a key component of these building programs.[1] The emperor himself was of course the consummate patron of the arts, of building and of the general populace. It was from him that wealth and public benefits spun centrifugally in all directions.

But if the emperor was at the centre, then the aristocracy of the Empire sought to wind its way inwards through the maze of power, prestige and political pitfalls. And as Craig Wright has recently noted in his magnificent book on the symbolic relationships among architecture, theology and music, mazes before the Renaissance were 'unicursal'; that is, they provided a single, even if intricate, course to their centres.[2] So, too, then did the aristocracy race along a single, often sinuous line towards power and prominence. The making of the post-classical Christian landscape, as Annabel Wharton has argued, was really a representation of a violent and competitive political struggle.[3]

One aristocrat extraordinarily close to the centre was the patrician Anicia Juliana.[4] She had a formidable genealogy. Her father, Flavius Olybrius, was one of the last legitimate emperors of the West. His family, moreover, was from that

1. See most recently and thoroughly, S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge 2004).
2. C. Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge Mass. 2001).
3. A.J. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge 1995).
4. On her life and her status as *patricia*, see J.R. Martindale, ed., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1980) 635–6.

hoary and most noble of noble *gens*, the Anicii.[5] Her mother's line was no less impressive: on both sides she descended from the Theodosian house. Hence, Anicia's great-grandfather had been Theodosius II; her grandfather, Valentinian III. As such, by the early sixth century, she was one of the last survivors of a dynasty that lasted longer than any other save the Julio-Claudians.

The wealth of her bloodline was matched by her worldly wealth. As Anicia's building projects, literary commissions and egregious self-promotion all demonstrate, her resources during her life were apparently inexhaustible. She possessed a large and sumptuous house in the central Constantinianae district of the city. One scholar argued that she was, in fact, the wealthiest resident of the imperial capital, and certainly we know she possessed many houses with many servants.[6] Indeed, part of her wealth permitted the monastery of St Sabas, to which she left a large legacy, to endure considerable tribulations and to survive to today as one of the oldest continuously inhabited religious houses.[7]

Admittedly, in her early days, Anicia had been a pawn in the political wranglings between East and West, between Roman and German. The Emperor Zeno had offered her hand in marriage as a peace offering to Theoderic in 478[8] and, though refused, she was later married to another Germanic military man, Fl. Areobindus. But by the 490s she had clearly established herself as an independent and formidable figure. She bore the title *patrikia* in her own right, since her husband was never so honoured, and apparently used it to great effect. One of her first public acts was to secure the consulship for her son, Anicius Olybrius, in 491 — the first underage consul in almost fifty years.

Her role in the practical politics of the Empire, both secular and religious, is also of some significance. When the people of the Eastern capital revolted against the Emperor Anastasius in 512, they offered the crown to Areobindus and Anicia, although the former fled the city.[9] Significantly, the mob came to the house of Anicia to present the diadem. As a means of settling the affair, Anicia's son was hastily wed to Irene, the niece of the Emperor. A popular prophecy

5. See A. Momigliano, 'Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI sec. D. C.' *RendLinc: Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti.* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 8, Serie 9, 11–12 (1956) 279–97; rp. *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici* (Roma 1960) 231–53. See slightly more recently, C. Capizzi, 'Anicia Giuliana (462 ca–530 ca): Richerche sulla sua famiglia e la sua vita' *RSBN* 5 (1968) 191–226.
6. On her wealth, see most recently L. Brubaker, 'The *Vienna Dioskorides* and Anicia Juliana' *Byzantine Garden Culture* ed. A.R. Littlewood, H. Maguire & J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington 2002) 189–214; cf. L. Brubaker, 'Memories of Helena: Patterns in Imperial Female Matronage in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries' *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium* ed. L. James (London 1997) 52–75. On her household: Cyril of Skythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 69.
7. Cyr. Skyth., *Vita Sabae* 68–9. Indeed, so close was the relationship between Sabas and Anicia that at her death Anicia's eunuchs went to Sabas' monastery to become monks.
8. Malchus, frags. 15–17.
9. The *Chron. Pasch.* a. 517 indicates 517, but see Marcellinus comes, 512 and Malal. (Dindorf 407); clearly the event occurred five years before.

during the time claimed that an 'Olibus' would succeed to the throne, undoubtedly a not-so-oblique reference to Olybrius.[10] Clearly, Anicia meant to secure the claim of her son on the throne, with herself one day as *augusta*. To paraphrase the famous Tacitean epigram concerning the Emperor Galba: 'Capax imperii cum non imperasset' — 'She was thought capable of ruling since she had never ruled.'[11]

Finally, this exceptional woman was apparently deeply involved in ending the Acacian Schism between Constantinople and Rome in 519. As a devoted Chalcedonian she was a woman who had, according to surviving correspondence, considerable influence and diplomatic skills.[12] The papal legates would not have had a hearing at Constantinople if not for her representations and patronage.[13]

It is in the context of this brief thumbnail sketch of her life[14] that I want to turn to Anicia's building projects and demonstrate how her euergetism was in fact a carefully constructed narrative of stone, outlining her orthodoxy and her imperial ambitions. The nature, timing and placement of her churches indicate a clear path through the maze of Byzantine politics. I want to make clear, too, that this brief analysis does not focus on the particular architectural qualities of the buildings in question, but on the political and religious symbolism within the changing landscape of a growing imperial capital.

The Church of Mary *Theotokos*

The first of her building projects about which we hear was dedicated to Mary *Theotokos*. The church's exact location is unclear, although it is described as being built in the Honoratae district, probably a suburb of Constantinople in what became Pera (Galata; Fig. 71).[15] Its location was undoubtedly carefully chosen: if at Pera, it would have commanded a magnificent view of the city and dominated the neighbourhood. Whether there was a deeper significance to its location is unknown, but it symbolically represents a work on the periphery of power, an entrance into the maze of politics.

The only contemporary reference we have to the church itself comes from the *Vienna Dioscorides* manuscript, an exquisite and lushly illustrated medical text. The work was commissioned sometime in 512 or shortly thereafter, shortly after the construction of the church and has a miniature of Anicia [Fig. 72]. Around

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10. P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress*. DOS 10 (Washington 1967) 126, n. 15. Significantly, the oracle foretold that following Olibus' good reign, the Antichrist would arise in the east.

11. Tac., *Hist* 1:49.

12. *Coll. Avell.* 164, 179, 198.

13. C. Capizzi, *Anicia Giuliana: la committente (c. 463–c. 528)* (Milan 1997) 78–91 makes much of her role. B. Croke, however, takes a different view, suggesting limited involvement: B. Croke, 'Justinian Under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign' (unpublished paper) 14–24. But even Croke notes her prominence: 18, 20.

14. See Capizzi, *La committente* for a full, if somewhat problematic biography.

15. On Honoratae's location, see R. Cormack, *Byzantine Art* Oxford (2000) 41–3, and more recently Brubaker, 'Vienna Dioskorides'.

the inner portrait is a carefully written, although faded and partially legible inscription from the people of Honoratae thanking the *gens* Anicii — Anicia Juliana in particular — for building the community such a magnificent church. Theophanes, many centuries later, confirmed this story and presumably the building survived to his day.[16] We have a second indirect reference to the church in an inscription found in a later building project of Juliana's, the church of St Polyeuktos. An elegiac epigram, possibly written by Anicia herself, describes how the aristocrat had built many splendid temples before Polyeuktos. Given the lavish construction visible in some of her known building projects, we can assume that this first project was an attempt to establish her *bona fides* as a good patron.

But apart from these vague references, the decision to build a church to the Mother of God was not politically or religiously neutral. The *Theotokos* cult, which blossomed in the East during the fifth century, had important implications for orthodoxy.[17] Its symbolism implied Christ's divine and human nature combined as one, thus undercutting the monophysitic position, but more significantly the diophysite stance of the Nestorians. Given the turbulent disagreements within the Eastern Church about these Christologies, Anicia's first project was a loud declaration of the Chalcedonian *credo*, to say nothing of her own orthodoxy.

There were imperial implications of the church dedicated to Mary, Mother of God, as well. It was dedicated sometime between 512 and 515, coming on the heels of the rebellion against Anastasius. Clearly the settlement between Anicia and the Emperor set her on course to be the mother of the next ruler. *Theotokos* expressed that new reality. But it was also a challenge to Anastasius, who had been a staunch monophysite prior to his accession, but was then forced to take a more nuanced stance as Emperor. Anicia could afford to be less flexible and it lent her legitimacy in the West and in important quarters in the East. The church thus was not simply a profession of her faith, but also of her intentions.

Moreover, the portrait of Anicia in the *Vienna Dioscorides* manuscript tells us much about how the church was meant to be received. In the spandrels of the portrait, *putti* reminiscent of those we find in Pompeii are engaged in carpentry and stonemasonry. Anicia wears the gold-striated *trabea*, which not only distinguishes her as a patrician but also perhaps as a member of the imperial court in exile. Moreover, Anicia sits on the *sella curulis*, complete with purple cushion, and wears a diadem, symbols of her status and perhaps of her

16. Theophanes, *Chronographia* tr. C. Mango & R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford 1997) AM 6005. Interestingly enough, it is Honoratoi, which perhaps implies that the area was no longer known by the same name by Theophanes' death in 818.

17. See K.G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982) 147–74, on the movement's significance, especially within the context of constructing imperial female personae.

authority.[18] The virtues of *Megalopsychia* (Magnanimity) and *Phronesis* (Prudence) flank her. Did Anicia also mean to compare herself to Mary, as the bearer of the future emperor? It is not beyond possibility. Whatever else Anicia may have been, she was not subtle.

The Church of St Euphemia

Juliana's hopes for the future were crushed in 518 at the death of Anastasius. The younger Olybrius did not come to the throne nor, if we are to believe those who recount the event, was he even in the running. Instead, the succession was an entirely internal struggle within the palace. The counts of the *domestici*, the *scholarii* and *excubitores* (i.e. Justin) were the only candidates mentioned.[19] It is perhaps ironic, then, that some time near that date the church of St Euphemia was rededicated by Anicia in the imperial capital.

Admittedly, it is not clear when the church was built, but it seems likely that it must have come after *Theotokos*. The centrality of the location, the apparent magnificence of the renovation, to say nothing of its cost, all suggest that it was a work that probably came some years after her first project.[20] Although no direct evidence exists, I would place the date sometime towards the end of the second decade of the sixth century. There is indirect architectural evidence to support that the renovation project dates from this period.[21] More significantly, there were political reasons that suggest a date shortly before or shortly after the accession of Justin, as I shall explain below.

To begin, the church was centrally located in the Olybrius district, a region likely named for Anicia's father, placed strategically near the Forum of Constantine, the Hippodrome and the imperial palace [Fig. 71]. Anicia had thus chosen a church that stood at the very heart of the public city. Moreover, its location made it a *de facto* beginning point for the *mese*, whose northern route when terminating at the walls of Constantinople also ended at the church of the Apostles. St Euphemia thus linked through a religious structure a political symmetry created by Constantine almost two centuries earlier. It also clearly enunciated an association with the first Christian emperor; tentative, it is true, but no more tentative than her own familial connections to the house of Constantine.

18. On the imperial implications of this image, see B. Kiilerich, 'The Image of Anicia Juliana in the *Vienna Dioscurides*: Flattery or Appropriation of Imperial Imagery?' *SOsl* 76 (2001):169–90.
19. Malal. (Dindorf 410–11) offers the tradition that Justin was, in fact, supposed to support a candidate with the Grand Chamberlain's money, but used it to gain support for himself.
20. But Capizzi, *La committente* 104, notes a possible seventh-century construction possibility.
21. M.J. Vickers notes that the bricks of St Polyeuktos, built between 524 and 527, bear stamps that date them to 511 and 518. 'A "New" Capital from St Polyeuktos' *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul* ed. R.M. Harrison & J.W. Hayes (2 vols Princeton 1986) 2:213–16. Since there is a mix of brick stamps, it is possible that the 518 bricks come from another, earlier building project; to wit, Mary *Theotokos* and St Euphemia's.

The structure itself had originally been a palace of Theodosius II's chamberlain and tutor, Antiochos, but the property had been confiscated by the Emperor in either 419 or 421 [Fig. 73].[22] The hexagonal shape had been greatly expanded and the church's design was one of a central space with many chapels. Indeed, the floor plan bears an interesting resemblance to the design of Anicia's portrait in the *Vienna Dioscorides* manuscript [Fig. 74].[23] Although Christian architects, had been exploring designs other than the basilica, the work still represented an innovative shape and form. Its size and structure suggested intimacy, and yet the surviving six inscriptions implied a sumptuous and vivid space, one stating: 'ὅσον ἄστρασιν ἀντιφερίζειν' — 'so that it rivals the stars.'[24]

Those inscriptions, preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*, also explain the church's origins. In beautiful hexameters, they describe Anicia's pedigree as the church's own: it was first built by her grandmother, Aelia Eudocia, then improved by her mother, Pulcheria, and finally enlarged by Anicia. The longest inscription notes that it was a house of the Trinity, built by another trinity. And like the fulfilment of prophecy with the coming of Christ, so too did Anicia fill St Euphemia's destiny: 'You no longer admire the glory of those who came before; not through their skill did they create a glory as great as that of Juliana, who through her labors outshone the able craft of her ancestors.'[25] In beautifying the city, the church was meant to create multiple continuities. In sum, Anicia reinforced her own imperial pedigree and rights to the throne, but also created a physical and symbolic statement in the centre of political and religious authority.

And in my view the end of the Acacian Schism in 519 was the most logical moment in which to tie symbol and substance together. It was a triumph of orthodoxy as well as a personal triumph for Anicia Juliana. What better indication of those victories than to renovate a church that could only be associated with orthodoxy, the religious unity of the church, her political ambitions and the justification of her ambitions? Just as her church unified the

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22. For the date 419, Malal.. (Dindorf 361); for 421, Zon. 13.22.14–16. Of some significance is the latter's account of Antiochos' disgrace. Zonaras reports that the chamberlain was dismissed after Theodosius II's marriage to Aelia Eudocia and that the eunuch was punished by being sent to serve as a priest at the church of St Euphemia in Chalcedon. If true, then the decision to rededicate the building to the same saint takes on a significant dimension. See also J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study' *AJA* 101 (1997) 67–95.

23. T. Diamandopoulos, 'Εἰκονογραφήσεις βυζαντινῶν ιατρικῶν χειρογράφων' *Ιατρικά βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα* ed. H. Arhweiler (Athens 1995) 71–168 writes at some length on the symbolism of the portrait in relation to Solomon's Temple, another building of some spiritual significance. Special thanks to Dr Vicky Panayotopoulou-Doulavera for finding this reference.

24. *AnthGr* 1.15 (tr. W.R. Paton).

25. *AnthGr* 1.17 (tr. W.R. Paton):
Οὐκέτι θαυμάζεις προτέρων κλέος· οὐ διὰ τέχνης
εὖχος ἐν ὀψιγόνοις λίπον ἄσπετον, ὁσσάτιόν περ
κῦδος Ἰουλιανῆς πινυτόφρονος, ἣ χάριν ἔργων
ἀρχεγόνων νίκησε νοήματα πάνσοφα φωτῶν.

religious and public monuments of Constantinople, so, too, d'd Anicia unify Eastern and Western Christendom.

If there could be any doubt left as to Juliana's use of religion to articulate her authority, the choice of a church dedicated to Euphemia could not have been more clear. The martyr's acts, supposedly during the persecution of Decius, are not genuine, but they had become established tradition by the late fourth century at Chalcedon, Euphemia's purported hometown. Her importance grew enormously and indeed reached a central place in Christian orthodoxy in the fifth century.[26] The Council of Chalcedon, which condemned the monophysitic views of Eutychios, was held in her church. A purported miracle wherein the body of the Saint was found holding the tome of the orthodox view in her arms turned Euphemia into the great patron of orthodoxy and in fact a symbol of Chalcedonian orthodoxy. She was thereafter known as St Euphemia of the Canon.

No doubt Justin's accession as the church neared completion then must have come as an unpleasant irony to the now aging aristocrat.

The Church of St Polyeuktos

Finally, let me turn to Anicia's ultimate work and the one for which she was best remembered in the city: the church of St Polyeuktos. It was another renovation, but one much grander than St Euphemia's. Unlike the patrician's previous building projects, the dates of this work are more certain, probably between 524 and 527.[27] And as with St Euphemia, the church had been initially built by Juliana's grandmother, Aelia Eudocia.

I need not go into great detail on the architectural marvels and scale of the endeavour. Martin Harrison has written extensively of the church's excavation and reconstruction, followed more recently by Jonathan Bardill, and clearly Anicia's St Polyeuktos was an entirely new church from the one that had preceded it [Figs 75–6].[28] It was, in fact, less a renovation than a nearly complete rebuilding of the church. As an extensive inscription notes: 'She [Anicia] alone did violence to Time and surpassed the wisdom of renowned Solomon by raising a habitation for God.'[29] And this was no mere conceit on the poet's part:

26. For her significance, see F. Halkin, ed., *Euphémie de Chalcedoine: Legendes Byzantines*. SubsHag 41 (Brussels 1965) and G. Greatrex & J. Bardill, 'Antiochus the Praepositus: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II' *DOP* 50 (1996) 171–97.

27. See J. Bardill, 'Brickstamps and the Date of St Polyeuktos' *BBBS* 20 (1994) 67ff, where he argues for an earlier commencement date of construction, c.507–8. Harrison prefers the traditional 524–7 date.

28. R.M. Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium: The Discovery and Excavation of Anicia Juliana's Palace-church in Istanbul* (Austin 1989); cf. R.M. Harrison & J.W. Hayes, eds, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, n. 21 above.

29. *AnthGr* 1.10.47–9 (tr. W.R. Paton):
    ... χρόνον δ' ἐβιήσατο μούνη,
    καὶ σοφίην παρέλασσεν ἀειδομένου Σολομῶνος,
    νηὸν ἀναστήσασα θεηδόχον.

Harrison has argued that Anicia had the church built to the Biblical specifications of Solomon's Temple.[30] Whether true or not, when St Polyeuktos was finished it was by far the grandest religious structure in Constantinople. Again, we read another inscription along an entablature flanking the nave: 'What choir is sufficient to chant the work of Juliana, who after Constantine, the adorner of his Rome, and after the saintly golden light of Theodosius... accomplished in a few years a work worthy of her ancestors, and perhaps more worthy?'[31] Anicia has once again cast herself teleologically as the rightful apex of the Theodosian line and its accomplishments.

The church's popularity during and after Anicia's life was immediate and profound. It became not only the greatest church in Constantinople until Justinian's Hagia Sophia, but also an important destination for pilgrims and for local processions. It even entered imperial symbolic space as well: the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* notes that St Polyeuktos, along with Holy Apostles and the Charisios (or the Adrianople Gate), were the only fixed stations on the emperor's triumphal route.[32] In Anicia's day, its location helped to further the connection spatially between Holy Apostles and Euphemia at the centre of authority, as well as to connect their two builders [Fig. 71].

Between Euphemia and Polyeuktos, Justinian must have found Anicia Juliana's activities and wealth egregious. The church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos may have been a return volley at the patrician, a first attempt to redefine and reclaim the topographical narrative of the city.[33] And indeed, Gregory of Tours related a tale wherein the young Emperor had tried to take the old lady's fortune, ostensibly to cover the costs of his administration. Anicia had, in response, converted all her wealth into gold and affixed it to the ceiling of St Polyeuktos.[34] She then invited Justinian to take what he wished. The Emperor went away stymied when he saw the great plaques of gold bolted to a church

30. Although Christine Milner has argued convincingly that Harrison was mistaken and that in fact the specifications are closer to Ezekiel's spiritual Temple, with obvious differences in significance: 'The Image of the Rightful Ruler: Anicia Juliana's Constantine Mosaic in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos' *New Constantines: The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th Centuries* ed. P. Magdalino (Aldershot 1994) 73–82.

31. *AnthGr* 1.10.42–7 (tr. W.R. Paton):
Ποῖος Ἰουλιανῆς χορὸς ἄρκιός ἐστιν ἀέθλοις,
ἢ μετὰ Κωνσταντῖνον, ἑῆς κοσμήτορα Ῥώμης,
καὶ μετὰ Θευδοσίου παγχρύσεον ἱερὸν ὄμμα
καὶ μετὰ τοσσατίων προγόνων βασιληίδα ῥίζαν,
ἄξιον ἧς γενεῆς καὶ ὑπέρτερον ἤνυσεν ἔργον
εἰν ὀλίγαις ἐτέεσσι,

32. See C. Mango, 'The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate' *DOP* 54 (2000) 173–88.

33. See B. Croke, 'Justinian, Theodora, and the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus' (unpublished paper). Cf. J. Bardill, 'The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees' *DOP* 53 (2000) 1–11 and C. Mango, 'The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus Once Again' *BZ* 68 (1975) 385–92.

34. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum* 103.

which had been favourably compared to the temple of Solomon.[35] Consequently, on completion of Hagia Sophia, the Emperor's reference to surpassing Solomon was clearly a veiled yet pointed reference to Juliana's own building project.[36] Had the elderly πατρικία survived long into the reign of Justinian there might well have been greater contention between the two.

But the date of the work raises an important question: was there a political purpose in building a church that had imperial ambitions when she and her family were for all intents and purposes out of the running? Different scholars have offered various explanations: Anne McClanan claimed it was Anicia illustrating the prerogatives of an imperial, even if she was not of the imperial family.[37] Harrison has even suggested this was sour grapes on a grand scale.[38] I would suggest that if these explanations are true, they are convenient truths. While both are possible, I think that Anicia's rationale for building her greatest project is a bit more complex.

Let us start with St Polyeuktos himself. He was a martyr like Euphemia, one who was tortured and executed in the reign of Valerian in 259. His was a story of conversion and martyrdom: he became a Christian for the sake of a friend, a soldier like himself. His story has a slightly stronger basis for being true than Euphemia's, but it, too, has many fictive elements. And like Euphemia, the Saint became prominent in the fifth century and became associated with orthodoxy. Bishop Acacius of Melitene, the city in which the soldier-saint was slain, was an especial proponent of Polyeuktos. Acacius was also a prominent figure at the Council of Ephesus and a staunch supporter of the orthodox line. This helped to establish a long orthodox tradition connected to Polyeuktos.

This is all consistent with Anicia's interests, but such similarities do not get us closer to answering the question. But another interesting aspect of Polyeuktos' sanctity is that he became the patron saint of vows and of treaties and also the punisher of those who perjure themselves. Gregory of Tours relates that this power was especially visible in Juliana's church:

> For whosoever has, as often happens, committed some secret wrong and has been led under suspicion to this church, either, terrified by the power of the martyr, he straightaway confesses what he has committed, or if he lies, is forthwith struck down by divine punishment.[39]

The power of the Saint, then, was embodied in the church itself. This tale unsurprisingly comes in the same passage as Justinian's failed attempt to take Anicia's wealth. But there is a deeper issue here. In 512 Anicia had been

35. *AnthGr* 1.10.74–5.
36. Harrison, *Temple* 40.
37. A.L. McClanan, 'The Empress Theodora and the Tradition of Women's Patronage in the Early Byzantine Empire' *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* ed. J.H. McCash (Athens Ga.1996) 50–72.
38. Harrison, *Temple* 36–40.
39. Greg. Tour., *Glor. mart.* 103: 'Nam quicunque. ut assolet. occutum scelus admiserit. et data suspicione ad hoc perductus fuerit templum. aut statim quod admisit virtute Martyris perterritus confitetur, aut si perjuraverit, protinus ultione divina percellitur.'

promised the throne through her husband, who refused it, and through her own son, whose marriage to Anastasius' niece had come to naught. These were promises, especially the latter, that went unfulfilled. Taken in this light, I see the aristocrat's decision to refurbish, enlarge and, indeed, place the church of St Polyeuktos in a class of building above any other in Constantinople as a prayer for the fulfilment of the vow that had been made to her a decade before.

This motive is not as far-fetched as it sounds upon first hearing. Although Justinian had plans for his own succession, it is not inconceivable that Anicia held onto hers as well. As a *parvenu*, Justin was unpopular with the aristocracy.[40] His heir had also made a marriage that did not endear his family to the elite. Moreover, Justinian's partisanship towards the Blues circus faction led to wide-scale street violence in the mid-520s.[41] Brian Croke convincingly makes the argument that Justinian's status as presumptive heir was an attenuated thing.[42] And of course, both Anicia and Justin vied to be seen as protectors of orthodoxy and uniters of the Church, a competition perhaps made more poignant by Justin's problematic relationship with the Pope, to say nothing of that with his own Patriarch. It is perhaps significant that upon assuming the throne his wife, Lupicina, took the name Euphemia.

There is a final important connection to be made in the rededication of Polyeuktos, which may also signify an ageing aristocrat's hope. Garth Fowden has argued convincingly for the relationship between St Polyeuktos and narratives of Constantine's conversion and aborted Iranian campaign.[43] The Saint's career as a soldier and his eastern roots were in part meant to rearticulate a tradition stressing Constantine's baptism and his unfought war against Shapur as key defining moments of his reign, when religious triumph fused with political triumph. If Fowden is right, then Juliana, in rebuilding her grandmother's church, may have been implying that her orthodoxy would eventually meet with political success. Of course, the irony is that Constantine was baptised near his death and had made little headway against Persia before passing away. Anicia was to be disappointed a final time in 527. She had played a dangerous propaganda game well — she kept her life and her property — but in the end her efforts did not materialise into political power. Her carefully chosen path to the centre of Constantinople's political 'maze' had really been a dead end.

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40. Prokopios, *SH* 7.
41. See A.D.E. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976) *passim*.
42. Croke, 'Reconfiguring'.
43. G. Fowden, 'Constantine, Silvester and the Church of St Polyeuctos in Constantinople' *JRA* 7 (1994) 274–84. Cf. more extensively, G. Fowden, 'The Last Days of Constantine: Oppositional Versions and their Influences' *JRS* 84 (1994) 146–70. Of perhaps greater significance are the Persian elements found in the architecture of the church; see L. Pasquini Vecchi, 'La scultura di S. Polieucto: episodio saliente nel quadro della cultura artistica di Constantinopoli' *Byzantinistica*, ser. seconda 1 (1999) 109–44.

Ouroboros

Anicia's narrative of piety and power, however, taught the new Emperor valuable lessons. Harrison has perhaps unlocked the mystery of Justinian's famous words about surpassing Solomon and is undoubtedly correct in his conclusion that Anicia Juliana sought to create a Christian church to rival the grandest structures of the Old Testament. But there was another dynastic dimension to the magnificence of St Sophia. It was, significantly, a reconstruction of a fifth-century church to St Sophia, built by Anicia's own great-grandfather, Theodosius II. And Theodosius' church was in fact a reconstruction of a fourth-century church built by the house of Constantine. By a pious act of mimesis, Justinian's crowning architectural achievement fused the mystique of the Constantinian and Theodosian lines with his own less illustrious one. Just as Anicia had absorbed and augmented the prestige of her ancestors into her own, so, too, did Justinian wrest the mantle of *imperium* away from the now-deceased Anicia and, more to the point, from her descendants. It is perhaps significant that Anicia's son, Olybrius, was exiled, probably at the start of Justinian's reign, and later recalled in 533 shortly after the construction of Hagia Sophia had begun.[44] Justinian did what Anicia could not: construct an imperial visual narrative that matched an imperial reality.

All this being so, let me end by returning to Gregory of Tours' tale of Justinian the Great and Anicia Juliana. The story did not end with a stymied Emperor leaving the Church empty-handed. As the implications of what the princess had done sank in, Anicia removed a magnificent emerald ring from her finger and gave it to the young ruler, saying, 'Accept, most sacred Emperor, this tiny ring from my hand, for it is considered to be more valuable than this gold above.'[45] Apocryphal or not, no one could have misinterpreted the implication of this act. Anicia Juliana had passed to her political opponent what she could not pass on to her heirs: an imperial legacy. Was she saving face or is this questionable story a half-delusional conceit of a woman who chose not to see reality? Hemingway perhaps best caught the sense of putting a good face on such awkward moments at the end of his novel of love and loss, *The Sun Also Rises*: 'Isn't it pretty to think it so?'[46]

44. Malal. (Dindorf 478). *PLRE* 795 suggests that Olybrius (3) was exiled because of the Nika revolt in 532.
45. Greg. Tour., *Glor. mart.* 103: 'Accipe, imperator sanctissime, hoc munisculum de manu mea, quod supra pretium huius auri valere censetur.'
46. Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York 1926) 326.

Nigel Westbrook

Spoliation and Imitation: Continuity and Radical Disjunction in Byzantine Palatine Architecture

Introduction

The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors [Fig. 77] was perhaps the most influential model for mediaeval Western European imperial architecture, but its form is substantially conjectural — a shadowy setting and a set of symbolic forms dimly recalled in the architecture of Norman Sicily, Carolingian western Europe, papal Rome and the Ottoman empire. It exists, in a sense, through its textual descriptions and in the derivative forms of these later buildings. In discussing recent topographical research into the palace layout, I will address two issues pertaining to its architecture. Was the Byzantine palace a continuation of late antique tradition, or did it constitute a disjunctive shift? Secondly, what function did reference to past models serve for the layout of other palaces in the early mediaeval period? I will focus on the Great Palace as it existed up to the time of the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*.

Past and current research appear split on the question of whether the palace by this date could be understood as a survival of a Roman imperial type and, by implication, provide material and textual evidence of the survival of aspects of pagan culture, or whether it should be understood in relation to cultural disjunctions. Further disagreement has in the past centred on the question of whether the palace forms in Constantinople derive their precedents from Rome or from Middle-Eastern traditions. Historically implicit in this disagreement are both the scholarly projection of racial and ethnic ideologies — notably the 'Rom oder Orient' debate — and the positivist architectural approaches to history as a record of technological innovation, transferral and adaptation. The former debate has been largely discredited, although Wharton has identified its influence in recent research, while the latter approach seems limited, certainly incomplete, for the explication of the culturally contextual meaning of Byzantine symbolic architecture.[1]

In arguing for a limited form of architectural continuity up to the tenth century, I will propose that a mimetic process of spoliation and imitation[2] of

1. A.J. Wharton, *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge 1995) 3–14. For a recent and balanced study of middle-Byzantine building practice, refer to R.G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton 1999) Introduction and chap. 2.
2. By 'spoliation' I refer here specifically to the process of appropriation of models of ritually-founded spaces such as the Consistorium, the Augustaion and the imperial dining room, the Dekanneakkoubita. This form of spoliation, it can be argued, involved the transfer of both the object or form and the meaning and aura associated with it. It is certainly the case, as I will argue below, that spoliation occurred in all periods from late antiquity for expedient and pragmatic reasons — recycling columns, for example. But here I am referring to the deliberate imitation of palace building forms for the prestige that they might confer. See: M. Greenhalgh,

building elements of the Great Palace, such as the great halls of the Octagon — the *Magnaura, Augusteus, Consistorium* and *Dekanneakkoubita* — was deployed within the Palace itself. The *Chrysotriklinos*, for example, combined the ritual functions of throne room and reception hall and was laid out in the form of the Octagon and perhaps of other Palace halls (the Oaton?). This process of 'formal spoliation' was, furthermore, used elsewhere to give legitimacy to new forms of government — the Holy Roman Empire and the new monarchies — and from the eighth century to the prestige of the papacy and its claim for universal hegemony. An example is Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen. It combines material spoliation (columns and marble revetment taken from Ravenna) and formal spoliation — through transplantation of the exotic centralized *triclinium* form, through emulation of the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna and possibly through direct accounts of Great Palace buildings.

Are these processes of spoliation and imitation in and of the Palace and its topography[3] understandable as fragments or traces of a surviving culture or, as I believe Cyril Mango has implied, as often disjunctive innovations clothed with traditional forms?[4] In order to respond to this question, it will be necessary to examine the function of ritual and tradition in the Palace. We are faced, however, with the absence of the material evidence for the spatial setting of this ritual; the greater part of the Great Palace does not exist in a form that is accessible to objective archaeological scrutiny — evidence for its form and layout is mostly literary.

The most useful, but also the most challenging, textual source is the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*[5] compiled for or by the emperor Constantine VII *Porphyrogenitus*, a codification of palace ceremonial into a composite text. Constantine himself confirmed that a significant purpose of palace ceremonial was the impression conveyed both to the emperor's subjects, and to foreign dignitaries, of the majesty of the imperial office. His *Book of Ceremonies* provides an intriguing, though partial, window onto the ritual life of the Palace. The diverse provenance of the book has resulted in a spatial and temporal palimpsest, juxtaposing rituals that were in use in the tenth century with others

'Christian Re-use of Antiquities in Mediaeval Italy and Knowledge of the Pagan Past' for a well-illustrated general discussion,
http://rubens.anu.edu.au/new/spolia/database/paper.html [accessed 1 June 2005]; B. Brenk, 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology' *DOP* 41 (1987) 103–9; R. Coates-Stephens, 'Attitudes to Spolia in Some Late Antique Texts' *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* ed. L. Lavan & W. Bowden. Late Antique Archaeology 1 (Leiden 2003) 341–58.

3. By 'topography' I refer to the meaning conveyed in the OED definition: 'the science or practice of describing a particular place, city, town, manor, parish, or tract of land; the accurate and detailed delineation and description of (a) locality' (2nd ed. 1989).

4. C. Mango, 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium' *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition: University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* ed. M. Mullett & R. Scott (Birmingham 1981) 48–57.

5. In this essay I will refer to the Vogt translation of *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae: Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le livre des cérémonies* ed. and tr. A. Vogt (2 vols Paris 1935).

that had taken place within structures that by Constantine VII's day had vanished or had been assigned new functions.[6] Thus the text of the *Book of Ceremonies* bears a difficult relation to the Palace in its historical evolution and must be deconstructed in order to provide evidence of the spatial layout within which the ceremonial was performed and tradition was upheld. This has formed the basis of several recent studies (see below).

But how do we evaluate the Palace layout, given the scant evidence? Indeed, to what degree are reconstructions of the Palace biased by cultural preconceptions? How do they assemble the fragmentary evidence and speculations into a projected whole, and what does this reveal about the preconceptions? Mango has cited the monograph by Jules Labarte of 1861 as the first systematic attempt to reconstruct the topography of the Palace on the basis of the *Book of Ceremonies*.[7] Among the numerous subsequent attempts, the reconstruction by Jean Ebersolt, in 1910, was informed both by knowledge of Byzantine architecture and by a study of the palace of Diocletian at Split. [Fig. 78] Ebersolt's layout was further revised by A. Vogt in 1935.[8] [Fig. 79] The plans of Labarte, Ebersolt and Vogt share the Beaux Arts compositional principles of symmetry, rhythm and proportion. They are orthogonal and noticeably 'classical' in character.

In contrast, the more recent and partial reconstructions by Mango (1959) and Müller-Wiener (1977) are far more episodic and less orthogonal (inevitably perhaps, given the availability of additional but necessarily incomplete archaeological evidence).[9] There was an apparent reluctance in both cases to propose conjectural layouts. [Figs 80–1]

Mango limited himself to the observation that the original Constantinian palace was 'more like that of Galerius [in Thessalonica] than that of Diocletian'.[10] He thus argued against the *castrum* plan type of Diocletian's palace and for the imperial *domus* type of the palace of Galerius, which was comparable in its peristyle layout and certain elements to the late imperial villa at Piazza Armerina (see below). [Figs 82–4] Both palace types of the tetrarchic period are characteristic of what Ćurčić has suggested was a city in miniature.[11]

6.   A.M. Cameron, 'The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine Book of Ceremonies' *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* ed. D. Cannadine & S.R.F. Price (Cambridge 1987) 106–36.

7.   J. Labarte, *Le palais impérial de Constantinople et ses abords Sainte-Sophie, le Forum Augustéon et l'Hippodrome, tels qu'ils existaient au dixième siècle* (Paris 1861) cited by C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959) 14ff.

8.   E.M. Antoniadi, *Ekphrasis tis Aghias Sophias* (3 vols Athens 1907) 1:45ff and pl. XVI, cited by Mango, *Brazen House* 15; J. Ebersolt, *Le grand palais de Constantinople et le livre des cérémonies* (Paris 1910); *Livre des cérémonies*, vol. 1, *Commentaire*.

9.   Mango, *Brazen House* fig. 1; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977) abb. 263.

10.   Mango, *Brazen House*, 22–3.

11.   S. Ćurčić, 'Late-Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context' *ArsOr* 23 (1993) 67–90.

The castrum type, which derived from the Roman military camp plan, was developed into the form of a fortified villa complex, characterized by a perimeter wall with frequent towers which presented an appearance similar to a city wall. It was usually, but not always, built in an isolated or rural location as a city in miniature. The domus type derived from the traditional Roman land-owner's house and was centred on one or more peristyle courtyards and the main reception rooms — usually a central reception room for the lord to meet his guests and clients and a triclinium for formal dining. It was found in both urban and rural settings. Large high-status houses and palaces might combine elements of both types; thus the *Domus Flavia* on the Palatine hill, although structured around a series of peristyle courtyards, presented the appearance of a fortress to the city below.

If the first — Constantinian — palace followed the forms of the tetrarchy, then the questions remain as to how the later Byzantine palace developed in style and character and the extent to which late imperial characteristics were preserved within the ritual of tradition.

The issue of imperial precedent is a contentious one in recent scholarship. To what extent can both artistic and architectural forms and iconography be traced back to imperial Rome? An architectural example is the debate over the centralized palatine[12] chapel, seen by Krautheimer as derived from either imperial funerary architecture or centralized palace *triclinia*.[13] Mathews has criticized what he has termed the 'Emperor Mystique' underlying certain art historians' approach to Byzantine culture.[14] Mango has similarly argued against the understanding of Byzantine culture in terms of the classical past. He identifies a dislocation between late Roman and middle Byzantine culture, emphasizing the increasingly oriental cultural forms of the Palace (after the eighth century) and rejecting a symbolic continuity between imperial Roman and middle Byzantine architecture. For Mango, interpretations of Byzantine culture that assert its continuity with the classical past are based upon myth, rather than historical veracity. He cites evidence of a catastrophic decline in literacy in the post-Justinianic period in support of a fundamental shift in mentality:

> Knowledge of classical cultural practices was simply unavailable
> to all but a tiny elite consisting of the higher clergy, and a few
> officials. The proponents of a persistence of classical tradition
> within Byzantine culture are linked both to European romanticism
> and to a racial model of culture that privileges the Greek 'race'

12. Here I use 'palatine' chapel in the sense used by Krautheimer: it denotes a form of chapel that was integral to the palace.

13. See R. Krautheimer & S. Ćurčić, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (1965, 4th rev. ed. Harmondsworth 1986) 230ff. The issue of whether there was a tradition of centralized palatine chapels has aroused much debate. The church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus adjacent to the Great Palace has been proposed by Krautheimer as a palatine chapel. For a recent discussion see J. Bardill, 'The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees' *DOP* 54 (2000) 1–11.

14. T.F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton 1993) 15.

ahead of other 'eastern' races: Syrians, Egyptians, Jews, Armenians, Slavs...[15]

It should be reiterated that Mango was referring in the main to the middle and late periods of Byzantine civilization, from the eighth century onwards. It is true that in this period many of the urban institutions and structures were transformed or disappeared. Architectural form and decoration also changed — thus the brick ornament on the mid-twelfth-century Theotokos church in the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Greece and the twelfth-century hall in the Great Palace called 'Mouchroutas' borrowed from Arabic and Seljuk Turkish examples.[16] However, I will argue that, within the Palace, certainly in the period up to the time of Constantine VII, there was a form of continuity based upon spoliation and imitation of ancient forms. The Palace was, furthermore, the quintessential site where any continuity of cultural practices would be likely to have been maintained, as the imperial office itself derived its authority from precedent. Bolognesi has noted, in a discussion of surviving ritual, that within the Palace the fourth-century Gothic dances survived until the ninth century, while in the city the ancient Brumalia were celebrated as late as the tenth century and pagan-derived masquerades as late as the thirteenth century.[17]

A second consideration is the intentionality underlying cultural forms in this later period. Regardless of their veracity or degradation, were they intended to identify with the imperial Roman past?[18] In other words, do they fall under the rubric of tradition? An architectural example may be the imperial *triklinos*, or throne room, the Chrysotriklinos, attributed to Justin II,[19] which Bolognesi has suggested was possibly a reconstruction or refurbishment of an existing centralized triclinium to the south of the hemicycle of the Hippodrome.[20] Even if it were a new construction, we can, following Lavin,[21] certainly understand it as a development of the late antique palatine *trichorum/triklinos*. It continued functions such as receptions of patricians and promotions of high officials

15. Mango, *Discontinuity* 48.
16. C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York 1976) 215 (Hosios Loukas); 'The Palace of the Boukoleon' *CahArch* 45 (1997); Ćurčić, 'Urban Context' 67–90.
17. E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, 'Winter in the Great Palace: The Persistence of Pagan Festivals in Christian Byzantium' *ByzF* 21 (1995) 131–2.
18. A comparison could be made here with the mediaeval Florentine belief that the Baptistery was a Roman structure. The building served as an ostensible classical model for early renaissance architects and artists.
19. A.M. Cameron, 'The Artistic Patronage of Justin II' *Byz* 50 (1980) 62–84; rp. *Continuity and Change in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (London 1981) 76 and n. 70.
20. E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, 'Il Gran Palazzo' *Bizantinistica: RSBS Second Series* 2 (2000) 220–2. See also J. Kostenęç, 'The Heart of the Empire: The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors' *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire* ed. K.R. Dark (Oxford 2004) 26.
21. I. Lavin, 'The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages'. *ArtB* 44 (1962) 1–27.

formerly performed in the Constantinian *Augustaion* and Consistorium.[22] Its form — a domed polygonally-sided centralized hall with radiating 'conches' — and its function as throne room and reception space are similar in type to the so-called 'Temple of Minerva Medica' in Rome, in all probability an imperial reception hall. It also evokes the Pantheon, an imperial monument reconstructed by Hadrian (117–38) as a domical image of the cosmos in which he would hold public audiences,[23] much as Justin II and later emperors would have done beneath the dome of the Chrysotriklinos — another cosmological allegory.

The image of Christ above the imperial throne in the Chrysotriklinos may be compared with the famous icon installed above the emperor's porphyry pavement at the entrance to the Chalké gate and to the golden hand, the *Chrysocheir*, above the central portal at the entrance to the Augusteus. The Chalké icon was put in place a short time after the reign of Justinian and possibly during or before the reign of Maurice (582–602).[24] Prior to this time, the Chalké decoration represented the theme of the victorious emperor, as had the encaustic painting above the entrance to Constantine's palace.[25] Later writers significantly thought that the icon of Christ had existed from the time of Constantine.[26]

All three of the aforementioned religious images project the idea of the emperor as the image and representative of Christ on earth. This raises the question whether such strategically located images should be understood as a transformation of the former emperor-cult, or as an innovative response to the religious climate, the latter interpretation being given by Cameron in her analysis of the reign of Justin II.[27] In either case there is an apparently direct iconographic connection between these early icon images and an even earlier tradition, in which the ruler was associated iconographically with the imperial ancestors and the appropriate pagan gods.[28] In its first centuries, the Christian city of Constantinople was peopled with many spoliated pagan statues and the carved images of imperial ancestors. The forum of the first 'Christian' Emperor, Constantine, for example, was guarded by Athena and a cluster of gorgons.[29] [Fig. 85]

22. L. Neville. 'Byzantine Promotion Ceremonies' *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* ed. and tr. N. Oikonomidès (Paris 1972) 85–7. See below and n. 36 for the function of the late antique triklinos.

23. Dio Cassius 69.7.1, cited by W.L. MacDonald. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* (2 vols New Haven 1965) 1:118.

24. Mango, *Brazen House* 109–10, cites Theophanes for the connection with Maurice, but later suggests that it may have been erected during the late sixth or early seventh centuries, which would place it around the time of construction of the Chrysotriklinos.

25. Mango, *Brazen House* 108.

26. Mango, *Brazen House* 108, n. 1.

27. Cameron, 'Artistic Patronage' 76–7.

28. N. Westbrook, 'Monstrous Passages' *Limits: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians Australia and New Zealand* (Melbourne 2004) 521–7.

29. Cyril Mango has noted the lack of evidence for identifiably Christian monuments erected during the reign of Constantine. Mango, *Brazen House* 109 and n. 7. For use

The Palace as Imperial Villa Type

Such a postulated derivation from late imperial typologies and practices continues to constitute one of the lines of current research into the architecture of the Great Palace. Recent topographical studies into the layout of the Great Palace have, like the earlier studies of Ebersolt and Mango, disagreed on which Roman layout is more applicable — the unified palace complex typified by the castrum type of Diocletian's palace at Split/Spalato, or the palace as *rus in urbe*, a loose dispersion of pavilions and courtyards across the levels of the site.[30] (The latter is clearly more applicable to the later stage of the Upper and Lower Palaces, from the sixth century onward). The second form has its origins in the enormous urban garden villa of Nero's Golden House — an arcadian setting at the heart of Rome.

Ebersolt's comparison between the layout of the Palace and that of Diocletian's palace has been recently revived by Kosteneç, who proposes that the palace of Constantine and his immediate successors was of the late imperial type of fortified villa with porticoed front façade and projecting flanks. [Fig. 86] According to Kosteneç's topographical reconstruction, based on the hypothetical city grid proposed by Berger, the first palace would be situated within a block of four grid subdivisions.[31] [Fig. 87]

Kosteneç's suggestions for the first stage of the Palace are supported by the level surveys of Bolognesi which locate this first stage of the Palace on the upper terrace, adjacent to the Hippodrome, the Mese or central street, the Augustaion and Hagia Sophia.[32] Bolognesi has followed Guilland in attempting a detailed

of Medusa head imagery in Constantinople, see M.M. Mango, 'The Porticoed Street at Constantinople' *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* ed. N. Necipoglu (Leiden 2001) 35 and n. 28, 29. See also F.A. Bauer: *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz 1996) 167–87, 414–16, fig. 59 and J. Bardill, 'The Palace of Lausos and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study' *AJA* 101 (1997) 71 n. 20, fig. 3.

30. Kosteneç interprets Ebersolt's reconstruction as corresponding, at least in the portion that reconstructs the Constantinian palace, to the 'unified villa' type, while linking the second or 'dispersed villa' group to Müller-Wiener's reconstruction. J. Kosteneç, 'Studies on the Great Palace in Constantinople: I The Palace of Constantine the Great' *BSl* 59 (1998) 279–96. See also Kosteneç, 'Studies on the Great Palace in Constantinople: II The Magnaura' *BSl* 60 (1999) 161–82 and Kosteneç, 'Heart' 4–36. For the dispersed model, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 229–36 and fig. 263.

31. A. Berger, 'Die Altstadt von Byzanz in der vorjustinianischen Zeit' *Varia II*. Poikila Byzantina 6 (Bonn 1987) 10–11. See also A. Berger, 'Regionen und Straßen im Frühen Konstantinopel' *IstMitt* 47 (1997) 349–414. His argument has more recently been rejected as archaeologically untenable by Dark. See K.R. Dark, 'Houses, Streets and Shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the Fifth to the Twelfth centuries' *JMedHist* 30.2 (2004) 83–107.

32. Bolognesi has surveyed the levels of the terraced site of the Palace, attempting to reconcile these platforms with both the evidence of primary texts — in particular the *Book of Ceremonies* — and the Palace archaeological surveys by Mamboury and Wiegand (1934), Brett and others (1947) and Talbot Price (1958). Her surveys provide a useful basis for future studies, but in the published surveys she has not

spatial itinerary of the Palace,[33] associating the itineraries of the *Book of Ceremonies* with particular rooms, spaces and datum levels. She holds to Jobst's dating of the peristyle courtyard and basilica excavated by the St Andrews team as belonging to the period during or immediately after the reign of Justinian. Despite its later date, this complex shares the formal characteristics of the late Roman period. As the Jobst team has attested, the mosaic is masterful in technique but backward-looking in its style and iconography, recalling in part the style of Hellenistic Asia Minor.[34] Built soon after Hagia Sophia, the peristyle courtyard and basilica would appear to build on the precedents of the Constantinian period.[35]

How did its use compare to these precedents? The earlier basilican halls, like that of Cercadilla in Cordova or that of Piazza Armerina, appear to have been used by their owners for more public formal and administrative functions — perhaps 'local justice'.[36] We know that the Augusteus of the Great Palace was a hall of state from where the emperor and empress would appear, facing the courtyard of *Onopodion*, to be acclaimed by officials, patricians and commanders of the Byzantine army. The difficulty resides in the dispute over the attribution and function of the Apsed Hall.[37] We can interpret with some confidence that it would have functioned as a reception space where the emperor would receive the acclamations of the circus factions and other groups, while palace guards formed a 'hedge' on the sides of the courtyard — in other words it would have possessed a ceremonial rather than administrative function. By this stage, palace administration had migrated to the north of the complex, in which was found the office of the *Magister Officiorum*, the quarters of the *Candidati*

attempted a topographical reconstruction. See E. Bolognesi Rec hi-Franceschini, 'The Great Palace of Constantinople: An Introduction to the Main Areas of Activity, Ground Levels and Phases of Development' and 'The Great Palace Survey: the First Season' *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul* ed. W. Jobst, R. Kastler, V. Scheibelreiter & E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini (Vienna: 1999) 9–16 and 17–20. See also E. Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, 'The Great Palace Survey: The Second Season' and 'The Third Season of the Great Palace Survey' *XIV. Arastirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi, 1996* (2 vols Ankara 1997) 19–34, 133–42 and 'The Great Palace Survey: The Fourth Season' *XV. Arastirma Sonuçlari Toplantisi, 1997* (2 vols Ankara 1998) 15–30.

33. Bolognesi, 'Gran Palazzo' 213–18. See also Bolognesi, 'Great Palace' 9–16 and 'Survey: First Season' 19–21 and figs 4, 7–9, 11–13. Bolognesi locates the early levels of the Palace at 31 and 26 metres above 'sea level', with further levels at 21, 16, 11 and 6 metres.

34. Berzobohaty, a member of the Austrian restoration team, claimed to identify two mosaic workshops, one Syriac and one belonging to the Hellenistic tradition. Cited by Kosteneç, 'Heart' 15–16.

35. See Bolognesi, 'Gran Palazzo' 219.

36. C. Sfameni, 'Villas in Late Antique Italy' *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, ed. C. Machado, W. Bowden & L. Lavan. Late Antique Archaeology 2 (Leiden: 2004) 336–40; see also R. Hidalgo, 'Memoria de las excavaciones arqueológicas en el yacimiento de Cercadilla, Campaña de 1994' *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* 1994 (Seville 1999) 45–54.

37. Mention is made below of attribution for the Apsed Hall: Bardill: *Augusteus*, Bolognesi: *Apsis*, Kosteneç: the *Karianos*.

and *Scholai*, and the *Pittakia* in which records were housed. Thus the function of the Apsed Hall had changed from that of its precedents towards a more ceremonial one.

A second structure recalling the style of the tetrarchic period was, as discussed earlier, the Chrysotriklinos, commissioned by Justin II, possibly a restored or reconstructed heptaconch triclinium of the late antique palace of Hormisdas, which was given this new function when the Great Palace was extended south to incorporate the grounds of the Hormisdas palace.[38] The significant point here is that, if Bolognesi's attribution is correct, a significantly older, tetrarchic triclinium type should have been thought appropriate for the new Throne Room. The Chrysotriklinos was still in use at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. While it had been replaced as the reception hall by the eleventh century in the reign of Alexius Comnenus, it is recorded as having been revived as the imperial hall of reception in the twelfth century by Manuel I Comnenus.[39] The question whether the formal continuity of such reception halls conceals the transformation of their use and symbolism is, however, a matter for further research.

Whereas the studies of Bolognesi and Kosteneç emphasize the connections between the Byzantine palace and the late Roman urban palace, the reconstruction of the Palace layout by Bardill[40] follows the cautious approach taken by Müller-Wiener and Mango in proposing a layout that is in accordance with textual evidence, but does not attempt to associate the layout with late Roman and early Byzantine unified-plan palaces, for example of the castrum type (eg. Salona). [Fig. 88] Bardill's reconstruction suggests a relatively dispersed, sprawling layout of pavilions and courtyards — the Palace as imperial villa.

An example of such a dispersed (in other words non-unitary) complex is the late Roman villa at Piazza Armerina, Sicily, of the early fourth century AD. [Fig. 84] Its construction has been attributed to Maxentius, the Western emperor defeated by Constantine in 315[41] but, even if it proves to be the villa of a wealthy senatorial-class patrician, its construction would have been only slightly earlier than the first palace at Constantinople and it provides a useful comparison. The villa comprises four main groups: semicircular entry court, bath complex, main peristyle court with basilica hall and a second 'sigma'-style court with triconchal triclinium. The main courts and peristyle courts have the various rooms grouped around them — there are thus local orders but there is no overall symmetry.[42]

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38. Bolognesi, 'Gran Palazzo' 221–3.
39. M. Carrier, Contribution to BYZANZ-L web forum 18 April 2005.
40. J. Bardill, 'The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations' *JRA* 12 (1999) 220 fig. 2.
41. H. Kähler, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina*. Monumenta artis romanae 12 (Berlin 1973).
42. This may be partially explained by the difficulty of the hilly terrain. Other contemporary examples, such as the 'Governor's Palace' at Aphrodisias or the 'House of Bacchus' at Djemila, are more orthogonal. See B. Polci, 'Aspects of the Transformation of the Roman Domus' *Theory and Practice* 79–109.

In arguing for a dispersed model for the Great Palace, Bardill follows the interpretation of Krautheimer in rejecting the influence of the Roman-derived eastern (Umayyad and Abbasid) 'castrum' type upon the Constantinian Great Palace and locates its origin in the imperial Roman villa. Krautheimer notes:

> Umayyad and Byzantine palaces both go back to the building traditions of Late Antiquity, but they follow different lines. The designers of the Umayyad palaces take up the plans of Roman *castra* palaces such as that at Spalato. Rigidly laid out along an axial system, the main axis culminates in an audience hall; subordinate quarters line the inside of the square fortified wall. Byzantine palace design, on the other hand, continues the tradition of Roman imperial villas, such as the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli and the imperial villa at Piazza Armerina...[43]

Unfortunately, this analysis fails to take into account the difference between isolated palace complexes like that of Spalato and late imperial urban palaces. Ćurčić has persuasively argued[44] that imperial palaces of the tetrarchic period must be understood in relation to their urban context. Connecting to the palace was a triumphal route commencing with a 'golden gate', ceremonial fora, a *quadrifons* marking the intersection of *cardo* and *decumanus*, the public baths near the entry to the palace and finally the palace gate itself. All these elements were part of the Constantinopolitan topography and symbolically structured the Great Palace through the associated processions and ceremonies.

Bardill's 'dispersed' palace model centres on the identification of the Peristyle Court and Apsed Hall excavated by St Andrews University, to which he gives the attribution of the Augusteus or first Crown Hall. [Fig. 89] He dates the mosaic to the late sixth century, thus after the reign of Justinian.[45] If the later dating is correct (and Kosteneç and Mango date the mosaic to around the reigns of Heraclius (611–12) and Tiberius (578–82) respectively) then this would further strengthen the argument for an architectural continuity as late as the early seventh century. This is suggested by the late antique layout of the peristyle and apsidal hall complex and the Hellenistic style of the mosaics.[46]

Bardill's identification of the Augusteus with this sixth- to seventh-century addition to the original Palace is questioned both by Bolognesi and Kosteneç. Bolognesi[47] interprets the peristyle hall as the *Apsis,* a formal assembly point for dignitaries waiting to enter the Inner Palace via the *Sigma,* while Kosteneç[48] thinks it to be the *Karianos,* a *vestiarium* or vestry known to have been used by

43. Krautheimer. *ECBArch* 348ff.
44. Ćurčić. 'Urban Context' 67–90.
45. Bardill. 'Great Palace' 217 and n. 3. The Austrian team under Jobst dated the mosaics of the peristyle courtyard mosaic revealed by the Walker Trust excavations to between 485 and the middle of the sixth century. For a discussion of their argument see P. Turnovsky. 'Typologie und chronologie des fundstoffes unter dem Palastmosaik' *Neue Forschungen* 55–62.
46. Opinion of the restorer Berzobohaty. cited by Kosteneç. 'Heart' 15–16.
47. Bolognesi. 'Gran Palazzo' 219.
48. Kosteneç. 'Heart' 15–18.

the ninth-century emperor Theophilos. Bardill's identification, in large part textually derived, is implausible as it places one of the most important rooms, the hall of state, five metres lower than the main level of Constantine's palace. This contradicts the typology of late imperial palace layouts like that of Domitian, Galerius and Diocletian, where all the main public reception rooms are located at the same level.

However, it does appear to be the case that original elements of the Constantinian palace were re-interpreted in successive structures. The Palace grew over its millennial development from a unitary core by the addition of such new complexes, much as the imperial palace had developed in Rome.

Kosteneç is probably right in interpreting the Augusteus, or throne room, as an original element of the Constantinian palace and part of a cohesive architectural ensemble. However, over the ensuing centuries ceremonial elements of this palace migrated into an extended palace precinct, including that of the area of the Walker Trust excavations, datable to the early to late sixth century but built over earlier structures, or possibly transforming them for new functions.[49]

Influence of the Flavian Palace on the Layout of the Great Palace

Bardill identifies the Flavian palace complex on the Palatine hill in Rome as the possible model for the Great Palace layout.[50] [Fig. 90] His comparison between the St Andrews excavation site and the Flavian palace has an interesting implication. Surely an attempt to construct the imperial palace in Constantinople on the basis of the Roman precedent would more likely have happened in the fourth century under Constantine or his immediate successors, rather than in the sixth to seventh century period of the Peristyle Courtyard and Apsed Hall. The earlier palace was almost certainly much more compact than at the time of the *Book of Ceremonies* and was probably planned around a formal demarcation between domestic functions (the Daphne Palace) and ceremonial functions (the halls of Augusteus, Dekanneakkoubita and Consistorium), with the district of the guards and palace officials lying between the Palace and the forum of the Augustaion

Secondly, the Flavian palace itself is far from 'dispersed', but is rather a tightly planned, if vast, succession of increments in a close physical relation to both the Forum and the Circus Maximus. It is far more 'ordered' than Hadrian's Villa, for example, and may indeed be comparable to the first palace at Constantinople.

Thus the reference to the Flavian palace in support of an attribution of the St Andrews University excavation site as the (dispersed) location of the Augusteus, the central hall of state, appears flawed. Kosteneç's postulation (1998) that the Augusteus should be placed symmetrically at the centre of the old Daphne Palace facing the tribunal, or ceremonial parade ground, or even his later

49.   Cyril Mango has suggested that an earlier palace bath complex had occupied the site of the peristyle. See Kosteneç, 'Heart' 16 for reference.
50.   Bardill, 'Great Palace' 230.

reconstruction (2004), is in accordance with other late Roman examples and more plausible than Bardill's proposal.[51] [Fig. 91]

Following Kosteneç's hypothesis, the Augusteus would have been entered via the Onopodion or inner court of the Constantinian palace from the east-west running portico of the Dekanneakkoubita ('Nineteen Couches' after the triclinium of that name) facing the tribunal court. At either end of this portico would be located the two main ceremonial triclinia: the Dekanneakkoubita — a vast dining hall — to the west and the Consistorium or reception hall to the east.[52] The location of the *Daphne* Court was probably to the south-west of this complex, bounded by the private apartments connected to the octagon, although their formal configuration is unclear. A spiral stair, the *Cochlea*, connected the Palace to the *Kathisma* or imperial pavilion overlooking the Hippodrome.[53] All this accords with Guilland's extensive studies on the Palace.[54]

In the Flavian palace on the Palatine there was a similar interlinking but functional separation between the state and domestic complexes of the palace. The palace in Rome continued to be utilised for a period as the Byzantine administrative centre in Rome, before the imperial administration in the west shifted to Ravenna and in turn fell to the Goths.[55] It may be conjectured that the Ravenna palace, a complex of imperial Roman, Byzantine and later Visigothic structures which influenced later palatine architecture, preserved elements common to both the Flavian and Constantinopolitan palace layouts — in the excavated remains of the palace there are the foundations of a triconch hall — probably a triclinium for banquets — and a central apsidal hall of state aligned with the central peristyle courtyard. Kosteneç notes that Theoderic, who rebuilt

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51. Kleijwegt notes in relation to the plan of late Roman provincial villas: 'The middle room, as can be demonstrated for instance in the case of the villa at Newton on the Isle of Wight, is usually representational and designed for *the shared celebration of religious ceremonies* [my emphasis]. Newton is unusual in retaining evidence of doorway positions, and thus it can be demonstrated that the middle room did not communicate with the rooms on either side...' M. Kleijwegt, 'Review of J.T. Smith, *Roman Villas: A Study in Social Structure*' BMCR (20 March 1999). http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/1999/1999-03-20.html accessed 23 February 2005. It would appear possible that the function of the Augusteus in the private section of the Palace was a Christianized derivation of this cultic room, possibly originally devoted to ancestor worship. See Kosteneç, 'Heart' 9 and 'Palace of Constantine' 286.

    Kosteneç's later reconstruction interprets the first palace as a sigma-shaped arcaded forecourt leading to the Onopus courtyard, and the Octagon on the axis of the courtyard. The late-Roman precedents, not least the palace of Antiochos, would seem, rather, to accord with the Throne Hall or Augusteus, aligning with the entrance court or peristyle court.

52. For the evolution of the Triclinium see Lavin, 'House of the Lord' 1–15.

53. Kosteneç, 'Palace of Constantine' 290.

54. R. Guilland, *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine* (2 vols Amsterdam 1969).

55. This period left its mark on the Great Palace with a series of monuments commemorating the victory of the Eastern Empire against the Goths. See Bolognesi, 'Winter' 117–32 for discussion of palace ritual commemorations of the period of the Gothic wars.

the palace, had spent a decade in Constantinople, and argues that the Ravenna entrance facade, represented in the mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, resembles the Great Palace facade (presumably the portico of the Nineteen Couches facing the tribunal).[56] [Fig. 92] Several western European examples of palatine architecture — the Lateran Palace complex of the popes in Rome and the palaces of Charlemagne in Ingelheim and Aachen — were probably conceived with direct knowledge of the Great Palace as it existed in the eighth and ninth centuries and may serve to illuminate something of its character. The triclinium of Pope Leo III (795–816) is thought, for example, to have been modelled on the Dekanneakkoubita in the Great Palace. The raised audience balcony, visible in early Renaissance representations and incorporated in the later audience balcony of St Peter's Basilica, also corresponds with contemporary written accounts and recent reconstructions of the Dekanneakkoubita. Krautheimer has noted that within an earlier (798 or 799) triclinium built by Leo III in the Lateran Palace, a triconch hall possibly emulating the Great Palace Triconch was depicted a mosaic representation of the following:

> Saint Peter enthroned handed the pallium to Pope Leo and a banner to Charles — still king, not emperor. On the left...Christ hands the labarum to Constantine, the pallium to Saint Peter...

Thus the triclinium, an imitation of a building of the Great Palace, is used to assert the Donation of Constantine and the position of the Western emperor as successor to the Roman emperors, thus directly challenging the Byzantine claim to suzerainty.[57]

Lavin has traced both the Lateran and Carolingian palaces to the mediating influence of Theoderic's palace in Ravenna.[58] The structures in the Great Palace likely to have been emulated would have been those buildings accessible to foreign emissaries: the Dekanneakkoubita or banqueting hall, the Consistorium, the Chrysotriklinos and the Magnaura, possibly built by Basil I, which was a renovation or reconstruction of the former Senate. Except for the latter, these structures are dated between the fourth and seventh centuries and thus to the period prior to the cultural rupture described by Mango. My argument here is that the Palace itself served as a vehicle for the translation and dispersion of building forms that were tetrarchic in origin to the west and elsewhere.

A later, Balkan, derivative of the Great Palace is the 'Round Church' at Preslav in Bulgaria, the cathedral of King Symeon (893–927). Symeon, who had been educated in Constantinople, styled himself as 'King of the Romans', a title he unsuccessfully attempted to legitimize through conquest. The Round Church is thought by Mango to have been built by masons from Constantinople and to be based upon the Church of St Elias in the Great Palace, built by Basil I in the ninth century in the vicinity of the Chrysotriklinos. The form of this latter, vanished church was anachronistic — it appears to have been constructed in the

56. Kosteneç, 'Palace of Constantine' 281–2.
57. R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton 1980) 115–21, ill. 88, 93, 260. For an account of the Magnaura, see Kostenec, 'Magnaura'.
58. Lavin, 'House of the Lord' 12–15.

style of the palace architecture of the fourth to sixth centuries.[59] Similarly the triconch, originally a palace triclinium, had by the tenth century become adopted in Balkan ecclesiastical architecture, for example the *Katholikon* of the Lavra Monastery and the refectory of the Vatopedi Monastery in Mount Athos, c.963[60] and the late Byzantine St Elias in Thessalonica, of about 1360.[61]

The Papal Palace as Mimesis of the Great Palace

Krautheimer has noted that in the mid-ninth century — and following naval victories against the marauding Saracens — the popes sought to rebuild the grandeur of the city of Rome:

> It is clear that as early as the eighth century, if not before, the papal patrons were set on competing with the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors in the New Rome on the Bosphorus. When... Pope Zacharias erected an entrance 'tower' with a bronze gate surmounted by a portrait of Christ, it was unmistakably derived from the bronze gate, the *Chalké*...
>
> Likewise the *triclinium* that he built, decorated with marble revetment, mosaics and murals, and provided with a portico, competed with similar elements in the imperial Palace. Sixty years later, the intention of rivalling the Palace of the Byzantine *Basileus* is equally obvious in the structures added to the Lateran Palace by Leo III. The triconch *triclinium*, its apse carrying in mosaic the Mission of the Apostles and the two groups of Pope and emperor was 'larger than all other *triclinia*'... [62]

This was the previously mentioned triconch triclinium decorated with the mosaic of the *Donation of Constantine*.

The large triclinium built by Pope Leo III at the Lateran Palace, of approximately sixty-eight metres in length and possessing five or six conches on either side,[63] contained a porphyry fountain and an upper-level balcony overlooking the palace forecourt. [Fig. 93] This balcony in the façade of the Lateran triclinium, and connected by a raised corridor to the papal palace, served as the location for the papal blessing to crowds of pilgrims. As previously stated, this layout has been directly linked to the fourth-century Dekanneakkoubita which probably had nine lateral apses to each side and a main central apse, giving it an overall length probably exceeding one hundred metres.[64] Given this

59. Mango. *Byz.Arch* 301–6. 325–8.
60. Mango. *Byz.Arch* 216. 236–7.
61. Mango. *Byz.Arch* 277, 305.
62. Krautheimer, *Profile* 115–16, 120–1. See also B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300–850* (Oxford 1984) 174–6. Ward-Perkins (174) notes that the Lateran Palace was built on the core of an antique imperial palace.
63. Krautheimer, *Profile* 121.
64. If the Lateran example were increased pro rata from 13 to 19 apses, its length would increase to as much as 110 metres. This may be too high a figure to apply to the Dekanneakkoubita, but not perhaps by much. By comparison, the central nave of the

degree of apparent similarity, we might suppose that the Byzantine hall also possessed a balcony of acclamation and that, like the Lateran Palace, it gave onto a raised arcaded passage — in this case, to its east. This connection would appear to correspond with the literary evidence.[65] The similarity between the Dekanneakkoubita and the Lateran triclinium probably had a political significance.[66] Ward-Perkins notes that the text of the *Donation of Constantine* asserts the status of the Lateran as the palace 'which surpasses and takes precedence over all other palaces in the world...'[67] In this text there is expressed the papal ambition for hegemony. The Lateran Triclinium, a site for the ritualized appearance of pontiff, corresponded to the type of late Roman and early Byzantine imperial triclinia. It is significant that this papal building emulates the form of the Dekanneakkoubita, a building erected half a millennium earlier as part of the first phase of the Great Palace. There can be no question of 'current building fashions'.

The Roman pope in his role as mediaeval ruler of the principality of central Italy, the 'Patrimony of St Peter', appeared in the panoply of a lord (as he still does). The setting of the Lateran Palace, founded on the remains of a Roman *domus* and recalling the examples of the Great Palace and the imperial palaces of Ravenna and Rome, powerfully linked the papacy back to imperial Rome. Even his title, as Christ's first vicar on earth, recalls an earlier title given to the Byzantine emperor as Christ's vice-regent on earth.

A final, distant echo of the Great Palace could perhaps be seen in the late fifteenth-century Belvedere court of the Vatican palace designed by Bramante: notably in the relationship between exedra, fountain and covered walks (and the spoliated *Pina)*[68] that recalls the so-called 'covered hippodrome'[69] and the former

Basilica of Maxentius/Constantine in Rome, admittedly a public building, was 80 metres long by 25 metres wide.
Irving Lavin noted that the triclinium type, in origin a ceremonial dining hall and frequently found in a centralized domical form, could also be a triconchal hall, or even a series of symmetrical conches and groin vaults leading to the apsidal place of the Lord. This latter type was the plan of the Lateran triclinium, as well as the large triclinium of a recently excavated palace complex of the fifth century adjacent to the Hippodrome, the so-called Palaces of Lausos and Antiochus. Lavin, 'House of the Lord' 19–20; Bardill, 'Palace of Lausus' 67–95.

65. Kosteneç, 'Palace of Constantinople' 282ff.
66. Krautheimer, *Profile* 122. Krautheimer suggests that guests would recline on couches in the antique fashion. John Melville-Jones has advised me that *akkoubiton* may refer, in the title Dekanneakkoubita, to one couch, or one apse of couches arranged in the shape of a lunate sigma.
67. Ward-Perkins, *Classical Antiquity* 176 and n. 78.
68. Baldwin-Smith cites Huelsen's opinion that the Vatican *Pina* probably came from an imperial *lavacrum* of the Field of Mars. This would perhaps suggest the function of the *Phiale Mysticum* in the court of the *Triconchos* of the Great Palace as that of ceremonial ablution. E. Baldwin-Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1956) 28.
On the significance of the sacred phiales, see C. Mango, 'Byzantine Writers on the Fabric of Hagia Sophia' *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present* ed. R. Mark & A.S. Çakmak (Cambridge 1992) 48 and T.F. Mathews, 'Architecture and

sacral nature of the Palace fountains, notably the *phiale* of the Hemicycle or Sigma.

In its present form St Peter's Square — defined by Bernini's embracing colonnade, a baroque re-interpretation of the late Roman sigma — is again distantly evocative of the ritual spaces of appearance of the Great Palace. The balcony of the papal appearance, where the pontiff blesses the city as centre of the world, recalls another imperial ritual — the emperor's presence at the Hippodrome, but also his appearance under the baldachins of the various imperial triclinia and upon the raised terrace of the Dekanneakkoubita: an apotropaic presence of the emperor's body before his people.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued the following:

Despite disagreement among scholars as to whether the Palace should be interpreted as a castrum or domus type, or a composite of the two, or for that matter whether it was derived from western European or eastern models, the literary and archaeological evidence suggests a considerable basis in Roman precedent, sufficient to suggest a substantial continuity in palatine building practices extending to the late sixth to early seventh centuries. This continuity is exemplified by the centralized triclinium layout of the Chrysotriklinos, a building which recalls the forms of the tetrarchic period, and by the archaizing layout of the Peristyle Court and Apsed Hall of the St Andrews University excavation.

A gap which accords with the iconoclastic controversy then exists before the period of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. However, in this intervening period are found the building works of Theophilos and these included the substantial restoration or rebuilding of the Sigma and Triconch, structures that appear to correspond to the style of fourth- and fifth-century palace architecture.[70] Building works under the Macedonian dynasty, beginning with Basil I (for example the *Nea*) and continued by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (notably in the vicinity of the Lower Palace) seem to indicate a deliberate policy of renascence, through restoration and mimesis, of traditional forms and iconography.[71]

Liturgy in the Earliest Palace Churches of Constantinople' *Art and Architecture in Byzantium and Armenia: Liturgical and Exegetical Approaches* (Aldershot 1995) 11 1–17.

69. There is, of course, no direct evidence connecting the two. My point is that such early Renaissance revivals as the Belvedere Court and Villa Giulia were referencing the same Roman palatine type-forms that were used in the Great Palace. The question remains as to the imperial associations of such forms. Did they possess more than purely antiquarian interest? See D.R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton 1979) 69–87 (Villa Belvedere) and 150–65 (Villa Guilia); A. Bruschi, *Bramante* (London 1977) 87–114 (Villa Belvedere).

70. The clearest example is that of Piazza Armerina. A fifth-century example of the sigma courtyard is found in the Constantinopolitan palace of the imperial *praepositus* Antiochos.

71. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 349. See also Bolognesi, 'Fourth Season'.

The difficulty here is ascertaining the extent of cultural continuity by the period of the *Book of Ceremonies.* Ousterhout has noted that the role, training and social standing of 'architects' had changed from the *mechanikos* of the period of St Sophia and its designers, Anthemius and Isidorus, men well-versed in the arts and sciences who possessed social standing and respect, to the master mason of a building workshop, an anonymous figure possessed of practical knowledge acquired through apprenticeship. This master mason would lay out buildings according to past practice and tradition. Ousterhout argues that geometry would seem to have been used in this period as a practical compositional tool, rather than for its underlying symbolism. Thus there is clearly a discontinuity in architectural theory.[72]

Nonetheless it can still be argued that there was another form of continuity, maintained through *imitatio*, or deliberate emulation, whereby ancient forms were recollected and 'renewed' irrespective of whether the original symbolism had changed partially or completely. This is the function of tradition, within which the myth of the return to origins is perpetuated. Such imitatio has the aspect of spoliation: both forms and artefacts were spoliated and incorporated into new structures for both practical and 'magical' purposes. While it is true that the disuse of the ancient quarries necessitated the practical spoliation of such elements as columns and marble revetment, it may also be argued that the use of fragments, artefacts and forms of the antique world were often intended to link their possessor with 'the glorious traditions of the antique past'.[73] This linkage operated through the sympathetic function of imitatio, which is characteristic of the period of Theophilos and the Macedonians.[74]

The emulation of the building configurations and spaces of ritual of the Great Palace by the eighth- to ninth-century papacy and by western monarchs can be interpreted as an instrument in that period of the expressed rivalry between west and east. The mimetic appropriation of these configurations, themselves late Roman or derived or spoliated from classical types, was crucial for the projection of prestige. Papal Rome, Lombard Ravenna, the capitals of the Carolingian emperors at Ingelheim and Aachen, and later Norman Palermo were competing with Constantinople for the role of imperial capital and projected their aspirations in forms that recalled the Great Palace. Thus they indirectly recalled the precedents of imperial Rome of the tetrarchic period.[75]

In summary, a mimetic process of spoliation of architectural elements of the Great Palace of the 'high time'[76] occurred within the later phases of the Palace

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72.   Ousterhout, *Master Builders* chap. 2–3.

73.   Greenhalgh, 'Christian Re-use'.

74.   C. Mango, 'Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople' *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* ed. C.F. Moss & K. Kiefer (Princeton 1995) 645, 649.

75.   Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 254ff. I am suggesting that these buildings functioned as displaced representations of other buildings and, as such, were *demonstrations* of legitimised power.

76.   I am referring here to structures such as the ceremonial halls of the Augusteus and Dekanneakkoubita, both fourth-century foundations of Constantine I or Constantius,

and was also used in western palatine structures to give legitimacy to competing religious and secular powers. Both the preservation of ceremonial, and the performance of such ceremonial in structures that recalled the imperial past, may be understood within the context of tradition. Mimetic appropriation, or imitatio, provided a spatial and iconographical setting for its maintenance.

The later, middle-Byzantine forms of the Great Palace and the palaces of Byzantium's imitating rivals in the west could thus both be interpreted as backward-looking, recalling the symbolic structures left over from a disintegrated world at a time when the mediaeval west and east were moving inexorably away from it. Their typology and iconography imitated old tetrarchic and early Byzantine palatine forms. Through this imitation, the ritual of the increasingly centralized and bureaucratic states was clothed with the form of tradition.

through to the structures of the fifth and sixth centuries, with Heraclius as a terminus point. By 'high time' I refer to Guilland's term *la haute époque*, characterizing the Palace from Constantine the Great to Justinian I and pertaining to the descriptions of ceremonies by Peter the Patrician. See, for example, Guilland, *Topographie* 70.

Hartmut Ziche

Historians and the Economy: Zosimos and Prokopios on Fifth- and Sixth- Century Economic Development

1. Introduction

The economy as an autonomous category of historiographical discourse is largely absent from the production of Greek and Roman writers. Works which specifically focus on the economy, like for example Xenophon's *Poroi*, stand out as oddities. This does not mean that ancient histories of various genres are completely devoid of economic information, but elements which we perceive as economic history have, for the most part, different functions for contemporary writers and readers.[1] Information on the development of taxation under different reigns, for example, is to a large extent an element of political and biographical narrative which separates 'good' from 'bad' emperors. Remarks on the economies of cities in the Roman Empire are not foremost examples of economic history, but rather elements of panegyric praise — or lack thereof — for the vitality of urban civilisation. The mention of a vibrant market in this context has precisely the same value as the description of baths and aqueducts or theatres and city walls: it is an element of urban culture, not of urban economics.

The 'embeddedness' of economic narrative in ancient authors reflects Karl Polanyi's observation that the ancient economy as a whole is 'embedded' in the sense that economic interactions and development are part of overriding social and political developments.[2] In terms of the presentation of subject matter by

1. The status of the 'economy' and more specifically the use of 'economic' information by ancient historians is discussed in the introductory chapter of M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (2nd ed. London 1985). To this discussion of ancient practice can be usefully added Morley's (forthcoming) analysis of the complexities of economic narrative in modern historians of the ancient world. See N. Morley, 'Narrative Economy' *Ancient Economies, Modern Methodologies: Archaeology, Comparative History, Models and Institutions* ed. P. Bang, M. Ikeguchi & H. Ziche (Bari in press). The question of the status of economic information in ancient historians is also, in some sense, a sub-category of the more general problem concerning the treatment of 'historical facts' by ancient writers. This particular question has been re-examined recently — with an emphasis on Q. Curtius — by A.B. Bosworth, 'Plus ça change... Ancient Historians and Their Sources' *ClAnt* 22.2 (2003) 167–98, who argues for a very respectful treatment of facts by ancient historians. An argument which, to some extent, would seem to challenge Finley's basic thesis about the rhetorical use of historical and especially economic facts by ancient writers; a thesis which has received considerable statistical support from W. Scheidel, 'Finances, Figures and Fiction' *CQ* 46.1 (1996) 222–38.
    This paper, to a large extent, avoids the complex question of the veracity of ancient historians by concentrating on the narrative purpose economic information, true or fictitious, is put to.
2. See K. Polanyi, 'Aristotle Discovers the Economy' *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory* ed. K. Polanyi, C.M. Arensberg & H.W. Pearson (Glencoe Ill. 1957) 65–94.

ancient historians this means that their economic remarks, observations and interpretations are subordinate to their political or panegyric narrative. Economic developments are not seen as the driving force of historical events, but rather as a function of other types of determining historical forces. Taxation is a concrete example of this practice. 'Good' emperors, according to the judgement of ancient writers, are defined by a complex set of non-economic, political and personal characteristics, and thus *necessarily* design and implement moderate tax policies.

The important economic transformations which the Empire undergoes in the period from Constantine to Justinian — the expansion of ecclesiastical property and a quite radical reduction of the Empire's taxable area, to name just two examples — might suggest to a modern observer that elements of economic narrative should play a comparatively more prominent role in late Roman and early Byzantine historians. However this is not the case. Ammianus deals in quite some detail with the fiscal policies of Constantius, and even provides quantitative data for the reforms carried out by Julian in Gaul, but still his economic history argument serves a political history purpose.[3] There is no reason to doubt Ammianus' figures on the tax reduction per *caput* by Julian in Gaul, but what he is mainly interested in are not the economic motivations or consequences of this policy, but rather the illustration of the personal differences between Julian and Constantius. Julian is Ammianus' 'good' emperor, and fiscal moderation is one of the iconic qualities which distinguishes the 'good' from the 'not so good' emperor.

Another example for the failure of the economy to emerge as an autonomous category of historical development is the early fifth-century historian Olympiodorus. He is credited by Jones with an 'uncommon interest in economic history and a welcome taste for precise facts and figures',[4] but that Olympiodorus uses economic history not just as an embedded narrative in his general account of political history seems a doubtful assumption. His famous analysis of senatorial wealth — fragment 41 — probably serves a non-economic history purpose. His claim of enormous incomes in gold and produce of even modest Roman senators, as well as his list of staggering expenditure for praetorian games in Rome, is less a commentary on the development of the senatorial economy in the West than a rhetorical device to impress his senatorial readership in Constantinople. By highlighting the economic differences between the senatorial classes in East and West, Olympiodorus is making a moral point.

The only late Roman writer who makes the economy one of the focal points of his work is the mid fourth-century author of the *De rebus bellicis*. The first five chapters of this treatise deal with what we might call the state economy: questions of taxation, expenditure and efficiency.[5] However this work is hardly

3. For examples see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* 16.5.14–15 and 17.3.5–6 for Julian, as well as 21.16.17 for Constantius.
4. A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: 284–602* (Oxford 1964) 170.
5. The relationship between the fiscal concerns and suggestions of the *De rebus bellicis* and the actual economic problems of the period is discussed by P. Vanags, 'Taxation and Survival in the Late Fourth Century: The Anonymus' Programme of Economic

indicative of an emergent autonomous interest in economic developments during the late Roman period. Even though the author devotes a lot of space to the discussion of economic matters, this does not denote an identification of the economy as an independent domain of analysis. What the author of the *De rebus bellicis* is interested in is the *commoditas rei publicae*: the welfare of the Empire, a goal towards which a reform of the mint and ox-driven *liburnae* make a qualitatively equal contribution.

2.   The use of economic narrative in Zosimos and Prokopios

Having established no easily-apparent trend for an increasing prominence or independence of economic narrative in late Roman historians, we can now turn to the two case studies which provide the main focus of this paper: the place and function of elements of economic history in the *New History* of Zosimos[6] and the *Secret History* and *Buildings* of Prokopios.[7]

The two authors have been selected because, like the three examples briefly discussed in the introduction, they might at first sight seem likely to use economic narrative more extensively than most of their contemporaries and predecessors. Zosimos is part of the current of classicising historians of the Late Empire but, given his career as an *advocatus fisci*, it could be expected that he had a sophisticated understanding of macroeconomic developments in his time, and that this knowledge could be used to give the economy a more prominent, maybe even autonomous role in his general political narrative. A similar expectation can be formulated for Prokopios who, after all, was the personal secretary of Belisarios during much of his campaigning both in the East and in the West, and as such was surely aware of the complex problems of supplying and paying the imperial army. This awareness, we could speculate, implies not only an interest in the state economy, but could lead to a narrative which gives the economy a more decisive function as a factor of historical development.

The *Secret History* and *Buildings* moreover are not part of the genre of classical history. They might be classified, respectively, as invective and panegyric, thus again falling into well-established literary genres with their specific constraints on subject matter and presentation, but this genre classification is not imperative. Both in terms of their subject matter and their presentation the works of Prokopios are quite innovative: the *Secret History* is explicitly conceived as a companion volume to Prokopios' more conventional *History of the Wars* and the *Buildings* departs from classical panegyric not only in length, but also by the concentration on one particular feature of imperial achievement which is treated to the exclusion of all other aspects of the reign of

Reforms' *De rebus bellicis*, pt I, *Aspects of the De rebus bellicis* ed. M.W.C. Hassall. BAR Int.Ser. 63 (Oxford 1979) 47–57.

6.   For a general introduction to Zosimos as a historian see both the translation with introduction by R.T. Ridley, *Zosimus: New History*, ByzAus 2 (Melbourne 1982) and the commentary, edition and translation by F. Paschoud, *Zosime: Histoire nouvelle* (2nd rev. ed. Paris 2000).

7.   For a general treatment of Prokopios see A.M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985).

Justinian. Thus the *Secret History* and the *Buildings* could be expected to be fairly free of genre constraints and therefore, given Prokopios' probable knowledge of economic matters, open to an innovative use of economic narrative in a more 'modern' and autonomous sense.

These *potentials* for an innovative role of economic narrative, however, need to be examined in practice, an examination which can be organised into four parts. Elements of economic information in both historians mainly occur in four contexts of historical narrative: the discussion of cities and Roman civilisation; the development of the Christian Church; the characterisation and evaluation of emperors and their policies; as well as the discussion of military history. And, different from what might be expected given the personal backgrounds of the writers and the format of their work, the economic narrative in all these contexts is subordinate to a non-economic main purpose which the historians try to convey to their readers.

The economics of cities and civilisation

Economic narrative concerning questions of prosperity or general levels of development and infrastructure is used by both Zosimos and Prokopios to reinforce ideological arguments on varying degrees of civilisation. This is done both in general terms, comparing Romans and barbarians, and in the specific context of urban culture where the economic development of the cities serves to highlight the role of the *polis* as a centre of Roman civilisation in a less valued, rustic countryside.

The role of economic development as a marker of civilisation in the opposition between Romans and barbarians is especially apparent in Prokopios' description of the Tzani as a people who live by robbery and who are unskilled in agriculture (*Buildings*, 3.6.2–6 and 21). Even though Prokopios does mention the climatic and topographical unsuitability of the settlement area of the Tzani for agriculture — something which could be taken as a straightforward point on the economics of their land — his ideological purpose is quite clear in the sense that he also insists heavily on the intrinsic inability of the Tzani to pursue civilised agricultural activities. Thus the Tzani do own cattle, but they do not breed them efficiently or use them for ploughing their fields. The cattle of the Tzani are solely exploited for milk and meat. This presentation of the Tzani economy underlines their inferior status as quasi-nomadic barbarians, and stresses the superiority of the Romans. Prokopios' purpose in this comparably lengthy digression on the Tzani in his *Buildings* is to heighten the contrast with the new quality of Roman civilisation achieved through Justinian's efforts to improve the imperial infrastructure.

The digression on the economic situation of the Tzani is closely followed by an evocation of a group of civilised barbarians: the Goths of the Dory region (*Buildings*, 3.7.13–15). Unlike the Tzani these Goths are allies of the Empire and their description as 'good' barbarians is reinforced by Prokopios' narrative concerning their economic situation and activities. Not only do the Dory Goths occupy fertile land, but they are skilled farmers producing good crops.

Whether the comparative economic situation of Tzani and Goths corresponds to an objective analysis on the part of Prokopios is beyond the scope of the

present discussion. What is important to realise is that comments on the economic situation of barbarian tribes do not occur at random in Prokopios' narrative, but are closely linked to his presentation of barbarians as more or less friendly to the Romans — and therefore more or less civilised and thus ultimately more or less developed. This use of economic narrative to describe relations between Romans and barbarians is linked to Prokopios' general panegyric frame of reference. If the *Buildings* can be classified as a panegyric, it is not a straightforward panegyric of the qualities of the emperor, but rather of the qualities of the Empire. What Prokopios tries to impress on his readers is the superiority of Roman civilisation, embodied in its urban culture and corresponding infrastructures. The spread of *romanitas* in the East not only justifies the Empire's right to dominate its internal barbarians, but also justifies the extension of this type of civilisation back to the western Mediterranean.

A very similar point on the comparative level of civilisation is made by Zosimos when he describes the plunder of Nicomedia by the Goths in the third century (*New History*, 1.35.1–2). Nicomedia is described as a great and wealthy city, whereby right from the beginning of the episode a fundamental contrast between Roman civilisation and Gothic barbarism is set up. Even though the citizens of Nicomedia have managed to flee the city, taking their more valuable possessions with them, the barbarians are still impressed by the vast wealth they find in the abandoned city. After loading their plunder on ships and wagons the Goths then set fire to the city. Here again we are not dealing with a straightforward argument on the urban economy — even though perhaps Nicomedia really was an outstandingly rich city — but with an opposition between the respective levels of civilisation, and hence superiority, of Romans and barbarians: the Goths may be militarily able to take a Roman city, but they are still awed by its superior civilisation and reveal their barbarian nature by burning it.

Economic narrative as a marker of ideologically determined perceptions of civilisation and superiority also operates in an exclusively Roman context: the exaltation of cities as the only true representatives of Roman — and more specifically Roman elite — culture. Prokopios on two occasions describes the elevation of villages to city status.[8] In the first instance, the case of Vellurus, the information Prokopios provides seems quite straightforwardly economic: Vellurus has grown in wealth and population to a size comparable to a city, and thus Justinian grants it the status of a *polis* and provides it with fortifications. However also here the economic narrative is intertwined with an overriding ideological motive: Justinian confers city status on Vellurus to make the village 'worthy of himself', an idea which clearly implies that economic prosperity in ꞁꞁꞁꞁf is not a sufficient marker of civilisation, unless it is backed up by the political concept of *polis* status.

The subordination of economic development to political motivations is even more evident in the case of Caputvada, which Justinian elevates to *polis* status as a memoria to the landing of the Roman army in Africa. Once Justinian has

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created the basic features of urban infrastructure, the economy of Caputvada transforms itself and peasants become city dwellers, leading a civilised life around the *forum* and sitting in the *curia*. The point here is not to question the realism of Prokopios' account of economic transformation, but rather to show how in the perception of his contemporaries urban economic development is subordinate to political factors. Cities are political entities whose status is confirmed by a certain set of urban amenities. The urban economy on the other hand is a feature of city life and not necessarily perceived as an essential basis of urban development.

Within the description of cities, economic narrative plays a similar role in both Zosimos and Prokopios. Mention of economic prosperity and vitality stands beside, and is given qualitatively equal importance to, other non-economic elements of the canon which defines urban civilisation. Zosimos is indeed very explicit in not assigning economic factors a crucial role for the development of urban culture. In keeping with the general deterministic outlook of his history, he answers his own question as to the origins of Constantinople's greatness and prosperity by pointing his readers to an ancient oracle which predicts the future of Byzantium (*New History*, 2.36.1 ff). His dismissal of any mundane factors of urban development does not imply, however, that Zosimos is unable to recognise economic activity as one of the intrinsic elements of urban culture. When treating the foundation of Constantinople Zosimos also talks about the growth of the city as conditioned by its ability to attract different and new groups of population: merchants are specifically included among these groups (*New History*, 2.35.1).

The redevelopment of cities, as manifestations of Roman civilisation, is one of the main themes of Prokopios' praise for Justinian in his *Buildings*. As in Zosimos, the economic prosperity and vitality of the cities is one of the intrinsic elements of urban culture, but it is neither the only nor the most important factor. The development of the harbour of Anaplus (*Buildings*, 1.8.6–10), and its use by various merchants, thus can be read not only as a commentary on the economy of the city, but really as a part of the overall project of the emperor to strengthen Roman civilisation. Even more striking, perhaps, is Prokopios' detailed description of the construction of granaries on Tenedos (*Buildings*, 5.1.7–16) and the use made of them by grain merchants operating between Alexandria and Constantinople. For a modern audience this might read like an account focused on the grain trade, destined for the market of Constantinople, but for Prokopios this section is part of his narrative of the development of Constantinople as an imperial capital. His focus is not the development of Tenedos as a trans-shipment centre, but indeed the broader 'welfare of the imperial city'.

The numerous occurrences of imperial projects linked to the water supply of cities can be interpreted in the same way: of course, we are dealing at first sight with the improvement of an infrastructure relevant to the urban economy, but for Prokopios the construction of aqueducts and reservoirs is on the one hand — mainly when he talks about the water supply for baths and fountains, at Ciberis (*Buildings*, 4.10.20–21) and Constantina (*Buildings*, 2.5.9–11) for example — something relevant to the development of urban culture, and on the other hand an element of his narrative dealing with the military security of the Empire — as in

the case of the water works of the fortress city of Dara (*Buildings*, 2.2.17–19 and 2.3.24–35). Reservoirs are not just features of the urban economy, but also, and probably more importantly, part of an overall imperial programme to increase the security of the Empire from the barbarian threat. The ideological importance of the urban economy is further underlined by Prokopios' chapter on the cities of Africa. Here it is even more obvious than in the treatment of the cities of the imperial core that the spread of urban prosperity is part of an overall project of reimposing Roman civilisation on the reconquered provinces of the Empire. A good example for this function of economic narrative in Prokopios is the city of Ptolemaïs where Justinian's building programme is explicitly presented as the reversal of the decline of a once-prosperous city (*Buildings*, 6.2.9–11).

Christian economies

The pagan historian Zosimos and the Christian Prokopios evidently do not attribute the same value to the increasingly central social position of the Church in the Empire, but both use elements of economic argument to highlight this development. Zosimos describes the spread of unproductive monasticism and the acquisition of property by the Church as an economic trend of such importance that it reduces the rest of imperial society to poverty (*New History*, 5.23.4), an observation closely echoed by Prokopios who describes the wealth of the Arian Church as superior to the whole senatorial order or any other class of property owners in the Empire (*Secret History*, 11.16–20). The purpose of this seemingly economic narrative is the same in both historians: Zosimos expresses politically motivated disapproval of Christianity, and supports his argument of danger for the state by stressing the economic importance of Church property. Prokopios expresses his disapproval of Justinian, more specifically his policy of property confiscation, and highlights the significance of his argument by claiming that the emperor expropriated even the largest property owner of the Empire. Both historians are not interested in the ecclesiastical economy itself, but use economic information to underline the relevance of their respective expressions of political disapproval.

The construction and adornment of churches throughout the cities of the Empire plays a major role in Prokopios' *Buildings*. The context of church construction however is not economic; the vast building programme of Justinian is presented, on the one hand, as part of the narrative of securing the Empire: churches are the spiritual counterpart to the reconstruction of city fortifications. On the other hand churches for Prokopios are markers of Roman civilisation standing beside baths and theatres as essential elements of urban culture.

Given the frequency with which churches occur in Prokopios' text, it is perhaps striking that in the *Buildings* there is no mention of the economic implications of the ecclesiastical building programme. The only time expenditure is directly referred to is in the context of the Mother of God church in Jerusalem, where Prokopios talks not only about the building itself, but also the very generous endowment (*Buildings*, 5.6.26).

This may seem surprising, because in the *Secret History* (19.5–8) Prokopios is very critical of Justinian's waste of state funds on construction projects. However, even there, churches, and indeed expenditure for the improvement of

the civic infrastructure, are not included in the charge of wasting state funds. The absence of a treatment of the economic consequence of church building thus again underlines the point that economic narrative in Prokopios is firmly subordinate to both panegyric praise and invective criticism. His selectivity on the topic of imperial expenditure shows that Justinian's building programme is interpreted by Prokopios more in ideological than in economic terms: expenditure is only a topic of discussion when the author does not approve of its purpose — payments to barbarians or constructions on the coast. Where Prokopios agrees with construction projects they are praised for different political reasons and their economic implications are not considered.

The economy: imperial policy, imperial morality

The largest number of examples of economic narrative in both Zosimos and Prokopios is found in the context of the moral judgement of emperors — and to a lesser extent their policies. Given that both historians are writing for an audience composed of the members of the economic elite of the Empire, it is not surprising that most of this deals with questions of taxation. However the fundamental linkage between the character of an emperor and his economic policies is established by Zosimos in very general terms: he implies for example that the avarice of Severus Alexander is caused by his weak imperial authority (*New History*, 1.12.1–2) and that the obscure birth of Maximinus is directly responsible for his persecution of tax defaulters and his 'plundering' of the cities (*New History*, 1.13.3).

There is no intention in Zosimos to present an objective analysis of the economic impact of a given fiscal policy. The efficient collection of taxes is always a feature of tyrannical rule. The closest Zosimos gets to seemingly dissociating his fiscal narrative from polemical condemnation of an emperor's reign is perhaps in his summary evaluation of the reign of Valentinian where fiscal rigour is listed together with correcting the faults of the magistrates, the timely payment of the army and the prohibition of nocturnal sacrifice (*New History*, 4.3.2). The last element of this list however shows that — for the pagan Zosimos — Valentinian is a 'bad' emperor, and therefore that reading the account of his fiscal rigour as an example of an efficient economic policy, of which the historian approves, would be a misunderstanding. The point is reinforced in the following narrative (*New History*, 4.16.1–3) where Zosimos describes the levy of increasing taxes as a direct consequence of Valentinian's lack of military success against the barbarians.

Fiscal policies and their disastrous economic impact figure prominently in Prokopios' *Secret History*. However, even though Prokopios talks in some — in part technical — detail about the various taxes imposed by Justinian (*Secret History*, 23), and the ways in which they are collected, the purpose once again is not an economic analysis of fiscal policy. Taxes are just one element of the overall political charge against Justinian for being responsible for the decline of the Empire. As such, taxes are subordinate to a general socio-political narrative and their contribution towards the alleged destruction of the Empire cannot be distinguished from other factors like the encouragement of the circus factions — or the fact that Justinian and Theodora are actually demons in human form. The moral wickedness of Justinian's fiscal policy is especially apparent in Prokopios'

account of hᴏw after the plague the taxes of the dead are imposed on the surviving landowners (*Secret History*, 23.17–22). The moral — not economic — emphasis of the analysis is made very clear by the fact that this form of redistribution of taxes is of course not a new feature of the reign of Justinian, something which both Prokopios and his readers are aware of. However, given that Prokopios' economic narrative is embedded in his moral charge against the emperor, the rational discussion of a fiscal principle which ultimately derives from the Hellenistic *epibole* is not the aim of the discussion.

A second type of economic narrative which figures prominently in the evaluation of emperors by the two historians concerns the complex of imperial expenditure. Generally speaking, given again that Prokopios and Zosimos are writing for a literate audience which necessarily is part of the economic elite of the Empire, and thus represents a class of substantial taxpayers, high expenditure, even though moderns historians might see this as having a positive economic impact, is normally presented within the context of the 'bad' emperor theme. The themes of rigorous taxation and high expenditure are usually combined within the canon of characteristics which mark out emperors the historians disapprove of. The fact that this is a strong ideological link is underlined by the near absence of any mention of expenditure in Prokopios' panegyric *Buildings*. Even though it is obvious that the sumptuous building programme of Justinian implies very important expenditure — a point stressed in the *Secret History* — cost is mentioned only twice in the *Buildings*: once with the construction of the Hagia Sophia (*Buildings*, 1.1.23–24) and once with the construction of a road near Antioch (*Buildings*, 5.5.3).

A prototypical example of the linkage in economic narrative of excessive expenditure and excessive taxation is provided by Zosimos' condemnation of Constantine.[9] Constantine, who for Zosimos is a 'bad' emperor for political and ideological reasons, is depicted as wasting the Empire's budget for useless constructions which moreover are of low quality. This polemical device used by Zosimos, linking expenditure with low quality buildings, avoids the dilemma Prokopios finds himself in where on the one hand the historian clearly takes pride in the revitalisation of urban culture by Justinian's building programme and where on the other hand he tries to paint the emperor as a stereotypical example for the waste of state funds, a dilemma which is solved by Prokopios by spreading the condemnation of excessive expenditure and the pride taken in Roman civilisation over two books.

The political-polemical, not strictly rational-economic purpose of economic narrative concerning imperial expenditure is even more obvious in Prokopios'

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9. Zosim. 2.32.1 and 2.38.1–4. The observation that fiscal policy in Zosimos' narrative is used rather as a rhetorical device to mark Constantine as a 'bad' emperor than as an objective and analytical comment on the economic implications of Imperial taxation and expenditure is underlined by Chastagnol's observation of obvious parallels with the Life of Aurelian — a positive counter-image to Constantine as far as taxation and expenditure are concerned — in the *Historia Augusta*. See A. Chastagnol, 'Zosime II, 38 et l'Histoire Auguste' *BHAC* 1964/5 (1966) 43–78.

Secret History.[10] Justinian is depicted as expropriating private properties for the sole purpose of expending the funds collected for — in Prokopios' view — useless purposes: 'insane display or unnecessary bribes to barbarians' (*Secret History*, 8.31–33). Justinian's economic and fiscal policies are summarised as a cause for universal poverty. It seems quite clear to me that in this kind of historiographical caricature economic 'information' is not used as a narrative which in itself has any intrinsic value of truth.

Neither the treatment of Constantine by Zosimos nor the treatment of Justinian by Prokopios are meant to provide objective information on imperial spending policy. Nor are they meant to represent a proper analysis of the economic consequences. The alleged economic consequences always remain in the vague domain of the phantasmal and apocalyptic: cities forsaken by their inhabitants and fathers forced to prostitute their daughters. What both historians are trying to achieve through the elements of economic narrative which they use is a reinforcement of the political message of their work.

Economic warfare and the economics of war

If economic history, as we have seen, plays a subordinate and functional role in the historical narrative of Zosimos and Prokopios, military history on the other hand is often prominent. Thus in this last section we are going to examine how some elements of seemingly economic narrative are used to enhance standard features of historical discourse in this domain. Two main models can be identified: on the one hand economic information is used as an element of military history narrative, underlining the historians' judgement of a given choice of strategy or tactics, and on the other hand it is used to help evaluate the outcomes of military action, a function in which economic narrative comes close to the role it plays in the evaluation of emperors.

Perhaps most interesting here is the role which plunder and the forceful requisitioning of military supplies play. According to the context, making the civilian population pay for warfare on its territory can be judged both positively and negatively. The requisitioning of supplies and the economic disruption this necessarily causes, problems of which both Zosimos and Prokopios are aware, are presented as problematic only where the historian disapproves of a general for other, independent reasons.

In this sense Belisarios' attempts to raise funds in Italy, despite Prokopios' own admission that this process is a necessity, given the shortage of imperial funds, is presented as the straightforward result of Belisarios' avarice which brings ruin to the population of Italy (*Secret History*, 5.4–6). Zosimos on the other hand praises Auxonius, the praetorian prefect of Valens, for his handling of the tributes he imposes in preparing the emperor's Persian campaign. Auxonius not only collects all the supplies necessary, but does so without oppressing the taxpayers with overly heavy exactions (*New History*, 4.10.4). Neither in the one

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10. For this reason the attempt by C.D. Gordon, 'Procopius and Justinian's Financial Policies' *Phoenix* 13.1 (1959) 23–30, to match 'economic information' provided by Prokopios to economic realities, seems to me at best to miss the principal point of the historian's argument, and at worst doomed to complete failure.

nor in the other case however do the historians present a detailed economic argument analysing the forms the requisitions take and the precise economic impact they have. Whether requisitions are economically bearable or not solely depends on who imposes them. Military tributes thus are not an economic factor, but once again rather constitute an ideological point. What is important is not their actual economic impact, but in fact their compatibility with the general narrative. The fact that requisitions are not a feature of economic but of political narrative is even further underlined by their ambiguity: they can be markers for both the good and the bad general without requiring any form of technical analysis.

One might think that the evaluation of the economic impact of warfare depends primarily on who does the plundering, i.e. a modern observer would expect that only in the case of a Roman army plundering a town or the countryside is this seen as positive. This model should prevail if the narrative of economic warfare were part of a strictly rational discourse on the economy. However, once again, this is not really the case: 'economic' warfare is as much a moral as an economic category. Admittedly, some examples of this type of narrative are very straightforward: during Julian's march into Persia, the Persians try to delay the advance of the Roman army by destroying both the infrastructure and the supplies stored in the cities. The Romans on the other hand seize as much produce as they can and destroy the rest (*New History*, 3.27.2–28.1). In this example the economic and the political/moral functions of Zosimos' narrative coincide. Each side acts in a way that is economically rational and the historian approves of their choice of strategy.

More interesting is Zosimos' narrative concerning the military officers who take advantage of the Goths trying to cross the Danube into imperial territory (*New History*, 4.20.6). Even though on the face of it the situation is very much the same as with Julian's army in Persia — Romans exploiting barbarians under military pressure — the historian here roundly condemns the Roman officials in question. What we see once again is that the economic cannot be separated from the rest of the narrative. Even though the officers may be acting rationally in an economic sense, Zosimos castigates their 'gratification of perverted desires' (4.20.6), because this whole episode is part of the narrative leading up to the defeat of Adrianople. Seizing property from the barbarians is something Zosimos approves of only when it is adequately placed in an overall narrative context. As in the case of military requisitioning and its economic impact, plundering barbarians may be economically straightforward, but for Zosimos it is morally ambivalent depending on context and narrative outcomes.[11]

Finally, still in the same context, we can discuss Zosimos' treatment of Alaric's siege of Rome (*New History*, 5.39.1–2, 5.41.4–6, 5.50.3 and 6.6.1–3). Again we have something which looks like economic narrative: Alaric uses an economic blockade to force the Roman government to accede to his demands,

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11. The term 'narrative outcomes' is chosen deliberately because the actual outcome of both episodes is of course the same: a Roman defeat. The difference is purely narrative: Julian's campaign is presented as a victory, whereas the Adrianople episode is presented as the defeat, which it actually is.

demands which in turn are expressed in economic terms: payment, land and subsidies. In addition to this, Zosimos also gives us some information on the economic situation in Rome: *annonae* and senatorial wealth, for example. However here, too, moral and economic arguments are combined. The demands made by Alaric are not listed by the historian to give the reader straightforward economic information, but they rather serve to highlight Alaric's moderation which compares favourably — in Zosimos' view — with the corruption of the imperial government. Likewise the payment by the Senate is noteworthy to him not because it shows the wealth of Rome and its economic elites, but rather because it reveals the 'wickedness' of the senators who use precious metal from the pagan cult statues to meet it. In fact, economic warfare even directed against the Roman state is not necessarily condemned by the historian as long as it is part of a moral equation where the barbarian plunderer is morally superior to the Roman defenders.

As these three examples show, the economic aspects of warfare do not stand in a separate, autonomous category of historical narrative, but they are fully integrated into a wider picture of moral and political motivations, actions and outcomes.

A second way in which economic narrative is introduced by Zosimos and Prokopios into the context of military history sees economic statements used to underline value judgements on the outcome of military campaigns. This is especially apparent in the *Secret History* where Prokopios tries to devalue the military achievements of Justinian, a task made very difficult by the conventions of traditional historiography where military success and the favourable assessment of a reign are almost invariably linked. Commentary on the economic consequences of Justinian's victories allows Prokopios to change the impact which the description of victories and conquest would otherwise have on his readers. Prokopios even in the *Secret History* acknowledges the fact of the African reconquest, but he devalues it by claiming that the reconquered Africa has been emptied of its productive population (*Secret History*, 18.4–8). The result which the African victory produces is in fact exactly the same as the outcome of the Saracen incursions in the East: an empty countryside (*Secret History*, 18.22–24). In economic terms victory equals defeat.

Economic 'information' in this context is rather economic rhetoric. It is possible that Prokopios indeed did have a negative opinion on the future economic viability of the African provinces, but this is not the principal motivation which shapes his narrative. The Roman victory in the West must result in economic desolation, because only in this way can it be insinuated that the victory in fact is a defeat and not a positive achievement for which Justinian could take credit.

3. Conclusion

It may be possible to identify still further models for the use of economic narrative in Zosimos and Prokopios, but the four points which we have discussed seem sufficient already to support a general conclusion. Elements of economic information and instances of economic narrative serve a variety of sophisticated purposes in the production of the two historians, but despite their political and

administrative careers, which probably give them a comparatively sophisticated understanding of economic processes and developments, there is no example where the economy stands entirely on its own and where an economic development is discussed purely for its own sake. An account of economic developments does not generate the historical narrative in our two Late Roman historians, but indeed their political and moral historical narrative is enhanced by economic narrative. Some elements of this narrative may be crucial to the overall storyline, in the re-evaluation of emperors, for example. Nevertheless the basic framework and the direction of the story is always predetermined, and economic narrative is only one of the tools the historians use to convince their audience of the veracity of their historical analysis.

For the modern reader of Zosimos and Prokopios this constitutes an additional problem: economic information is not only sparse and selective, it is also subordinate to the political or moral purpose of the historian. This does not imply that it is *a priori* impossible for us to treat some of the economic narrative in these authors as economic information, usable for our own historical narratives of the period, but it makes this exploitation a lot more difficult. What we have to take into account when using economic information provided by these historians is not only the plausibility — surely Justinian did not kill a trillion people[12] — but also the finality of economic narrative.

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12. Prokopios, *Secret History*, 18.4. Even though the 'myriad myriads of myriads' in this particular example are easily recognised as a mere rhetorical device, it cannot necessarily be assumed that other, apparently more plausible figures in the text do not have the same rhetorical status and indicate an approximation of 'real' statistical data.

Tamara Lewit

Stories in the Ground:
Settlement Remains and Archaeology as Narrative in the Fourth- to Sixth-Century Eastern Mediterranean

What can we know of Byzantine culture and society through the unintended narrative of its physical remains? Archaeological excavations of the last thirty years have uncovered urban and rural settlement remains, which have changed our view of life in the fourth- to sixth-century eastern Mediterranean. The astonishing explosion of rural settlement, its increasing density, intensive rural production and spread of eastern Mediterranean trade products have been increasingly recognized over the last decade. At the same time, eastern cities show evidence of a different evolution, in which the fine classical monumental buildings and spaces — both public and private — were subdivided and encroached upon, and classical aesthetic principles modified in favour of more utilitarian goals. What does the juxtaposition of these two developments suggest about Byzantine society in this period?

Settlement and production

In the last decade, an astonishing fourth- to sixth-century explosion of settlement and rural economic activity in the East has been increasingly discovered and recognized. While both rural settlement and trade seem to contract in the West from the fifth century, the fourth- to sixth-century eastern Mediterranean seems to have experienced a widespread and striking rural settlement boom.

The form of this settlement differs markedly from both the villa structures of the West in the Roman period and the small wooden hamlets of Early Medieval Europe: while isolated farmsteads and 'villa' style estate centres have been found in the East, they are a far less dominant feature of the rural landscape. Rather, eastern settlement is more often characterised by villages, with many small, often stone-built houses, usually without formal street plan or public buildings, except for at least one church or synagogue. These villages are clearly agricultural in nature — oil or wine presses are typically associated with the houses, and often animals were kept on the ground floor. While houses may differ in size, there are few examples of radical distinctions of rank.[1] Thus the settlement explosion can

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1. See, for example, H. Kennedy & J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria in the 5th and 7th Centuries: Trends and Problems' *NMS* 32 (1988) 65–90; P-L. Gatier, 'Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4ème–7ème siècle): étude régionale' *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 2, *Land Use and Settlement Patterns* ed. G.R.D. King & A.M. Cameron. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1 (Princeton 1994) 17–48; C. Foss, 'The Near Eastern Countryside in Late Antiquity: A Review Article' *The Roman and Byzantine Near East* ed. J. Humphrey. *JRA* Supp.Ser. 14 (Ann Arbour 1995) 213–34; Y. Hirschfeld, 'Farms and Villages in Byzantine Palestine' *DOP* 51 (1997) 33–71; M. Rautman, 'The Busy Countryside of Late Roman Cyprus' *RDAC* (2000) 317–31. For summary and analysis of the contrasting patterns of western villas and settlement see T. Lewit,

also be interpreted as a productive boom, an assumption confirmed by the marked spread of eastern trade products which will be discussed below.

Recent discoveries of such buzzing rural settlement are consistent and widespread. In Syria, Tate has confirmed the much earlier work of Tchalenko, pointing to a great expansion and enrichment in fourth- to sixth-century northern Syria, with intensified rural settlement and oil production, and enlargements of village homes.[2] East of Petra, the fifth to sixth century saw an intensification of settlement and land-use.[3] In Jordan, a number of surveys have revealed a significant increase in rural settlement in the Byzantine period.[4] With regard to Palestine, there is extensive archaeological evidence for prosperous farmsteads and villages, with large oil and wine presses, and often intensification of land-use and settlement, from the fourth century onwards. There was new settlement and cultivation in mountain, coastal and southern regions. Survey evidence suggests that the mid-second to fourth centuries was the peak settlement era for most of this region.[5] This picture is supported by excavations of agricultural villages, which have also revealed significant new building from the fourth century; an example is the village of Chorazin, built mostly in the fourth century.[6] A later floruit has emerged for the Dor hinterland, with a great increase in settlement and commercial viticulture only in the second half of the fifth century.[7]

In Asia Minor, surveys in the central region of Lycia show an expansion in the number of villages and farms, probably in the fifth to sixth centuries,

Villas, Farms and the Late Roman Rural Economy 3rd to 5th c. AD. BAR Int.Ser. 568 (Oxford 2004), rev. ed. of *Agricultural Production in the Roman Economy, AD 200–400* (Oxford 1991); A. Chavarria & T. Lewit, 'Recent Archaeological Research on the Late-Antique Countryside: A Bibliographic Essay' *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* ed. C. Machado, W. Bowden & L. Lavan, Late Antique Archaeology 2 (Leiden 2004) 3–51.

2.   G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine* (3 vols Paris 1953–8); G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du IIe au VIIe siècle: un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l'Antiquité* (Paris 1992).

3.   Z.T. Fiema, 'Late-antique Petra and its Hinterland: Recent Research and New Interpretations' *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research* ed. J. Humphrey, *JRA* Supp.Ser. 49 (Portsmouth R.I. 2002) 191–252 esp. 231.

4.   A. Walmsley, 'Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: Urban Prosperity in Late Antiquity' *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* ed. N. Christie & S.T. Loseby (Aldershot 1996) 126–58.

5.   Hirschfeld, 'Farms'; D. Bar, 'Was There a 3rd-c. Economic Crisis in Palestine?' *Near East* 43–54; Z. Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London 1994) 437–40.

6.   Hirschfeld, 'Farms'.

7.   S. Gibson, S. Kingsley & J. Clarke, 'Town and Country in the Southern Carmel: Report on the Landscape Archaeology Project at Dor (LAPD)' *Levant* 31 (1999) 71–121; S.A. Kingsley & M. Decker, eds, *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean During Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2001).

although dating is uncertain.[8] In Pisidia, recent survey has shown a pattern of increased settlement and reoccupation of earlier sites in the fourth to fifth centuries.[9] A dramatic fifth- to seventh-century increase in the number of rural sites occupied, their size, and the intensity of land-use has been revealed by survey on the Konya Plain.[10] Again, this period shows the highest overall number of sites ever recorded in both these regions.

A quite diverse range of patterns has been revealed by surveys in different regions of Greece. A number of these, although by no means all, show some intensification of settlement from the fourth to sixth centuries. In the Lasithi region of Crete, the number of fourth- to sixth-century rural sites seems to have exceeded that of any earlier period.[11] Excavations and survey projects in Cyprus demonstrate a diminution of rural settlement in the second to fourth centuries, but a new increase in the number of rural sites during the fifth to sixth centuries in what has been termed 'the busy countryside of late antique Cyprus'.[12] The excavation of the rural centre of Kopetra has revealed a prosperous agricultural village of about 4 ha., which was first occupied in the fifth century, and grew substantially in the sixth century, when three churches were built.[13]

The evidence of field surveys and statistics regarding occupation levels in different periods must always be treated with due caution. Some significant problems which many researchers have often pointed out in relation to such data are the issues of chronologically uneven period divisions, which invalidate raw comparisons of numbers of sites per period; and the perennial problems of pottery dating and re-dating, which have particularly bedevilled the post-Classical periods.[14] However, even taking into account such issues, the evidence for a boom in settlement is so consistent, and so widespread, that it is now generally accepted as a reality. The evidence of earlier field surveys has been confirmed by more recent surveys based on more developed pottery dating, and by the testimony of excavated sites such as those mentioned above.

8. C. Foss, 'The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age' *DOP* 48 (1994) 1–52.
9. H. Vanhaverbeke, F. Martens, M. Waelkens & J. Poblome, 'Late Antiquity in the territory of Sagalassos (Pisidia)' *Countryside* 247–79.
10. D. Baird, 'Settlement Expansion on the Konya Plain, Anatolia: 5th–7th Centuries AD' *Countryside* 219–46.
11. J.L. Bintliff, 'Regional Survey, Demography and the Rise of Complex Societies in the Aegean' *JFA* 24 (1997) 8–38.
12. Rautman, 'Busy'; M. Rautman, 'Rural Society and Economy in Late Roman Cyprus' *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* ed. T.S. Burns & J.W. Eadie (East Lansing 2001) 241–62; M. Rautman, *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity: Kalavasos-Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley. JRA* Supp.Ser. 52 (Portsmouth R.I. 2003).
13. M.L. Rautman & M.C. McClellan, 'Excavations at Late Roman Kopetra (Cyprus)' *JRA* 5 (1992) 265–71; M. Rautman, 'Valley and Village in Late Roman Cyprus' *Countryside* 189–218.
14. See, for example, M. Millett, 'Roman Towns and Their Territories: An Archaeological Perspective' *City and Country in the Ancient World* ed. J. Rich & A. Wallace-Hadrill (London 1991) 169–89; Safrai, *Economy* 437–40; J.F. Cherry, 'Vox POPULI: Landscape Archaeology in Mediterranean Europe' *JRA* 15 (2002) 561–73, with bibliography.

The assumption that this settlement explosion can also be interpreted as a productive boom is confirmed by a marked spread of eastern trade products which is also becoming evermore apparent through recent archaeological discoveries. The fifth century saw what has been described as a 'flood' of eastern Mediterranean export production, attested by both amphorae and pottery.[15] Fine pottery, wine and oil amphorae and coarse ware were apparently intensively traded throughout the eastern Mediterranean from the fifth century.[16] In spite of the political break-up and apparent contraction of trade in the West, such eastern products have a strong presence as far as Gaul,[17] and have even been documented as far as Ireland and Britain in the sixth century.[18]

The transformation of towns

While the transformation of the eastern countryside and the explosion of trade have received some attention in the last ten years, the contemporaneous transformation of eastern towns has been the subject of little interpretative work. This is in contrast to the intensive study of late antique western towns, which has been something of a growth industry in the last decade.[19]

While eastern towns were undoubtedly still centres of vigorous activity and continued building,[20] many urban sites see significant changes in style and spirit from around the fifth century. In a seminal article of 1985,[21] Kennedy — who himself drew on the earlier work of Sauvaget — postulated a conceptual and physical change to the cities of Syria in this period. Kennedy outlined the process of 'encroachment', by which small shops, houses and other utilitarian

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15. P. Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean, AD 400–700: The Ceramic Evidence.* BAR Int.Ser. 604 (Oxford 1995).
16. C. Abadie-Reynal, 'Céramique et commerce dans le basin égéen du IVe au VIIe siècle' *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin* ed. C. Morrisson & J. Lefort (2 vols Paris 1989) 1:143–62; *Economy and Exchange.*
17. C. Haas, 'Alexandria and the Mareotis Region' *Urban Centers* 47–62, esp. 52; R.B. Hitchner, 'Meridional Gaul, Trade and the Mediterranean Economy in Late Antiquity' *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* ed. J.F. Drinkwater & H. Elton (Cambridge 1992) 122–31.
18. J.M. Wooding, 'Cargoes in Trade Along the Western Seaboard' *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain* ed. K.R. Dark (Woodbridge 1996) 67–82; E. Campbell, 'The Archaeological Evidence for External Contacts: Imports, Trade and Economy in Celtic Britain AD 400–800' *External Contacts* 83–96.
19. See, for example, M.O.H. Carver, *Arguments in Stone: Archaeological Research and the European Town in the First Millennium* (Oxford 1993); *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)* ed. G. Ripoll & J.M. Gurt (Barcelona 2000); *Towns in Decline AD 100–1600* ed. T.R. Slater (Aldershot 2000); G.P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier & N. Christie, eds, *Towns and their Territories Between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden 2000), with some chapters on the East, but mostly focussed on the West. A notable exception is L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late-antique Urbanism.* JRA Supp.Ser. 42 (Portsmouth, R.I. 2001), with many chapters on the East.
20. See, for example, Walmsley, 'Prosperity' 126–58.
21. H. Kennedy, 'From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria' *PPres* 106 (1985) 3–27.

buildings were built over wide classical streets and open *fora* of cities in the Syrian region, disregarding the earlier monumental urban plan, and encroaching on public space. He attributed this to a change in priorities, and to an increase in the relative importance of commercial activity in the towns.

In the twenty years since his publication, excavations have confirmed the existence of a process of physical change to sixth-century cities, and have revealed that this phenomenon is paralleled in many regions of the Byzantine world beyond Syria. The phenomenon of encroachment appears consistently across many regions, including Palestine, Asia Minor and Arabia. Encroachment is also consistently accompanied by phenomena such as the disuse, or sub-division and reuse, often for industrial installations and small shops, of grand monumental public spaces such as the agora or baths. Tsafrir and Foerster describe a 'typical Byzantine approach' whereby 'monumental public buildings and large open squares, once the pride of the Roman city, were removed or modified in order to make room for commercial or social needs'.[22]

In Palestine, excavations at Scythopolis have revealed a typical process of evolution in this city, beginning in the fourth and intensifying in the fifth to sixth centuries: grand (and pagan) buildings — such as the amphitheatre and theatre — were abandoned. Shops were built in the monumental colonnade and its deliberately dismantled reflection pool. Classical-style open and decorative spaces were replaced by new, more irregular commercial suburbs. The city was refocussed on new suburbs outside the old civic centre. Yet at the same time the city reached its peak in size and probable population, and fine church and synagogue buildings indicate prosperity. Similar processes occurred elsewhere: at Gerasa colonnades were blocked, houses and shops encroached onto the streets, and ephemeral structures were built in the south *cardo* and oval piazza.[23]

In Asia Minor, tile kilns, small houses and workshops filled the former agora at Hierapolis in the fifth century; and at Ephesos, the grand *collegium* was sub-divided into small houses and shops in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, to be rebuilt as artisan workshops with a lime-kiln in the sixth.[24] At both Thebes and Demetrias in Thessaly, formerly grand decorative areas of basilicas were subdivided by rubble masonry and reused for more utilitarian functions in the sixth century.[25]

Conclusions: What is the story told by the physical remains?

The traditional interpretation of these types of changes — that they are signs of economic impoverishment and social decline — is increasingly unlikely. The fact that such changes took place in the context of an eastern agricultural and

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22. Y. Tsafrir & G. Foerster, 'From Scythopolis to Baysan — Changing Concepts of Urbanism' *Land Use* 105–9.
23. Tsafrir-Foerster, 'Concepts' 98–106, 110–11.
24. M. Whittow, 'Recent Research on the Late-Antique City in Asia Minor' *Urbanism* 141–9.
25. O. Karagiorgu, 'Demetrias and Thebes: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Two Thessalian Port Cities' *Urbanism* 182–215.

trade boom suggests that their transformation was a product not of economic decline but of changing priorities.

Around the fifth to sixth century, the character of both rural and urban settlement in the Byzantine East was profoundly altered. The evidence discussed here reveals both a boom in rural settlement and a productive and commercial burgeoning of the East. At the same time, transformation in the buildings and planning of the cities suggests that, in the context of late antique socio-political change, people were formulating a way of life which reflected a new mentality.

Timothy E. Gregory

Narrative of the Byzantine Landscape

Narrative as a concept can be perceived and examined in a variety of ways. It is, by nature, something that must be given and received, told and heard (or seen). This much is obvious from nearly all the articles in this volume, but I wish to explore the duality of the phenomenon from a perspective not commonly considered, that of the 'narrative of landscape.' Thus, I will argue that the human landscape, including what we may call the built environment, can provide a narrative, if we have the tools to approach it. This approach is built upon an understanding that narrative is a complex phenomenon that can be perceived on a variety of levels. On the one hand, the term is commonly used to describe the artistic form used by authors, artists and others to tell a 'story,' usually one with a linear development. This is the sense of the term that is most commonly used, I think, in the present volume. Another meaning of 'narrative' is the act by which the archaeologist, anthropologist or sociologist seeks to 'read' the evidence available to him/her and to construct meaning from it.[1] The present study seeks to use the term in both of these ways in a Byzantine context, although it certainly tends more in the direction of the latter, seeking to create some of the threads of a narrative from the material culture of the Byzantine world as it survives across the hills and valleys of the area once dominated by the Byzantine state.

We must begin by noting that the study of the Byzantine landscape has been surprisingly neglected. By this I do not mean that the Byzantine landscape has been completely ignored. Indeed, an interest in topography and the tradition of historical geography have always had a significant impact on the investigation of Byzantium. The former, of course, was crucial in the study of ancient history from the days of the *Grand Tour*, and an interest in the identification of ancient battle sites, famous temples and cities has naturally spilled over into the Byzantine period.[2] The latter, historical geography, in some ways grew out of an interest in topography, but was influenced by the development of cultural geography in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[3] These traditions were applied in the study of Byzantium in a number of important works. Thus, for example, we may note, with very different approaches, the fundamental study of

1. C. Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford 1988); C. Tilley, 'Introduction: Interpretation and a Poetics of the Past' *Interpreting Archaeology* ed. C. Tilley (Providence 1993) 1–27; M. Pluciennik, 'Archaeological Narratives and Other Ways of Telling' *CAnth 40* (1999) 653–78.
2. W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishops of Phrygia* (2 vols Oxford 1895–7); W.M. Calder, 'Philadelphia and Montanism' *BullJRylandsLib* 7 (1922–3) 311–14; idem, *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* (London 1928).
3. C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland* (3 vols Leipzig 1862–72); M. Cary, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History* (Oxford 1950); E. Kirsten, *Die griechische Polis als historisch-geographisches Problem des Mittelmeerraumes* (Bonn 1956); N.J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC–AD 1330* (Cambridge 1973).

Philippson,[4] the work of Hélène Ahrweiler,[5] Anna Avramea[6] and J.-M. Speiser,[7] the recent publication of *Byzanz als Raum*[8] and, of course, the studies of Koder[9] and the volumes of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

In addition, and from a totally different perspective, considerable study has been devoted to the Byzantine perception of nature, both by art historians and historians of science.[10] Nonetheless, these important ventures into historical geography, topography and thought have not really approached the broader issue of the Byzantine landscape *per se*, something that is rather surprising given the importance of landscape studies in ancient and western medieval scholarship[11] and more broadly in a world-wide context.[12]

The question of the Byzantine landscape is a topic of vast scope that can be approached by numerous routes, only a few of which can be followed here. In order to remain more or less within the limits of the present volume, let me restrict my comments to the ways in which we can explore 'narrative' in regard

4. A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheingung* (Leipzig 1939).

5. H. Ahrweiler, ed. *Geographica Byzantina*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 3 (Paris 1981).

6. A. Avramea, Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία μέχρι του 1204: συμβολή εις την ιστορικήν γεωγραφίαν (Athens 1974); idem, 'Φυσικό περιβάλλον και ανθρώπινη επέμβαση. Αντιλήψεις και εικόνες από το αστικό τοπίο' *H Καθημερινή Ζωή στο Βυζάντιο: Πρακτικά του Α΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου* ed. C.G. Angelidi (Athens 1989) 687–94; idem, *Le péloponnèse du IVe au VIIIe siècle: Changements et persistances* (Paris 1997).

7. J.-M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 2001).

8. K. Belke, F. Hild, J. Koder et al., eds, *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*. VeröffKByzantini 7, DenkWien 283 (Vienna 2000).

9. E.g. J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner: Historisch-geographischer Abriss ihres mittelalterlichen Staats im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Graz 1984).

10. On the former, see H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park Pa. 1987); on science David Pingree in *ODB* 1853–5; E.A. Paschos & P. Sotiroudis, *The Schemata of the Stars: Byzantine Astronomy from AD 1300* (Singapore 1998).

11. See for example, I.G. Simmons & M.J. Tooley, eds, *The Environment in British Prehistory* (London 1981); C.E. Crumley & W.H. Musgrave, eds, *Regional Dynamic: Burgundian Landscapes in Historical Perspective* (San Diego 1987); S.E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge 1993); idem, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge 2002); G. Baker, *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (London 1995); O. Rackham & J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (Manchester 1996); G. Shipley & J. Salmon, eds, *Human Landscapes in Classical Antiquity* (London 1996); K.R. Dark & P. Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain* (Stroud 1997).

12. P. Lively, *The Presence of the Past: An Introduction to Landscape History* (London 1976); C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (London 1994); W. Ashmore & A.B. Knapp, eds, *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives* (Malden Mass. 1999).

to the Byzantine landscape, a topic that may strike some as odd but that I hope I can persuade is worthy of consideration and study.

As mentioned, many approaches to this topic are possible. Literary scholars, of course, have frequently discussed the place of the landscape in Byzantine works of poetry and romance, especially those derived from Hellenistic *ekphrasis*.

Thus, for example, the sixth book of the Grottaferrata version of *Digenis Akritas* begins by setting a beautiful landscape stage:[13]

> If any one should wish to choose an emperor of the months,
> May would reign over them all.
> He is the whole earth's most delightful adornment,
> the budding eye of all plants and the brightness of flowers,
> flashing forth the blushing and the beauty of the meadows;
> he breathes out passions marvelously and brings on Aphrodite,
> he makes the earth ready to mimic heaven,
> decorating it with flowers, both roses and narcissus.
>
> In this most marvelous, most sweet month
> I wished to move away on my own with my lovely girl,
> the beautiful daughter of the general Doukas.
> And after we had arrived at a marvelous meadow,
> I put up the tent there and my own couch,
> setting all sorts of plants around it.
> Reeds grew there, reaching upwards,
> cold water bubbled up in the middle of the meadow
> and flowed out all over the ground there.
> Several kinds of birds lived in the grove —
> tame peacocks, parrots and swans;
> the parrots hung on the branches and sang,
> the swans browsed for food in the water,
> the peacocks paraded their wings among the flowers
> and reflected the flowers' colours in their wings;
> the rest, having won freedom for their wings,
> played as they perched on the branches of the trees. [6.5–28]

This attractive description of a scene, however, was certainly a literary device, derived almost complete from antiquity.[14] Likewise, the 'learned romances' of the twelfth century (e.g. Prodromos' *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* and Makrembolites' *Hysmine and Hysminias*) frequently include elaborate descriptions of the natural landscape, but these are clearly not intended to represent reality but rather the goal of the author was to surpass the natural with

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13. E. Jeffreys, *Digenis Akritis: The Grottaferrata and Escorial Versions* (Cambridge 1998) 153–5.
14. Jeffreys, *Digenis* 153 points out the derivation from Achilles Tatios and similarity to Melitiniotis; cf. A.R. Littlewood, 'Romantic Paradises: The Role of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance' *BMGS* 5 (1979) 95–114.

the 'artifice' of art.[15] In other words, the landscape simply serves as a 'blank canvas' on which the artist seeks to create a work of beauty that bears some resemblance to a theoretical original, but in which art and nature are actually opposed. It is not uncommon, even, for an author to pretend to describe, not the natural landscape, but a hypothetical painting of that setting![16]

This is not to say that Byzantine authors always completely eschewed a more realistic depiction of the natural world. One may cite, for example, Basil of Caesarea's famous letter to his friend Gregory about his newly established home (and monastery) in Pontos.[17] Basil praises the setting, with its background of a 'lofty mountain' and a rushing torrent that waters the plain below, providing fish for the inhabitants and a wealth of produce for the farmers. Basil delights in the visual beauty of the place, as well as its pleasant smells, but he praises most of all the peace and quiet he finds there — regarding the solitude as its greatest gift (compare discussion of desert places below). He points out that there are wild animals in the area, but they are not dangerous ones — like wolves and bears — but more docile creatures such as deer, wild goats and hare. To be sure, the description is embellished with literary devices and Basil makes several learned comparisons — to Homer's island of Circe and Alcmaeon's journey to Anchelous — but he also provides what seems to be a real comparison to the beauties of the Strymon as seen from Amphipolis. In other words, this letter contains a genuine description of an actual Byzantine landscape as it was perceived by a single individual.

Another example of such a phenomenon is an epigram of John Geometres (tenth century) describing a tower in the fortifications of Constantinople, arguably that on the far south of the Land Walls where they meet the Sea of Marmara. In Maguire's translation it was

> A towered fortification of beauty, a tower of ineffable joy, from land, from sea, from the air, from the light, from the sky... It is a place of wonders, in the midst of the air, a kind of hollow of the breezes, a house of Aeolos. And contemplating the beauty, all the beauty of the world from above, it is a world of adornment for the eyes. From the earth [are seen] flowers, trees, meadows, foliage, springs, coppices, pastures, and streams; the vine heavy with innumerable fruits, many a wine-producing vine, and many a fruit bearing tree. And there is in some places even a beautiful mixture, for the vine is raised up on towering trees, branches together with beautiful tendrils, fruits together with grapes, and more, and beds of leaves, and stoas and roofs...[18]

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15. R. Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance* (2nd ed. London 1996) 65–8; 74; 79–87.
16. Beaton, *Romance* 66; 84–5.
17. Letter 14, *Basil, Letters 1–58*, ed. and tr. R.J. Deferrari (Cambridge Mass. 1926); cf. D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York 1968) 87–91.
18. H. Maguire, 'A Description of the Aretai Palace and Its Garden' *Journal of Garden History* 10.4 (1990) 209–13; cf. idem, 'Christians, Pagans, and the Representation of Nature' *Begegnung von Heidentum und Christentum im spätantiken Ägypten.* Riggisberger Berichte I (Rissisberg 1993) 131–61; rp. *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in*

In Maguire's view this description is accurate on a number of counts, not least of which is, perhaps, a mention that the view from the tower stretched over the nearby Park of Aretai (βλέψον ἐγγύθεν τὰς ἀρετὰς γῆς).[19]

Byzantine art is, of course, known for its general lack of interest in landscape detail. In part this is a result of the 'timelessness' of many icons and scenes of Biblical events and it has been argued that the amount of specific detail in many scenes is a mark of sacred hierarchy: in simple terms, the less the detail the greater the sacredness of the event being pictured, especially when the lives of the saints are compared to that of Christ.[20] To some degree this is a result of the greater fullness of everyday detail in some of the extra-canonical (including hagiographic) texts on which the representations are based, but even the sparse detail of the canonical Gospels is sometimes sacrificed for purposes of a hierarchical ranking of subject matter. To be sure, certain scenes virtually always included some glimpse of landscape, regardless of how stereotypically. Thus, the Nativity of Christ came to be depicted in a fully narrative sense within a natural physical setting, showing the cave, the hills around Bethlehem with the shepherds and their sheep, the star and sometimes the Magi hastening on their way. But almost always scenes of landscape are done in a highly stylized manner: witness, for example, the detail of the Earth swallowing the men of Korah in illuminated manuscripts[21] or the generalized treatment of hills and trees in various types of Byzantine art.[22] Exceptions are, perhaps, depictions of Moses and the Burning Bush and, more so, the Crossing of the Red Sea in much of the illustrated manuscript tradition, where the violence of the waves and the destruction of Pharaoh's troops and horses are given particular prominence,[23] but even there the artist makes no attempt to particularize the scene: the Red Sea and Mount Sinai are simply depictions of what could be any sea and any mountain, were it not for the labels and the frequent image of the sea goddess derived from ancient prototypes. Odd, but perhaps revealing of Byzantine views of nature, is the depiction of a hailstorm in Paris gr. 510, f 78r, which shows the storm descending on a hilly landscape almost like a sheet hung on a line of rope,[24] and the Sea of Galilee in Florence, Laurenziana plut. 6.23, fol. 9r, depicted as a small

Byzantine Art (Aldershot 1998) VI: idem. 'Gardens and Parks in Constantinople' *DOP* 54 (2000) 252–65.

19. See also the several references in *ODB*, *s.v.* 'environment', 703. The letters of Manuel II are perhaps the most interesting Byzantine depictions of nature.

20. H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton 1996) 158–9; 180–1.

21. J. Lowden. *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park Pa. 1992) figs 36–9.

22. E.g. the trees in Vat. Gr. 746, fol. 489r: Lowden, *Octateuchs* fig. 71. The personification of aspects of nature (Earth, Sea, etc.) are a class unto their own that deserve their own study in connection with the landscape: cf. L.D. Popovich. *Personification in Paleologan Painting* (PhD thesis, Bryn Mawr College 1963).

23. Lowden, *Octateuchs* figs 113–38.

24. L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge 1999) fig. 15.

hill, on which 'float' the fishing boats of the Disciples Peter, Andrew, James and John.[25]

Different in the impression they provide the viewer, but certainly no more localized, are the fantastic crags and mountain pinnacles that frequently appear in Palaiologan art. Thus, the powerful *Anastasis* in the *parekklesion* of the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii, 1316–21) in Constantinople depicts the opening of Hades with explosive force, where the dynamism of Christ is reflected in the edges of the broken rock faces in the background. Likewise, the scene of the *Nativity* in the Perivleptos church at Mystras in the Peloponnesos (third quarter fourteenth century) is placed in a wild setting where the mountain-tops rise high and break into a succession of smaller peaks (that remind one of Dr Suess' Mt Crumpet), and the openings of the caves are likewise broken and shattered as though they too had suddenly been rent apart. Clearly, the violence and the explosive nature of these landscapes were a response to and a reflection of the paradoxes and tensions of the liturgical poems, which reflected positively on the way in which the Incarnation (and events surrounding it, such as the life of the Virgin and the Crucifixion) both 'surprised' nature and eventually transformed it totally.

As mentioned, Byzantine art generally eschews the particular, the local, in its treatment of landscape, and this is certainly connected with the phenomenon of *ekphrasis* in literature.[26] Thus, *ekphrasis* turned the attention of the observer from the detail of a scene being depicted to its inner meaning or spiritual reality.[27] In this context, something as ephemeral as landscape either had no significance or it could (should?) be depicted in a simplified or symbolic way. This is something that is not attractive to Western sensitivities (at least since the Renaissance), but it does reflect the broader Byzantine view in which the peculiar was subsumed by the more general, the ephemeral by the eternal.

Clearly, the perception and presentation of the Byzantine landscape in literature and art will repay much more serious study, in another time and place. The recent volume on garden culture in Byzantium provides an especially fruitful example of such work.[28] Another approach is to focus more specifically on the physical landscape against which the drama of Byzantine history was played out over a thousand-year span. This approach is in part driven by necessity since, as we have witnessed above, the literature and the art of the Byzantine period are unusually hesitant to reveal the physical background against which the history of the period was set.[29] Someone conversant with the theories of narrative, however, will note that individuals in the Byzantine period would presumably have interpreted their own personal and local landscape —

25. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning* fig. 168.
26. L. James & R. Webb, '"To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places": Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium' *ArtHist* 14.1 (1991) 1–17.
27. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning* 20–3; James-Webb, 'Ekphrasis'.
28. A.R. Littlewood, H. Maguire & J. Woelsche-Bulmahn, eds, *Byzantine Garden Culture* (Washington 2002).
29. See, in a very different context W. Cronon, 'A Place for Stories: Nature, History and Narrative' *JAH* 78 (1992) 1347–76.

the things they saw every day — along lines drawn up by the society as a whole, and there is no reason to doubt that the sacred landscape (or perhaps better, the transformed nature of the sacred landscape) was perceived by ordinary people as much as by learned theologians and ecclesiastical officials.

Our own (twenty-first-century) analysis of the Byzantine landscape verges on that of historical geography, mentioned at the beginning of the present study, but is very different from it, if only because it derives from a theoretical approach within archaeology and landscape studies, rather than that of topography.[30] In addition, it begins from an assumption that people in the past, although they would probably not have used the same words, presumably viewed landscape as a narrative act (both passive and active); they would have had definite ideas about the placement of buildings and cities, the nature of tradition and change and the desire to monumentalize aspects of their life. They therefore created physical aspects of their landscape in specific ways that were meaningful to them, and modern historians and archaeologists can seek to 'read' that landscape by using methods similar to those we employ to read a text or a work of art. To be sure, in doing this scholars impose their own narrative on the material that they study. Thus, the 'narrative' of landscape has two, potentially at least interrelated, meanings, one given, one received, both related by the physical presence of land-forms, cities, farms and monuments such as churches, monasteries and cemeteries that had individually distinct forms, spatial relations to their broader environment and temporal constraints — usually involving construction, repair, abandonment and destruction. Our study of this landscape can thus involve both an attempt to understand how the Byzantines looked at and understood the landscape in which they lived and what the information from texts and archaeology can tell us about that landscape. As we modern scholars attempt to make sense of that landscape, we all but necessarily place our understanding of that landscape into a narrative that makes sense to us, in our own times. To do otherwise, especially given the nature of the evidence about the Byzantine period, would force us to restrict the results of our work to sterile lists of antiquarian information — something that I am afraid is not altogether unknown in our discipline. This present study will explore a few tentative examples of how one might approach this narrative of the Byzantine landscape, drawn particularly from the tradition of landscape archaeology in a Byzantine context.[31]

30. For this scholarly tradition, cf. Alcock, *Graecia Capta* and *Greek Past*; S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne, eds, *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford 1994); *Arch. of Landscape.*

31. See J.F. Cherry, J.C. Davis & E. Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands* (Los Angeles. 1991); C. Mee & H. Forbes, eds. *A Rough and Rocky Place — The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece: Results of the Methana Survey Project* (Liverpool 1997); J.L. Bintliff, 'Reconstructing the Byzantine Countryside: New Approaches from Landscape Archaeology' *Byzanz als Raum* 37–63; M. Given & A.B. Knapp, eds, *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project.* Monumenta Archaeologica 21 (Los Angeles 2003) 283–94; S.E.J. Gerstel. M. Munn, H.E. Grossman et al., 'A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton' *Hesp* 72 (2003) 147–234. Most of the discussion in this

The examples considered here are drawn from recent fieldwork on the island of Kythera by the Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey (hereafter APKAS), which has from its outset maintained a particular focus on the medieval period.[32] Fieldwork elsewhere in the former Byzantine Empire has naturally revealed information of a similar nature, but the data from Kythera are recent and the author is most familiar with them, so they form a convenient corpus for the present discussion. APKAS carried out systematic archaeological surface exploration between 1999 and 2003 in the northern part of Kythera, which itself lies between the southern Peloponnesos and Crete.[33] [Fig. 94] The project has focused on a sixty-five sq. km. area, with its notional centre the Byzantine 'capital' of Paliochora (Byzantine Hagios Demetrios, Fig. 95).[34] One of APKAS's foremost research questions is an attempt to understand the place of Paliochora in the landscape of the island and its role in the settlement system of the northern part of Kythera in the Byzantine and Venetian periods. This question has focused especially on the twin conundrums of a) the foundation of Paliochora, in a remarkably strongly defensible position (sometime, perhaps, in the twelfth century) and b) its dramatic destruction by the Ottoman 'pirate' Kaiyer ad-Din Barbarosa in 1537 and the subsequent abandonment of the settlement. Interestingly, in the absence of clear historical documentation for these major events, both scholarly discussion (such as it exists) and local tradition agree almost completely: Paliochora was founded as a result of its naturally defensive location and it was abandoned as a consequence of its destruction in 1537; local tradition adds that Paliochora was not re-inhabited, in part because it was accursed and haunted by the spirits of those brutally killed in

paper is derived from archaeological survey in Greece. One must, however, complement this with work elsewhere in the territory of the former Byzantine Empire, especially Turkey. See, for example, D. Baird, 'Settlement Expansion on the Konya Plain, Anatolia: 5th–7th Centuries AD' *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside* ed. C. Machado, W. Bowden & L. Lavan. Late Antique Archaeology 2 (Leiden 2004) 219–46; R. Bayliss, 'Archaeological Survey and Visualisation: The View from Byzantium' Theory and Practice in late Antique Archaeology ed. L. Lavan & W. Bowden. Late Antique Archaeology 1 (Leiden 2003) 288–313; C.S. Lightfoot, 'Amorium and the Afyon Region in Byzantine Times' Ancient Anatolia: Fifty Years' Work by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara ed. R. Matthews (London 1998) 301–14; L.A. Wandsnider, 'Artifact, Landscape, and Temporality in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeological Landscape Studies' *Mediterranean Archaeological Landscapes: Current Issues* ed. E. Athanassopoulos & L. Wandsnider (Philadelphia 2004) 69–80.

32. C. Coroneos, L. Diacopoulos, T.E. Gregory et al., 'The Australian Paliochora-Kythera Archaeological Survey: Field Seasons 1999–2000' *MedArch* 15 (2002) 126–43.

33. During this same period the south central part of Kythera has been surveyed by the Kythera Island Project: see C. Broodbank, 'Kythera Survey: Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season' *BSA* 94 (1999) 191–214 and A. Bevan, 'The Rural Landscape of Neopalatial Kythera: A GIS Perspective' JMA 15.2 (2002) 217–56.

34. G.E. Ince, T. Koukoulis & D. Smyth, 'Paliochora: Survey of a Byzantine City on the Island of Kythera, Preliminary Report' *BSA* 82 (1987) 95–106; T. Koukoulis, G.E. Ince, A.N. Ballantyne et al., 'Paliochora: Survey of a Byzantine City on the Island of Kythera, Second Report' *BSA* 84 (1989) 407–16.

the sack of the city, while the villages located in the plain to the west of the city are said to have been built by refugees from the city, some of whom had been restored from captivity as slaves.[35]

Preliminary analysis of the archaeological evidence gathered in the APKAS survey area, in fact, suggests that the medieval situation was considerably more complex. Thus, although the gross quantity of medieval pottery is never high (far lower, for example, than that of the Minoan or the Classical periods), there are numerous areas where the ceramic evidence seems strongly to suggest places of activity contemporary with the efflorescence of Paliochora [Fig. 96]. This is in contrast to what one would expect if Paliochora had been a simple defensive settlement, shut up within itself, with connections to the outside (to Sparta and Monemvasia) but essentially detached from its hinterland in Kythera. What this strongly suggests is that there were other (smaller) Byzantine settlements outside of Paliochora, some of them perhaps hamlets or small villages, although the quantities of ceramic material make smaller places more likely. The picture in the Venetian period (after 1537) is similar [Fig. 97], although the concentrations may be somewhat larger. Paliochora seems to survive as a centre and some earlier places seem to have combined. All this allows us to suggest, tentatively at least, that both the Byzantine and the Venetian periods were characterized by a landscape in which the (presumably agricultural) use of the land was broadly distributed and where a number of settlements were spread throughout the survey area.

The nature of modern land use, the present system of many small villages and the limited resources available to the APKAS project meant that only a relatively small part of the study area could be intensively surveyed (those areas shown in Figs 96–7). Various spatial-statistical studies are being carried out to investigate more specific patterns of land use that may be applied to the whole of the study area. At this point, however, the approach is to look at special classes of evidence that can be examined in the totality of that area.

An example of such an approach is to look at the chronology and the spatial location of churches.[36] Churches are, of course, much more than simple places of worship — although they are that first and foremost — and they can thus be

35. The best short introduction to the medieval history of Kythera is J. Herrin, 'Byzantine Kythera' *Kythera: Excavations and Studies Conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens* ed. J.N. Coldstream & G.L. Huxley (London 1972) 41–51.

36. Compare the work of T. Koukoulis, 'Catalogue of Churches' *Rough and Rocky Place* 211–56; S. Hill, *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and Isauria* (Aldershot 1996); for Kythera (but using archival evidence) see C. Maltezou 'A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Island of Kythera During the Venetian Occupation' *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* ed. A.E. Laiou (New Brunswick 1980) 151–75; idem, 'Ειδήσεις για ναούς και μονές στα Κύθηρα από αρχειακές πηγές' *Πρακτικά του Ε΄ Διεθνούς Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, Αργοστόλι-Ληξούρι, 17-21 Μαΐου 1986,* vol. I (Argostoli 1986) 269–88. See also the fundamental study of M. Chatzidakis & I. Bitha, *Ευρετήριο Βυζαντινών Τοιχογραφιών,* vol. 1. *Κύθηρα* (Athens 1999) on the Byzantine frescos of Kythera.

viewed appropriately in the category of 'sacred places' or 'sacred spaces.'[37] They are also often family possessions, centres of village life, places for the display of conspicuous donations and symbols of community pride and self-identification. Church dedications may represent historical events of a personal or a community nature — such as (hope of) preservation from enemy attack — and the graffiti in churches are often as important as dedicatory and donor inscriptions.[38]

From an archaeological perspective churches were once seen as sure markers for the location of ancient buildings and even today there is a tendency to view churches as remnants of earlier, but now vanished, villages.[39] Such an approach, however, is unnecessarily crude and much more sophisticated analysis can be carried out, especially making use of the analytic power of Geographic Information Systems to study the churches in their natural and anthropogenic landscapes.

At this point we can identify some thirty-one churches that can be assigned to the period before 1537 in the APKAS study area, outside the confines of the walled city of Paliochora (which itself had some twenty-eight churches).[40] The distribution of these churches can be seen in Figure 98. The wide dispersal of churches, many far away from Paliochora (shown in the northeast of the survey area), suggests activity well beyond the immediate vicinity of the Byzantine centre. To be sure, some of these churches certainly were monastic, at least at one point or another, and Soteriou, the first to study them seriously, identified them as such.[41] Even monasteries, however, indicate activity of an economic as well as a spiritual nature and all but certainly the agricultural utilization of the land. Preliminary analysis of the information from the intensive survey strengthens this observation, since some of the concentrations of surface archaeological material are close to the known churches, while others are in completely different areas. The precise nature of the activity suggested by both kinds of evidence cannot yet be ascertained, but some of the locations may have been villages or smaller settlements that have now disappeared without other trace, and it is also likely that many of the present villages actually existed well before the destruction of Paliochora.

Another example of this approach is to look at the location of the churches in a given region and use their location, date and characteristics in an attempt to

37. Seminal is M. Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces' *Diac* 16.1 (1986) 22–7; for ancient Greece, *Placing the Gods*, and in a Byzantine context: S.E.J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle 1999); Bintliff, 'Byzantine Countryside'; M. Kaplan, *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident: études comparées*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 18 (Paris 2001); Spieser, *Spaces*.

38. E. Stamatatou, 'Two Graffiti of Sailing Vessels at Paliochra on Aigena' *BSA* 92 (1997) 435–40; A.K. Orlandos, *Τα Χαράγματα του Παρθενώνος* (Athens 1973).

39. M. Given, 'Wandering Villages, Stationary Churches: Local Definitions of Sites and Settlements in Ottoman Cyprus' *New Approaches to Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece* ed. J. Bintliff, E. Tsougarakis & D. Tsougarakis (Athens in press).

40. Ince-Koukoulis, *Paliochora*; Koukoulis-Ince. *Paliochora: Second Report*.

41. G. Soteriou, 'Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Κυθήρων' *Κυθηραϊκή Επιθεώρησις* 1 (1923) 313–32.

make 'educated guesses' about how the Byzantines themselves looked at their landscape. Of course, general observations along these lines have frequently been made using a kind of common-sense approach; thus, it is often noted that churches are located on mountain tops, within settlements and in remote areas, but this tells us little beyond the obvious. An interesting example in this regard is the story told by the people of Aroniadika in Kythera about the church of Hagios Menas, located on an isolated hill just east of that village. According to the story, the people of Aroniadika had built or at least worshipped at a church of Hagios Menas at Diakofti, on the eastern edge of the island, where they had fields some distance from their own village. At a certain point in the past they felt they had to abandon those fields temporarily because of the threat of piracy and as a result they built the church of Hagios Menas on the hill near the village. The church itself, on the basis of its architectural design, cannot be any newer than the sixteenth century so, if the story has any historical validity, that date provides a *terminus ante quem* for the events. In any case, the story offers at least a modern view of why the church exists and the place it has in the ideational landscape: it provides a marker for the territory of the village and a 'place holder' for the fields at Diakofti — in a way not dissimilar to the relationship between a 'roadside shrine' (οδοιπορικό) and a church not far away.

GIS helps us visualize this situation in ways that we cannot fully illustrate in the present paper. Thus, for example, we can easily mark the churches in a given area by date: those that existed in the year 1200 [Fig. 99], for example, and examine their location: most were built on high points (with the significant exception of Osios Theodoros). These can be compared with the churches that existed by 1300 [Fig. 100] and we can see significant expansion, both in the number of churches and the variety of locations — including many that were built on flat ground and whose location cannot be explained by defensive considerations.

Finally, let me look at another approach, based mainly on the texts — although archaeological evidence can certainly be used to help explicate the situation. Thus, a particularly important but vexing problem in Byzantine history overall is the issue of the 'abandonment' of the landscape at certain periods, most notably in the so-called 'Dark Ages.' This is especially important from a political point of view since it is a significant component in the Falmeräyer thesis and modern arguments about *le grande brèche* and questions of continuity between antiquity and the Middle Ages.[42] Not surprisingly, hagiographic texts have frequently been used in this context, since it is argued that their naïve authors unintentionally provide information about local conditions. An especially good example of this is the *Life* of St Peter of Argos, which contains

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42. D.A. Zakythinos, 'La grande brèche dans la tradition historique de l'Helénisme du septième au neuvième siècle' *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Κ. Ορλάνδον* (Athens 1966) 3:300–27.

significant detail about Arab raids in the Peloponnesos in the early tenth century.[43]

It is important to point out, however, that the authors of these texts were not as naïve as one might want to argue and a landscape of abandonment frequently plays an active role in the arguments they wish to make. In this regard it is important to understand the role of the 'desert' in Judaic and early Christian thought, especially in connection with monasticism, which is the general background for the *Lives*.[44] As is well known, classical thought generally saw the 'desert' as a wild and unfriendly place, best to be avoided. Jewish tradition amplified this and depicted the desert as the domain of demons, a place dominated by powerful evil spirits who were the enemies of God. At the same time, the desert thus became a place where one's faith and dedication to God might be tested and perfected. Thus, it is clear that the Essenes, John the Baptist and even Jesus himself had a special relationship with the desert and this was carried over into early Christian monasticism. The Desert Fathers, St Antony and most of the famous monks known to us from the third to the sixth century had important connections with the desert. All, for example, will be familiar with St Antony's struggle with the demons, placed in a desert setting. The desert, *par excellence*, always was the Skete of Egypt, and then that of Syria and elsewhere, but eventually it came to include other 'deserted places,' such as forests and, most especially mountains. This is not the place to discuss fully the role of the 'desert' in Byzantine monasticism, but we should remember that any mention of desert places in hagiographic texts would have been written with the background of the spiritual desert and the attendant struggle firmly in mind.

The *Life* of St Nikon is one of the best known biographies of the 'local saints' of the Middle Byzantine period since it provides important information about the condition of the cities of Greece in the tenth century and the saint's famous missionary activities among the 'pagans' of Mt Taygetos. The text also provides insight into contemporary attitudes toward the landscape. Thus, it describes how the young Nikon left his family home and, walking through pathless and difficult ways, he finally

> came to the Pontos. He approached a mountain, which is on the borders of Pontos and Paphlagonia, where he founded a monastery; called the Golden Rock by ancient tradition, either because of the harshness of the place and its lack of water, as though it were gilded by the violence of the sunshine, or...

43. A. Vasiliev, 'The *Life* of St Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance' *Trad* 5 (1947) 163–91; K. Kyriakopoulos, *Αγίου Πέτρου Επισκόπου Αργους Βίος και Λόγοι* (Athens 1976).

44. See P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity' *JRS* 61 (1971) 92; C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge 1991) 75–81, argues that by the eleventh century αναχώρησις simply came to mean taking up life in a monastery. This may be true, but in the tenth century this was certainly not the case and one wonders whether the older tradition did not live on longer in many places; cf. now Kaplan, *Le sacré*.

because it rendered the souls trained in it truly golden and God-like.[45]

This is a particularly good example of how the author 'manipulates' the landscape from two points of view: the 'Golden Rock' was a ferocious place, blasted by the sun and without water. But it was also, at the same time, a place where humans became 'golden,' just like the Rock itself. At another point the *Life* says that the saint

> travelled through pathless mountains, quite barefoot and clad in only one dirty and torn cloak. And he carried nothing but his staff... and a tiny precious flask which was expensively fashioned of Sardian stone... fighting against the sun's heat and the winter's bitterness, not yielding to the frost nor giving in to the heat, loudly crying 'Repent' in accordance with the command he received from his spiritual father. And he took nourishment as often as nature required, such as was near at hand and plain, eating grass always and making a meal on the provisions of wild edible herbs. For always and continuously he considered it more profitable to embrace difficulties as others do pleasures. And so with such a toilsome and confined life, he encountered many and innumerable temptations every day, on the one hand from the unclean spirits themselves which the woodland places and dead-end roads (οἱ ἀλσώδεις τόποι καὶ ἀδιεξόδευτοι) had as their inhabitants, places through which he travelled crying 'Repent.' For sometimes he made this [word] a kind of charm against the demons and by the power of the word caused them to be astonished and afraid. And they, not enduring to see themselves thus subdued and beaten, as if weak and without strength, latched onto greater madness. And they attacking the just man quite boldly, not only invisibly, but even quite openly in varied and monstrous forms, said and did everything and laid hold of every sort of stratagem. 'How have you dared come here,' they were saying, 'fugitive from your fatherland and your city (φυγόπατρι καὶ φυγοπολῖτα? But if you do not leave these regions here, your daring will not turn out well.' Then even mixing their pleas with fear, they spoke as follows: 'Don't you know, lover of strife with your heart of iron, that if nothing else, time has made us masters of the place' (καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅ γε χρόνος ἡμᾶς κυρίους τοῦ τόπου πεποίκε). And in addition the sinful creatures seemed to breathe fire and to jump on him with their feet.[46]

Significantly, the *Life* of Hagios Nikon never claimed that the whole landscape was abandoned — only that certain wild areas were especially dangerous for righteous folk. The documents concerning Osios Theodoros of Kythera, however, claim that the whole of the island was deserted at the time the

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45. *The Life of St Nikon*, ed. and tr. D. Sullivan (Brookline Mass. 1987) 4.38.
46. *Nikon* 17.76–8.

saint arrived in the tenth century. Thus, according to *L'Antique Memorie dell'Isola di Cerigo*, a later text, with apparently accurate information from the early medieval history of Kythera, Osios Theodoros found the island 'in ogni parte dishabitata.'[47] The saint's *Life*, published by N. Oikonomides,[48] provides the basis of our knowledge about Theodoros and his activities. He was born at Korone sometime in the late ninth century, moved to Nafplion where he was married, fled from his marriage in favour of the monastic life, travelled relatively broadly to Rome and throughout the Peloponnesos and settled in Monemvasia, where he sought to live an ascetic life. He was not satisfied with the isolation there and moved to Kythera, where he died. His body was discovered and a monastery founded to continue and promote his veneration. Interestingly enough, unlike virtually all of the other relatively contemporary saints, Theodoros apparently performed no miracles during his lifetime, he did not form a monastery nor did he have any followers while he was alive (with the exception of the monk Antonios: see below). The myth associated with his life, therefore, takes on added importance since, as far as we can see, he did nothing especially noteworthy.

According to the *Life* of the saint, he abandoned his former worldly life and arrived at Monemvasia, 'desiring to go to the island of Kythera, which was deserted and uninhabited then because of the invasions of the Arabs of Crete who used it as a hideaway, attacking those who sailed by or, if they were merciful, making them pay for passage, and for this reasons nobody dared to live there' (διὰ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα οἰκῆσαι ἐκεῖ).[49]

The saint had to wait for a year before finding a boat that was willing to take him and his companion Antonios to the island, but he finally found passage with a naval ship that had set out to attack the Arab pirates. The monks were set ashore and they found shelter in a church of SS Sergios and Bakchos. They feared that some pirates who escaped from the Byzantine fleet would find them, but they were saved by divine providence. Antonios, however, left the island after only a few months, tired of a diet made up of carob beans alone and unable to endure the regimen of perpetual prayer. Theodoros, however, endured for a total of eleven months, before finally dying, leaving his own epitaph written on a roof tile. His uncorrupted body was shortly thereafter found by some Byzantine sailors who came to worship at the church of Sergios and Bakchos, but they left the body unburied. Three years later a group of hunters again found the body, which they then buried. The reputation of the saint grew and a church and monastery were built, apparently by the *Signore* (δεσπότης) of Sparta, and an important local cult developed.

Taken at face value this evidence is clear and, as Oikonomides points out, it compares well with the general perceived situation among the islands and the coast of the Peloponnesos from the conquest of Crete by the Arabs to the reconquest by Nikephoros Phokas in 961. He argues that the details of the story

47. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin 1873) 300.
48. N. Oikonomides, 'Ο βίος του Αγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων' *Proceedings of the Third Panionian Congress*, vol. 1 (Athens 1967) 264–91.
49. Oikonomides, 'Θεοδώρου' ch. 12, 286.

— the inability of the refugee Arabs to find the monks, the difficulty of transport to the island, the fact that the saint's body remained undisturbed for over three years, etc. — argue that the island was indeed deserted at the time. Apparently contradictory evidence does exist — Antonios easily found a boat to take him to Monemvasia, the sailors apparently knew where the church of Sergios and Bakchos was located (although it lies almost at the centre of the island, completely invisible from the sea) and the Monemvasiotes came to Kythera to hunt wild donkeys and goats. Oikonomides explained this evidence, however, by maintaining that communication between the mainland and the island was cut off by the pirate danger during the summer months, but that it was restored after the end of the good sailing season. This is, of course, possible, but it is just as likely that, in fact, people remained in Kythera during this period of difficulty.

The keys to understanding this text, it seems to me, are, first, the tradition of associating the conquest of the wilderness closely with sanctity and the growth of the cult of the saint as a 'guarantor' of the Byzantine presence on the island. Thus, like those of most saints, the body of Theodore was a healer of various ills, but his main contribution was his 'martyrdom,' by which he sanctified the island and brought about its repopulation. The compiler of the *Life* identified the saint as a 'martyr, providing the benefit of a death in Christ, and... by living in the island, which no one dared to approach because it was a den of the godless Arabs, endured to the end through God....' More specifically, the name of the saint was 'ῥομφαίον δίστομον κατ' ἐχθρῶν' and his 'δοῦλοι' became 'πλήθη μαχίμων εὐόπλων, ὡς θηρίων ἀγρίων λίθοις καί ξύλοις καταδραμόντες, [τούς] διώκουσι[50] Interestingly enough, the hagiographer used words with strong connections to the sea to describe the saint: 'σέ, ἄγιε, ὡς ἄγκυραν ἀσφαλῆ τήν τοῦ βίου ζάλην καί τάς τρικυμίας ἀκαταποντίστως περᾶ... καί λιμένα καί καταφύγιον πάσης βιωτικῆς περιστάσεως καλεῖ σε ἄξιον.' The *Life* goes on to say that the whole island (πᾶσα ἡ νῆσος) regards him as 'παραμύθιον, τὸ ἀπαράκλητον τοῦ τόπου καί τάς τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἐπιθέσεις καί πᾶσαν βιωτικὴν θλίψιν ἀνωδύνως φέρει.[51] Interestingly, the *Life* localizes the situation completely, calling on Osios Theodoros 'to remember this land [Kythera]; for in it you sought God and found Him and attained His Kingdom.'[52] Even salvation is localized and tied closely to a specific landscape.

The *Life* of Agia Theoktiste of Lesbos provides a story with remarkably similar details, also from insular Greece.[53] The saint lived for many years on the supposedly deserted island of Paros, despite the threats of Arab pirates and the hostility of the landscape. But she too — by her perseverance — became the symbol and the protectress of the Byzantine revival that came thereafter. Although she did not come to Paros of her own will, many aspects of her story

50. Oikonomides, 'Θεοδώρου' ch. 23, 291.
51. Oikonomides, 'Θεοδώρου' ch. 24, 291. There is much other similar language in this closing part of the *Life*: Theodoros is a τεῖχος καὶ φύλακας for the inhabitants of the island. This material deserves to be studied more fully.
52. Oikonomides, 'Θεοδώρου' ch. 25, 291.
53. *AASS* Nov. IV: 224–33; A.C. Hero, 'The Life of St Theoktiste of Lesbos' *Holy Women of Byzantium* ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington 1996) 95–116.

remind the reader strongly of the *Life* of Osios Theodoros. Thus, she is 'discovered' by hunters, one of whom became aware of her from seeing some of the carob beans she was eating. Theoktiste herself speaks of Paros as deserted and says that she had been captured by the Cretan Arab pirates but escaped into the wilderness of the island. She spent thirty-five years in this situation but then, when the pious hunter returned with the Eucharist which she had requested, she died. There follows an interesting story about the theft of the saint's hand by this same pious hunter, the inability of the boat to leave the harbour as a result, and the strange and ultimately unsuccessful attempt of the hunters to find the body of the saint and bury it.

One may take such evidence literally — as most scholars have done — that these islands were in fact deserted during these years. But an approach that seems much more in keeping with our normal historical inquiry suggests that the scene of abandonment pictured by the sources is not a simple depiction of reality by a naïve and guileless author; rather, the wilderness in these accounts plays a crucial role in the struggle and the conquest of the saint, demonstrating for the author his or her worthiness as an intercessor with God and, at the same time, a powerful protector of the Byzantine recovery of much of its formerly marginal land. In addition, the authors of some of these biographies were fully aware of the tradition of Hellenistic romance, which frequently pictured the wilderness (forests, mountains, etc.) as the settings for miraculous acts. We would be wrong, in such circumstances, to take these accounts as proof of abandonment, although they do — at the same time — indicate the strength and the optimism of the triumphant recovery.

I would argue therefore that such texts cannot be used in a simple way to 'reveal' the Byzantine landscape. They do, however, provide significant evidence of the give-and-take and the complexity of the narrative of the Byzantine landscape. The texts do show a distinct interest in landscape in the Byzantine world-view and an awareness that landscape and human (and divine) history were intimately connected, not perhaps in the same way that a modern landscape archaeologist would understand, but connected nonetheless. That connection might be more 'mythic' and based on ideas of sympathy and universality, so that nature might be taken to reflect greater spiritual truths. In any case, it is clear that the archaeological and the textual evidence on the Byzantine landscape must be used with care and sophistication, rarely taking any of it at its simplest level. Ultimately, of course, the narrative we construct from the fragmentary evidence available is, individually, our own. It is, first of all, patently a construct, a story of how we think things 'were', based on our own predilections, concerns, and broader world views. In this regard, as in all historical enterprises, we engage in an ongoing dialogue with the people of the past and, I would add, the environment in which they lived.

Jialing Xu

Narratives of the Roman-Byzantine World
in Ancient Chinese Sources*

In ancient times Rome/Byzantium and China were two powerful empires in the western and eastern extremities of the Eurasian continent. The accounts of the Roman Empire in Chinese sources can be traced back to the Earlier Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 25 CE) References are quite common to the silk trade or to the Silk Roads during the period from the Earlier Han to the Tang dynasties (ninth century CE). In Chinese sources, especially in the dynastic histories such as the *Er-shi-si-shi* (Histories of the Twenty-Four Dynasties) compiled by the royal historians of different dynasties, it is easy to find some specific chapters for 'foreign countries': in *Shi-ji* (The Great Historian's Records), we find *Da-wan-lie-zhuan* (Records on Ta-wan*)*; in *Han-shu*[1] (History of the Earlier Han Dynasty), *Hou-han-shu*[2] (History of the Later Han Dynasty), and in other later dynastic histories, we find *Xi-yu-zhuan* (Records of the Western Regions) or *Zhu-yi-zhuan* (Records of the Barbarians). From those accounts, we come to know what relations the peoples had among themselves and with China in ancient times.

Generally, the Chinese sources on the Roman and Byzantine Empires could be categorized into three groups according to the date of their compilation. The first contains the sources of the period from the second century BCE to the early fourth century CE, which includes the two Han Dynasties (the Earlier Han dynasty, 206 BCE – 25 CE; the Later Han Dynasty, 25–220 CE), the Three Kingdoms (220–265 CE) and the Earlier Jin Dynasty, (265–316 CE). In this period, which could be named the pre-Byzantine or the Graeco-Roman period, the Greek empire built by Alexander the Great was broken up into several kingdoms in Western Asia and Egypt. The Parthian Empire (c.250 BCE – 226 CE) became a large power and reached its height in influence and territory at the beginning of the first century BCE on the Iranian plateau. Bactria, the previous colony of the Greeks, became an independent country (250–139 BCE) but shortly after was destroyed by nomadic tribes. In the first century CE, the Roman Empire expanded its conquest to Western Asia and made the Mediterranean Sea its 'inner-lake'. From then on, the two greatest empires of the Eurasian continent began to recognize each other's existence, and tried to make direct contact with each other; however, their efforts were hindered by the Parthian empire because of the latter's wish to monopolize the lucrative trade of the Silk Road through the

Parthian empire. But the Chinese and Roman efforts to open relations find their echoes in historical sources of both sides.

The second group of sources contains records of the period from the early fourth century to the tenth century and includes the sources of the Later Jin Dynasty (317–420 CE), the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 CE), the Sui (581–618 CE) and Tang Dynasties (618–907 CE); it corresponds to the period of the early and middle Byzantine Empire in chronology.

In this period, China, Rome and the Persian Empire suffered painfully the invasions of nomadic tribes (Huns, White Huns, Germans and Turkish tribes etc.). As a result, the west half of the Roman Empire was destroyed in 476 by the Germans. In the eastern Mediterranean, Byzantium survived the crisis of the barbarian invasions and was gradually restored to its vitality. Sassanian Persia had emerged as a powerful empire and formidable rival of the Romans, becoming an unshakable obstacle to any direct exchanges between China and the Byzantine Empire until it fell to the Arabs in the seventh century.

From the middle of the seventh century, with the rise of the new Islamic power of Arabia in western Asia and northern Africa, relations between Byzantium and China were even more intercepted. However in some Chinese sources, it is found that the Byzantine emperor tried to persuade the Chinese emperor to join in an alliance to fight against the invasions of the Arabs. [3]

In China, after three hundred years of turbulence and confusion, the new Sui Dynasty reunified the whole of China in 589 CE and the Great Tang replaced the Sui and brought China to a summit of brilliance. When the Chinese power re-extended into the Western Regions and controlled east-west traffic, the Silk Road began to recover its prosperity. During this period, several religions were transmitted from the West to the East. Nestorianism and Islam spread into the hinterland of China at a time when Buddhism also reached its zenith. The famous Buddhist monk Xuan-zang travelled for more than ten years in India to study Sutra. People travelled peacefully on the Silk Road and preached their beliefs in different religions. The records of traffic on the Silk Road are relatively rich in Chinese, Greek and Arabic sources.

The third group of sources covers those collected and compiled from the tenth century to the middle of the seventeenth and includes the sources for dynasties of the North Song (960–1127), the South Song (1127–1279), the Yuan

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3.   *Xin-tang-shu (The New History of the Tang Dynasty)* ch. 221. The text runs as follows:

During the 17th year of Zheng-guan [643 CE] the king Po-to-li sent an embassy offering red glass and *lu-chin-ching* [green gold gems], and a cabinet order was issued as an acknowledgment. When the Ta-shih [Arabs] usurped power over these countries, they sent their general, Mo-i [Mo'awiya, then Governor of Syria, afterwards Caliph 661–80 CE], to reduce them to order. Fu-lin obtained peace by an agreement, but in the sequel became subject to Ta-shih. From the period Qian-feng [666–8 CE] till the period Ta-tsu [701 CE] they have repeatedly offered tribute to the Han [Chinese] court. In the seventh year of the K'ai-yuan period [719 CE] they offered through the ta-yu [a high official] of T'u-huo-lo [Tokharistan] lions and *ling-yang* [antelopes].

(1271–1368) and the Ming (1368–1644), corresponding to the period of the dynasties of the Macedonians, the Komnenoi, Angeloi and Pa¹iologoi in the Byzantine Empire and afterwards.

In this period (especially during the tenth to the twelfth centuries) Seljuk Turkey had grown into a great power: the Seljuks snatched the terr'tʾry from the Abbasid Caliphate, began to enter Western Asia, and claimed the 1 aːtery of the area, calling their state 'Rum', i.e. the Rum Sultanate; they graduallʾ made Asia Minor the bridgehead for invading Europe, especially the Balkʾns. The Crusades, especially the Fourth Crusade, reduced Byzantium to the 'sick pʌ–ˈson' of the Bosporus, a declining 'Greek State' ignored by contemporaries. On tiʾ other hand, Mongolian control of the Eurasian continent in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries brought security to the traffic between the East and the West. However, there is little new information about Byzantium in Chinese sources; for instance, in *Fu-lin-zhuan* (record of Rome, or Byzantium) of *Song-shi* (History of the Song Dynasty) there is nothing new about the Byzantine Empire, only old sources gathered from the previous histories and some descriptions of the Rum Sultanate.[4] An explanation for this fact is that, from the foundation of the Song Dynasty, the western boundaries of China never extended beyond the Yumen Gate and thus China lost its capacity to contact the West.

In each of the three periods, particular writers contributed to Chinese knowledge of the West. In the first period, Zhang Qian, Ban Chao and Gan Ying were among the most important and famous Chinese who left significant information about the Western Regions, although some others may have helped widen Chinese knowledge of the outside world.

Zhang Qian (? – 114 BCE) was regarded as a pioneer in exploration to the West. Sent as ambassador by emperor Wu-di of the Han Dynasty, he travelled twice during 139–126 BCE to the Western Regions to visit several nations.there, established economic and political relations with them and opened officially the well-known 'Silk Road'. His observations and information about those lands and peoples helped the Chinese to obtain access to knowledge of the Western Regions.

Pan Chao (32–102 CE) was a well-known general-politician of the Later Han Dynasty, who participated in several important campaigns against Hsiung-nu (the Huns) and accomplished the successful conquest of about fifty states around the Tarim Basin during his thirty years' brilliant service from the seventies of the first century; he re-consolidated the supremacy of Later Han China, and made the traffic on the Silk Road safer and more prosperous. Pan Chao, in 97 CE, sent Gan Ying as an envoy to Rome (Ta-chin). Gan Ying travelled to somewhere in the Persian Gulf or the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, then stopped and gave

4.   *Fu-lin-zhuan (*Records of Fu-lin) in *Sung-shih* (History of the Song Dynasty) ch. 490. Among the texts, there are some interesting sidelights. The Emperor was described thus: 'dresses in red and yellow robes, and wears a turban of silken cloth interwoven with gold thread. In the third month every year he goes to the Temple of *Fou-shih* ['Temple of Buddha', here maybe meaning Mohammed; in other places the Qu'ran is described as *Fou-ching*], to sit on a red couch which he gets the people to lift — much more like a Turkish Sultan instead of a Byzantine Emperor.

up his mission. *Hou-han-shu* (chs. 86, 88) preserves information on his unsuccessful mission as follows:

> In the 9th year of Yung-yuan of Ho-ti (CE 97) the tu-hu (governor-general) Pan Chao sent Gan Ying as an ambassador to Ta-chin, who arrived in T'iao-chih, on the coast of the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of An-hsi [Persia] told Gan Ying: 'The sea is vast and great; with favorable winds it is possible to cross within three months, but if you meet slow winds, it may also take you two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea take on board a supply of three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make a man home-sick, and several have thus lost their lives.' When Gan Ying heard this, he stopped.

From then on, the ancient Chinese began to realize that there was between Western Asia and Constantinople a quite wide maritime space which was difficult to cross. This might be the reason why no other Chinese, envoy or merchant, tried to follow Gan Ying to make direct contact with the Graeco-Roman World.

Gan Ying was the first Chinese official envoy who arrived in the Persian Gulf: 'he passed through the capital of Parthia, the city of Hekatompylos (Ho-tu), went westward 3400 Chinese *li*[5] (about 1700 kilometres), arrived at Ecbatana (Uk-man), and then went another 3600 li to Ktesiphon (Si-Pan), then he went down and across the Euphrates, turned southeast, and arrived at Charax (Yu-lou), one of the greatest seaports on the Persian Gulf in the ancient world.'[6] He passed various places and areas that the Chinese had never heard of before, overcoming incalculable hardships, meeting various peoples, noticing miscellaneous things, and thus brought back valuable knowledge to China of the western world, including information about the Roman empire, although he himself did not arrive in Roman territory. *Hou-han-shu* preserved the knowledge gathered by Gan Ying of the Roman empire with its geographical situation, boundaries, capital, inhabitants and produce.

On the other hand, it seems a group of Roman merchants came to Sera, i.e. Luoyang, the metropolis of the Later Han Empire, in 100 CE.[7] *Ho-di-ji* (the life of Emperor Ho) in *Hou-Han-shu* refers to this event:

> In the twelfth year of Yong-yuan of Ho-ti (CE 100), in the winter,
> the western countries Meng-qi Dou-le (蒙奇兜勒)[8] sent

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5. A system of measuring length in ancient China, about 420 metres during the Han Dynasties. See Yang Gong-le, 'A New Research on Gang Ying's Diplomatic Mission to Xi-Yu: The Route and the Significance' *WH* 2001.4 115–18.

6. Lin Mei-cun discussed the routes and the geographic names which Gan Ying passed and emphasized that Gan Ying's Yu-luo must be Antioch-Charax, and not 'Hira' as suggested by F. Hirth. See Lin Mei-cun, 'Roman Merchants to China in 100 AD' *Journal of Social Sciences in China* 1991.4 71–84.

7. Lin Mei-cun, 'Roman Merchants'.

8. Certain Chinese scholars thought that the 'Meng-qi Dou-le' might be a corruption of Macedonia and Tyre, but as yet there is no consensus.

ambassadors to pay their tributes, and [the emperor] granted their king a golden signet and purple ribbons.

It is believed that the so-called 'ambassadors' were not exactly delegates sent by the Roman emperor, but free merchants who pretended to be delegates to promote trade relations between China and Rome. It is argued that the group of merchants never stepped onto the hinterland proper of the Chinese Empire, but only visited the administrative home of Pan Chao, who ruled the states around the Tarim Basin on behalf of the Emperor of China.[9] A certain Chinese scholar believed that there was some link between this group of merchants and that of a Macedonian merchant Maés Titianus, who was mentioned by Marinus in his *Introduction to the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*.[10]

During the same period, having supremacy in Western Asia, Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean, the Roman Empire made efforts to contact the Far East by the sea route. From the first century, the Romans paid more attention to the importance of trade relations with India and China. During the second century, the Roman traders extended their activities to the east coasts of the Bay of Bengal and south India, and reached southern China and from there into the heartland of China. Having had access to China from the land and sea routes, the Graeco-Romans obtained richer knowledge about China; for instance, the Greek author Pausanias gave a detailed account of sericulture, the most significant undertaking of China, calling silk worms 'ser' (6.26.6–8). During the second to third centuries, another Graeco-Roman author Bardesanes, a Syrian, described Chinese social traditions and customs in detail.[11] But after the crisis of the third century, the Roman explorations toward the Orient by sea stopped abruptly and completely.[12]

To the north, relations began between the Graeco-Roman World and China with the nomadic tribes as intermediaries along the Eurasian Steppe Route. This route had been earlier mentioned by Herodotos (5.52–3). During the period of Alexander's conquest and his reign, Indian merchants often appeared on this road.[13] When the Former Han China defeated the Huns and established authority on both rims of the Tarim Basin, the Eurasian Steppe Route became relatively easy and prosperous. The traffic on this route thrived till the third century CE.[14]

9. Zhang Xu-shan. 'Review on "The Roman Merchants to China in 100 AD"' *WH* 2004.2 111–14.
10. Lin Mei-cun. 'Roman Merchants'.
11. G. Coedès, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient, depuis le IVe siècle av. J.C. Jusqu' au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1910, rp. Hildesheim 1977); tr. Geng Sheng (Beijing 1987) 54, 72.
12. Zhang Xu-shan, 'The Roman Empire's Explorations Toward the Orient by Sea' *History Monthly* 2001.1 81–92.
13. E. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge 1928, rp. London 1974, New Delhi 1995) 26.
14. Zhang Xu-shan, 'The Exchanges Between Greco-Roman World and China on the Eurasian Route before the 3rd Century' *Journal of Qing-Hua University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 15.5 (2000) 67–71, 94.

For the indirect or direct exchanges between China and the West during the period mentioned above, countless names of places, peoples, cities or states of the Western Regions appeared in Chinese historical records of the succeeding dynasties. Due to the variety of languages through which Chinese accessed notices of the Roman-Byzantine world, and the varying pronunciations in the Chinese language itself in various epochs, those names of persons and places in the Roman-Byzantine or Eastern Mediterranean Worlds are found in the Chinese sources in many different forms and phonetic variants. This can make it difficult for modern scholars to identify the names precisely. Great effort has been made to clarify these doubts and obscurities, although opinions and explanations vary still among Chinese scholars and foreign sinologists. Discussions on the original meanings or definite geographic sites of these names have lasted for two centuries.

Studies have focused mostly on the words 'Ta-chin', 'Tiao-chih', 'Li-kan' and 'Fu-lin'. The German sinologist F. Hirth, who began his investigation in the later half of the nineteenth century, at first held that 'Ta-chin' was Roman Syria and that 'Li-kan' was a transcription of 'Rekam' or 'Rekem', referring to Petra in western Asia, representing the area of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, as his work proceeded, he gave up this opinion in 1917,[15] for the fame of Rekam, as the capital of the Nabataeans, had not carried so far as to make itself known to Zhang Qian when he arrived in Bactria. On the other hand, the Chinese explorer would certainly have obtained much information about the Seleucid empire from the local Greek inhabitants of Bactria. As a result, the Seleucid empire had a good chance of being known to Zhang-Qian as 'Li-kan', representing 'leucian' with the dropping of 'se' from 'Seleucian'. So the Chinese name Li-kan in Zhang Qian's epoch referred very possibly to the Seleucid empire in western Asia.[16]

Another problem is the different descriptions of the geographic sites of 'Li-kan'. In *Ta-wan-lie-zhuan* of *Shi-ji*, it is recorded of 'An-shi (Parthia), [that] on its west, there is T'iao-chih, and to the north, there are Li-kan and...'; but in later records of *Han-shu*, Li-kan and T'iao-chih were mentioned as the west borders of Wu-i-shan-li[17] (a country in north Afghanistan). Various explanations have been made for the discrepancy but in vain.

In my opinion, we should consider this issue of secondary importance to the history itself. For the historical and political circumstances changed greatly from the Former Han Dynasty onward, through the Greek-Persian epoch to the Roman-Persian epoch, then the Byzantine-Arabic epoch. Various powers in this area declined and rose in turn, as the same area witnessed different peoples in domination. But for the ancient Chinese, the area itself remained unchanged; they kept the old name to refer to any newcomers. As result, when the Seleucid

15. F. Hirth, 'The Story of Chang K'ién, China's Pioneer in Western Asia' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 37 (1917) 144. Text and translation of Chapter 123 of Ssï-Ma Ts'ién's Shï-Ki.

16. Zhang Xu-shan, 'Review on Study of Li-Kan, Ta-chin in Last Centuries' *Trends in Chinese Historical Studies* 2005.3 11–19.

17. Ibid.

empire disappeared, the Chinese still called the territory of the newcomers — of the Roman or the Byzantine Empire — by the name 'Li-kan' and when they mentioned 'Ta-chin', they always added, 'its other name is Li-kan'.

As for the name 'T'iao-chih', Hirth suggested that it might be the city of Babylon in south Mesopotamia, where there was another ancient city named Hira corresponding to the Chinese name Yu-luo; however, careful research shows that when Gan Ying arrived on the Persian Gulf in 97 CE, Hira, built by Arabs around 200 CE, had not yet come into being. So Hirth was not justified in this case.[18]

Xi-yu-zhuan of *Hou-han-shu* describes T'iao-chih like this:

> The city of the country of T'iao-chih is situated on a peninsula; its circumference is over forty li and it borders on the western sea (Persian Gulf/Indian Ocean). The waters of the sea crookedly surround it. In the east, and north-east, the road is cut off; only in the north-west is there access to it by means of a land-road.

So the city T'iao-chih itself must be near the sea coast, or the Persian Gulf, and it would be a city older than Hira; it is therefore believed that the city 'T'iao-chih' must be Antioch-Charax by the Tigris River, the ancient Greek city built by Antiochos IV of the Seleucid empire.[19]

The name 'Fu-lin' appeared much later than the last three names discussed; it seems be first mentioned in fourth-century Chinese sources, and there are many references in *Tai-ping-yu-lan (Tai Ping Empire Encyclopaedia*, compiled during the years 977–83 CE of the Song Dynasty) to its coins and to the name itself.[20] Most scholars believed that the name 'Fu-lin' derives from the Greek name 'πόλιν' (polin) for Constantinople itself. But the research of the Japanese scholar P.Y. Saeki for his *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* shows that, in a Syriac inscription of the Nestorians, the Syriac word 'Phrim' or 'Ephrim' was given in connection with the Chinese 'Fu-lin'. This leads us to believe that the proper name 'Fu-lin' is nothing but the Chinese transliteration of the word 'Phrim' or 'Ephrim'. For, after examining various records in sources of different periods, Saeki drew the conclusion that the Chinese 'Fu-lin' is the corruption of 'e-fu-lin', standing for 'Phrim' or 'Ephraim'; it is the same country of 'Ta-chin', but under a different name.[21] Further study of the ancient Persian and Syriac texts tells us that 'Ephrim' is the Syriac or Persian word for Rome. The so-called 'Fu-lin mystery' could be reasonably explained: the ancient Chinese historians did not make a mistake in claiming that 'Fu-lin is the ancient Ta-chin', i.e. the ancient Rome. Unfortunately, neither Saeki's work nor the newly discovered Persian texts could be easily found in China, so many of the Chinese scholars had no chance to read the solution in time.

18. Gong Ying-yan, 'Criticism on the Studies of Li-Kan, T'iao-Chih and Ta-chin During the 20th Century' *Trends in Chinese Historical Studies* 2002.8 19–28.
19. Lin Mei-cun, 'Roman Merchants'.
20. Zhang Xu-shan, 'Byzantine Coins Excavated in China and Their Implications' *Western Studies* 1 (Beijing 2003) 54–82.
21. P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (London 1973, 2nd ed. Tokyo 1951) 109–11.

Interestingly, when Pei Ju (裴矩), the minister of the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE) in charge of affairs in the Western Regions, went west to make contact with the Western Turkish Kingdom, Byzantium was trying to persuade the Western Turkish Kingdom to keep an alliance with itself against the Persian Empire in their long-running wars and to break the Persian monopoly of the silk trade. [22] Thus the detailed descriptions of the traffic on the 'North Silk Road', of the Western Turkish Kingdom and of 'Fu-lin' left by Pei Ju could usefully be considered alongside the contemporary records of Byzantine writer and delegate Zemarchus in Justin II's time.

Of course, we cannot discuss in full the Chinese narratives of the Roman and Byzantine empires, nor can we discuss all the old names or geographic sites in the Chinese historical records. I can give nothing more than an outline of those main sources and discussions in this paper; much work has to be done in future. As we know, through hard scholarly work, more and better studies have been completed in recent years, and we will work hard in future to contribute more to the study of communications between the West and the East in history, for we firmly believe that a better understanding of peaceful communications in the past among the nations and peoples will be beneficial to the progress of human civilization.

Chronology of the Chinese Dynasties

    Earlier Han (西汉) 206 BCE – 25 CE

    Later Han （东汉） 25–220 CE

    Three Kingdoms （三国） 220–265 CE

    Earlier Jin （西晋） 265–316 CE

    Later Jin （东晋） 317–420 CE

    Southern and Northern Dynasties （南北朝） 420–589 CE

    Sui Dynasty （隋） 581–618 CE

    Tang Dynasty （唐） 618–907 CE

    North Song Dynasty （北宋） 960–1127 CE

    South Song Dynasty （南宋） 1127–1279 CE

    Yuan Dynasty （元） 1271–1368 CE

    Ming Dynasty （明） 1368–1644 CE

22. Zhang Xu-shan, 'The Relations Between the Byzantine Empire and the West Turkic Khanate During 6th–7th Centuries' *WH* 2002.1 81–9, esp. 84–9.

Chen Zhi-Qiang

Narrative Materials about the Byzantines in Chinese Sources

There are plenty of mediaeval Chinese texts dealing with the Byzantine state. Chinese material for European studies was collected by sinologists and geographers more than a hundred years ago.[1] Other scholars used the material half a century ago.[2] At present, most Byzantine scholars do their research without touching the Chinese texts. This paper is a brief introduction to written and archaeological Chinese sources relative to the Byzantines, or Romans as they saw themselves. As this paper will indicate, the two are barely divisible within the Chinese historiographic tradition.

Chinese sources for Byzantium can be divided into three groups. The court chronicles of each dynasty from the fourth to the fifteenth century are the first and basic source-group for studies of Byzantine-Chinese relations. The second group comprises other mediaeval literature and the third group is the more fact-based body of government documents.

The Byzantine state appears in the Chinese chronicles under such different names as Liqian, Lixuan, Lijian, Daqin and Fulin, etc. These names have long evoked heated disputes among sinologists and geographers.[3] In fact, these different names all mean the country in the extreme west of the world in the Chinese mind. The first name for Byzantium in Chinese texts comes from the name given to the eastern part of the Roman Empire by historians such as those of the Han Dynasty in the *Hou-Han-Shu*,[4] a fifth-century court chronicle which covers the period 25–220 CE: they called it 'Daqin'. Other court chronicles from the fourth to the sixth century continued to call what had become the Byzantine state Daqin (Ta-ch'in) and also Lijian; these names appear as Daqin and Likxuan in the sixth-century *Wei-Shu* (The History of the Wei Dynasty);[5] as Fulin, Liqian and Daqin in other chronicles from the seventh to the fifteenth century; and as Folang and Fulang in the *Yuan-Shi* (The History of the Yuan Dynasty) covering

1. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into Their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations as Represented in Old Chinese Records* (Shanghai 1885, rp. Chicago 1975, New York 1996).
2. J. Lindsay, *Byzantium into Europe: The Story of Byzantium as the First Europe (326–1204 AD) and Its Further Contribution Till 1453 AD* (London 1952) 423–4.
3. F. Hirth, F. von Richthofen, H. Yule, P. Pelliot, E. Chavannes, Zhang Xing-lang and Feng Cheng-jun, etc.
4. Cf *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* ed. and tr. H.H. Dubs (3 vols Baltimore 1938–55) and H. Bielenstein, 'The Restoration of the Han Dynasty' *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 26 (1954) 1–209, 31 (1959) 1–287, with translations of Chinese sources. On the subject of China's foreign relations in the Han era see: G.F. Hudson, *Europe and China: A Survey of Their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800* (London 1931) chs. 2–3, and E. Chavannes, 'Trois generaux chinois de la dynastie des Han Orientaux' *Toung Pao* 7 (1906) 210–69.
5. H.H. Frankel, *Catalogue of Translations from the Chinese Dynastic Histories for the Period 220–960* (Berkeley 1957).

the period 1271–1368 CE.[6] The changes are hardly surprising. The continuities are more worth considering. To Chinese thinking, the Roman empire became Byzantine without essential change. Its continuities outlasted changes of dynasty or even imperial city, as they did in China itself. The historiographical tradition was also similar to the Byzantine in that historians built on one another's work by copying and embedding earlier accounts as a matter of course. The foundations of Chinese texts describing Byzantium were laid before Byzantium itself, in pre-Byzantine histories such as the *Hou-han-shu* and *San-kuo-chih*. This paper will visit those texts later.

The first chronicle to include some interesting detail about Byzantium is the *Wei-Shu* by Wei Shuo, who was the royal historian of the Northern Qi Dynasty. This chronicle covers the period 386–549 CE and displays the typical style of Chinese court chronicles. The most interesting section about the Byzantine state is translated here.[7]

> The country of Daqin (Ta-chin) is also called Lixuan, with its capital, the city of An-tu (Antiochia). It is situated in the place as far from Tiao-zhi (Iraq) as ten thousand *li*,[8] going westwards tortuously along the coastline of the sea, and from the city of Dai as far as thirty-nine thousand four hundred li. The country is nearby the sea, which resembles the Bohai sea in China. The western sea is similar in size and shape to the Bohai sea in the east, the result of natural evolution. The territory of that country amounts to six thousand square li, being between the two seas, and is mainly flatland, which the people of that country inhabit throughout. The royal capital of the country is divided into five cities, each city spanning five square li, and the circuit of the capital is sixty li. The king resides in the central city. In the king's city, there are eight ministers established for governing the eastern, western, northern and southern quarters of the country. In the royal capital, there are also eight ministers separately established for governing the four cities of the capital. The officials of the four cities come conjointly to hold a council at the king's city, when the important affairs of the country need to be decided, and there are problems difficult to handle in the four quarters. The king listens to the discussion, then decides what to do. The king goes out on an inspection tour to learn the changing morals and manners of his people every three years. The common people who are treated

6.   Hirth, *Roman Orient*, with translations of the dynastic histories.

7.   Most of the Chinese texts in this article are collected from the *Si-Ku-Quan-Shu* (*The Complete Library of the Four Treasures*). The book includes 36,583 volumes, compiled by more than three hundred scholars of all kinds of sciences during the period 1772–81. It is regarded as the most comprehensive collection of ancient and mediaeval texts in the world.

8.   The mediaeval Chinese *li* is shorter than that today. 5 li equals approximately a mile (a li =321.904m). F. Hirth's opinion that the li equals a *stade* or furlong is, perhaps, not right.

unjustly can make an accusation before the king. An official who has erred in trivial matters will be denounced, or in important matters be discharged from his post. The king will ask the people to select a worthy person to replace the official. The inhabitants of that country are well-proportioned and tall, with clothing and carriages and banners somewhat like the Chinese, whence they are called Daqin (Big Chinese) by the peoples of other countries. The land of the country is suitable for every kind of grain, mulberry and flax. The people there work on their cropland and at silkworm breeding. The special local products include green jade, stone beads, the magical tortoise, the white horse, the red-haired dog, the beautiful pearl and the luminous jade... The sun, the moon and the stars observed in that country are the same as those in China without any difference. I believe that the records of the preceding dynastic history are definitely wrong, because they mention that the place where the sun sets is only one hundred li from Tiao-zhi to the west.[9]

Other dynastic chronicles dealing with the Byzantines include:[10]

• *The Shan-Guo-Zhi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms), written before 297 CE embracing the period 220–65 CE, has a commentary by Pei Song-Zhi who made his famous notes to the book in 429 CE. One of his notes is a quotation from the *Wei-Lue* (The Brief History of the Wei Kingdom), which was lost before the end of the fifteenth century. *The Shan-Guo-Zhi* has a detailed account of the eastern part of the Roman Empire, in 1365 Chinese characters, which is cited below.[11]

• *The Nan-Shi* (The History of the Southern Dynasties), written by Li Yan-Shou of the Tang Dynasty, covering the period 420–589 CE, contains material about the Byzantines in 277 Chinese characters.

• *The Song-Shu* (The History of the Song Dynasty), written in 487–8 CE, embracing the period 420–79 CE. This chronicle is more than a hundred years earlier than the *Wei-Shu* but does not include extra new information.

• *The Nan-Qi-Shu* (The History of the South Qi Dynasty) was written by Xiao Zhi-xian of the Liang Dynasty in the first half of the sixth century, covering the period 480–502 CE, and the *Liang-Shu* (The History of the Liang Dynasty) was written by Yao Si-lian in 629–36 CE, embracing the period 502–57 CE. These two chronicles both include a story about an envoy sent by the king of Daqin to China.

9. The *Wei Shu*, vol. 102, *Xi-Yu-Zuan* (*The Account of the Western Countries*) cf. Chen Zhiqiang, 'The Sources on the Roman-Greek World in Ancient and Mediaeval Chinese Texts' *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά* 10 (2002–4) 255–434.

10. P. Schreiner, 'Eine chinesische Beschreibung Konstantinopels am 7 Jahrhundert' *Sonderdruck aus Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 39 (1989) 493–505, also Hirth, *Roman Orient.*

11. *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms 220–65* tr. A. Fang (2 vols Cambridge Mass. 1952) with an authoritative translation of chs. 69–78 of Ssu-ma Kuang's comprehensive narrative history of pre-Sung China, *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien.*

- *The Sui-Shu* (The History of the Sui Dynasty), written by Wei Zheng of the Tang Dynasty in 636–56 CE, covering the period 581–618 CE, concerns the Byzantine state under the name of Fulin. It is the first time this name is used in Chinese court chronicles. In the *Sui-Shu* there is a correct description of the three ways or routes from Duen-Huang to Xi-hai (the West Sea), that is from China to Byzantium. Another chronicle that records the history of dynasties before the Northern Qi Dynasty is *Jin-Shu* (The History of the Jin Dynasty) written in 644–6 CE. Its Byzantine material is mainly copied from the *Hou-Han-Shu.*

- *The Jiu-Tang-Shu* (The history of the Tang Dynasty) written by Liu Xü in 940–45 CE, and *the Xin-Tang-Shu* (The History of the Tang Dynasty)[12] written by O-Yang Xiu in 1044–60 CE, both have accounts of western countries. The two chronicles embrace the same period 618–907 CE, during which the Tang Dynasty had friendlier relations with other countries and more frequent diplomatic contact with the western countries than before. From the chronicles we know that the King of Fulin sent ambassadors to the Tang dynastic court in 667, 701 and 719 CE, and that Fulin and other western countries suffered a defeat by Chinese troops led by a general Gao Xian-Zhi.[13] The histories of the Tang Dynasty contain detailed information about the capital of Fulin, which has recently drawn the attention of scholars to these chronicles.

- *The So-Shi* (the History of the Song Dynasty), written by To-to in 1343–5 CE, covering the period 960–1127 CE, has a narrative about Fulin in 295 Chinese characters. But the chronicles by the historians of the Yuan Dynasty, such as To-to, are of uncertain accuracy and should be used with care. The following dynastic history pointed to some mistakes in the account of the *Song-Shi.*

- *The Ming-Shi* (the History of the Ming Dynasty), written by Zhang Ting-yu in the middle of the seventeenth century and embracing the period 1368–1644 CE, has a record of Fulin in 409 Chinese characters. The most interesting part of the text concerns a dialogue between the emperors of the Ming Dynasty and the people from Fulin in 1371 CE. The chronicle was written after 1645 CE, when the Byzantine state had been destroyed by the Turks for almost two hundred years.[14]

12. R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et Traité de l'armée* (2 vols Leiden 1947–8) with an authoritative, highly technical, thoroughly annotated translation of some parts of *Hsin T'ang-shu.*

13. After this victory the Chinese army was itself defeated and many Chinese prisoners of war were taken to western Asia.

14. Most Chinese dynastic histories can be found in Hirth, *Roman Orient.* Hirth principally translates seventeen passages from Chinese texts about the Roman orient and, without doubt, the translation has constituted up to now the best of any such translations of the texts by western scholars: its academic virtue is demonstrated by the fact that most of the western scholars concerned with research on ancient and medieval China use it as a basic source. I have to point out, however, three key problems. First, some evident mistakes, including mistakes in the original Chinese edition used by Hirth and the misunderstanding of some Chinese characters by Hirth.

The second group of written mediaeval Chinese sources for the Byzantine state includes both religious and secular texts. Sources in religious literature include the sutra of Buddhism and a Taoist text. *The Fo-Ben-Xing-Ji-jing*, translated in the period of the Tang Dynasty, has information on the language used by the people of Daqin. In a piece of the sutra in the Chinese version of Tripitaka, which includes 5,048 volumes, we find the record of a dialogue between a Greek king and a monk in which the king says that he comes from the country of Daqin. *The Luo-Yang-Jia-Lan-Ji* (Temples and Monasteries in Luoyang City) deals with the buildings and social life of the Byzantines. *The Da-Tang-Xi-Yu-Ji* (The Record of Western Travel in the Tang Dynasty) was written by Xuan Zuang (Hsüan Tsang), a famous Buddhist monk who travelled through the southern and central part of Asia in the seventh century; it records some strange things of the country of Fulin. A version of the Taoist text survives only in the fanciful narration of the *Tai-Ping-Jing* (the Great Peace) and does not contain any first-hand material about Daqin.[15]

The secular literature of mediaeval China contains plenty of sources referring to many aspects of Byzantine society. Only a brief description of some of the most interesting and important can be given here.

- The *Yi-Wen-Lei-Jü* (The collection of Literature and Art) compiled by the writer O-Yang Xun of the Tang Dynasty includes a poem in its *Bu-Bu* (the Section of Cloth). This poem describes an envoy of Daqin coming to China, with a strange cloth as a gift to a Chinese general Teng Xiu. The strange cloth can be cleaned in fire but not in water.

- *The Tai-Ping-Guang-Ji* (The Emperor's Library of Tai-Ping), containing some 475 novels and notes collected by Guang Fang of the Northern Dynasty, has an interesting story in volume 8. This story recounts that in the West Sea there is an island on which there is a country called Fulin. The

throw doubt upon the general accuracy of his translation. In his translation of the *Sung-shih*, for example, the sentence 'they cast gold and silver coins... on the pile they cut the words Mi-le-fu, which is a king's name' (64) should be translated 'the face of coins is engraved with the image of Maitreya, the back with the king's name.' The mistake is due to a mistake in his original text, whereby the character 'Pei' or 'back' is misquoted as 'Chie' or 'all'. Hirth translates another sentence in the *T'ung-tien*, 'the Law of the Tz'im-tz'in allowed people to marry their relatives, particularly among the barbarians,' as 'the Hsun-hsun have most frequent illicit intercourse with barbarians' due to his misunderstanding of the words 'cheng-pao'. Such mistakes are not rare in Hirth's translation. Second, his book does not contain all the passages we know to exist on our subject, despite the fact that the collection of these passages claimed a considerable part of his time and attention. The seventeen passages in his book come mostly from the official dynastic chronicles, while the passages used here, numbering some 149, come not only from the dynastic histories, but also from government documents, folk literature, and scientific books, etc. Third, his book, written about 1885, cannot cover the findings of the last century by historians and archaeologists. Hirth translates the *Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* as mainly a repetition of that in the *T'ung-tien*. The same is true in the case of the *Chu-fan-chi* (92) and the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*. I have commented on his book in detail: see Chen, 'Sources'.

15. H. Maspero, 'Un texte taoiste sur l'orient Romain' *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, vol. 3, *Études Historiques* (Paris 1950) 46.

people of Fulin always get diamonds from a very deep valley in the northwest of the island. They throw down a piece of meat into the valley and a bird of prey catches the meat up; thus they can get the diamonds that have stuck to the meat.

- *The Tong-Dian* (The Comprehensive Study of History), written by Du Yu in 776–801 CE, has many useful details about the products and industry of the country and the dependencies of Daqin, although some of the wording is copied from preceding dynastic histories. The author of the book also quoted verbatim from a now lost work written by his nephew Du Huan, who acquired much interesting information during his travels of more than ten years in the western countries.

- *The Zhu-Fang Zhi* (The Essay of Foreign Countries), written by Zhao Ru-Shi of the Song Dynasty, contains much independent material from sources other than the dynastic chronicles. The author records the customs of Daqin society, especially the diplomatic ceremonial of the king of Daqin, and the practices of trade and commerce, copying these from other books.[16]

- *The Ben-Chao-Gang-Mu* (the Compendium of Materia Medica), written by the famous physician and pharmacist Li Shi-Zhen and published in 1578, records many substances coming from Byzantium such as jade, mercury, diamond, glass, crystal, alum, tulip, curcuma aromatica, sweet-scented osmanthus, frankincense etc. Each item is recorded with its medical function, place of origin and the methods by which it is obtained.[17]

- *The You-Yang-Za-Zu* (The Collection of Folklore), written by Duan Cheng-Shi of the Tang Dynasty, describes the native products of Daquin, together with various plants such as balsam, narcissus, jasmine etc. which were not familiar to the Chinese. *The Nan-Fang-Chao-Mu-Zhuang* (the Trees and Plants of Southern China), compiled during the period of the third to the fourth century, contains similar information.

In fact, the secular literature of mediaeval China is a great treasury of sources about the Byzantine state and includes works by geographers, travellers, physicians, pharmacists, writers of fiction, historians and naturalists.

In mediaeval China, dynastic scholars and officials were always collecting the documents of preceding dynasties. Such documents when edited might make a useful handbook for the new administration; so much so that every court of mediaeval China paid attention to preserving these books. These collections constitute the third body of Chinese textual sources that refer to Byzantium.

- *The Wen-Xian-Tong-Kao* (The Comprehensive Study of Chinese History Documents), compiled by Ma Dua-Lin of the Song Dynasty, collects and

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16. The Daqin material is taken from the *Lin-wai-dai-da* or the *Answer to Questions about Foreign Countries* by Zhou Qu-fei c.1178 CE, written about thirty years earlier. Zhou Qu-fei was an official dealing with foreigners and well informed about western countries.

17. *The Compendium of Materia Medica* mentions 1892 kinds of 'drugs' (in Chinese eyes) and 11,000 prescriptions. Among them, several dozens of items come from Fulin.

analyses the records of preceding dynasties and of Daqin (Lijian, Fujin etc.) comparing and examining the differences among them.

- *The Che-Fu-Yuan-Gui* (The Collection of Emperor's Books and Documents), compiled in the Song Dynasty, records important events of the past. I n this collection, besides the sources contained in the chronicles of the Tang Dynasty, volume 90,971 has two copies of some information not recorded in those, namely that an envoy from Fulin visited the court of the Tang Dynasty in 708 and 742 CE.[18]

- *The Tang-Da-Zhao-Ling-Ji* (The Collection of the Imperial Order of the Tang Dynasty), compiled by Xü Jian of the Tang Dynasty, preserves the law of 845 CE by which Emperor Wu Zong persecuted the believers of foreign religions including Christians from the Daqin country, because he believed that they were proselytizing among his subjects.

Although the texts mentioned above are the basic sources for Byzantine-Chinese relations, this is not to say that there is no material evidence from modern archaeology in China. There are at least two kinds. The first is the Byzantine gold coinage discovered in China. Chinese archaeologists have excavated more than fifty pieces of gold at historical sites around northern and northwestern China in recent years.[19] These gold coins were identified as Byzantine by Xia Nai, former president of the Chinese Association of Archaeology, who presented his article on the subject to the XV International Conference of History. He claimed that all such gold coins belong to the period from Theodosius II to Heraclius and demonstrate the accuracy of Chinese textual records about Byzantine gold coins circulating in the northwest region of China during the sixth century.[20] The second form of archaeological evidence is the *Daqin-Jing-*

18. Cf. Zhang Xu-shan, 'China and the Byzantine, Trade-Relations-Knowledge, From the Beginning of the 6th to the Mid-7th Century' *Ιστορικογεωγραφικά* 6 (1998) 155–344.

19. There are many recent articles examining the question of Byzantine coins found in China. The more useful include: Xu Bai, 'Coins of the Eastern Roman Empire Found in China' *Chinese Encyclopaedia* (Shanghai 1986) 676–7; Xu Pingfang, 'The Silk Routes Within China in View of Archaeology' *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* 1995.1 291–344; Chen Zhiqiang, 'On the Problems of Byzantine Golden Coins Found in Dugulo Tomb of Sui Dynasty in Dizhang Wan of Xianyang County' *Kaogu* 1996.6 78–81; Lou Feng, 'Imitations of Golden Coins of the Eastern Roman Empire' *Ancient Tombs of the Sui and the Tang Dynasties in Guyuan County* (Beijing 1996) 151–6; Kang Liushuo, 'Introduction of the Byzantine Golden Coins within China' *Zhongguo qianbi* 2001.4 3–9. Former Professor Xia Nai was the best researcher on the subject before the 1980s, and Former Professor Qi Si-he dealt with the topic of relations between China and the Eastern Roman Empire. Also cf. Chen Zhiqiang, 'On the Problems of 56 Byzantine Coins in China' *Kaogu xuebao* 2004.3 295–316.

20. Xia Nai, 'On Golden Coins of the Eastern Roman Empire Found in Ancient Tombs of Sui Dynasty in Dizhang Wan of Xianyang County' *Kaogu xuebao* 1959.1 67–73. He was familiar with many archaeological books in western languages such as the following: H.N. Humphreys, *The Coin Collector's Manual* (London 1897); J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London 1941) and W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (London 1908).

Jiao-Liu-Xing-Zhong-Guo-Bei (The Monument of the Nestorian from Daqin in China), unexpectedly unearthed by a peasant of the city of Chang-an (today Xi-an) in 1625 CE. The inscription on the monument has aroused the interest of scholars and long caused debate among them. The inscription mentions that a missionary of Nestorianism from the country of Daqin came to the city of Chang-an in 635 CE, and three years later the first monastery of Christianity in China was established in the city, with twenty or so Nestorian clergymen living in it. In its 1732 Chinese characters, there is some information about the religious activity of the Nestorians between 635 and 781 CE.[21]

Preliminary analysis of these sources suggests two inferences. First, there are direct or indirect connections, possibly unbroken, between China and the Byzantine state during the long period from the fourth to the fifteenth century. The relation between the two countries in the Middle Ages is so significant that we can claim that the connection of the Chinese with Europe before the thirteenth century was mainly with the Byzantines. Second, Chinese narrative materials about the Byzantines are based on reality but suffused with mythology and imagination. The Chinese texts give us both information and a positive view of the Byzantine political system, especially of its emperors, their palaces, and the life of the inhabitants under the Byzantine 'Kings'.[22] Here I should like to give two examples of Chinese narratives about the Byzantines.

The first example is from the fifth-century text *The Hou-Han-Shu* named early in this paper, covering the period 25–220 CE and probably drawing on the third-century history *The Wei-Lio*.[23]

> The country of Ta-ts'in (Da-qin) has another name, Li-ch'ien (Li-jian)[24] and, being situated on the western part of the sea, is thus also called H'ai-hsi-kuo (Hai-xi-guo) or the country of the western part of the sea. Its territory amounts to several thousand square li, with over four hundred cities and several tens of small states subject to it. The fortresses of the cities are made of stone. The

21. P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (London 1937, 2nd ed. Tokyo 1951), a monumental source book of data on the history of Nestorian Christianity in China, chiefly of the T'ang period, with reproductions and translations of many relevant Chinese texts.

22. Chinese texts about the Byzantines have been collected more from the perspective of geography than of history proper. But the work by geographers makes these sources known to historians. Although such sources have been collected for more than a hundred years, there are still many which are as yet untouched.

23. *H'ou-h'an-shu (Hou-han-shu)* or the History of the Later H'an Dynasty, embracing the period 25–200 CE, was written c.420–472 CE by Fan Yeh (Fan Yie), who wrote the history based on some new information which became the source of the later dynastic chronicles. The information used in the *H'ou-h'an-shu* comes, as far as I can ascertain, from the *Wei-lio* by Yu H'uan.

24. The character is pronounced Ch'ien (jian), unlike the Chien (qian) in the *Chien-h'an-shu*, but the name refers to the same people who lived in the ancient Roman Empire. The source of the name of Ta-ts'in has given rise to curious controversy among scholars, but it is generally supposed to refer to the extreme western country, that is, the Roman Empire, in the mind of the ancient Chinese.

postal stations on the roads are covered with white plaster. There are pine and cypress trees and all kinds of other trees and plants. The people devote much of their time to agriculture, and most of them practice the cultivation of trees and mulberry bushes and harvest the silk of silkworms. They all cut their hair and wear embroidered clothing, and drive in small carriages covered with white canopies. Entering or leaving the palaces, they beat drums, and hoist flags, banners and pennants. The circumference of the city in which they live is over one hundred li. In the city there are five palaces, ten li distant from each other. In the palaces the pillars of the buildings are made of crystal; and vessels used for eating are also so made. The king of the country goes to each of the palaces for a day to follow public affairs. After five days he completes his round. As a rule, a man with a bag is sent to follow the King's carriage. Those who have some matter to submit can throw a petition into the bag. When the king comes back to that palace, he considers the rights and wrongs of the matter. There are officials and governmental secretaries in each palace, and thirty-six established generals who conjointly discuss the public affairs of the country. The Kings are not permanent rulers, but appointed men of merit. When a severe calamity or a strange disaster visits the country, or wind and rain come at the wrong time, the king is deposed and replaced by another. The one relieved of his rule submits to his degradation without a murmur. The people of that country are tall and well proportioned, somewhat like the Chinese, whence they are called Ta-ts'in.[25] In the country there are gold, silver, precious stones and strange things in plenty, especially the jewel that shines at night, the pearl with moonshine, the chicken-frightening rhinoceros, corals, amber, precious stone like pearl, cinnabar, green jadestone, gold-embroidered rugs, ready-made gold-embroidered felts, and fine silk-cloth of various colours. They make gold-coloured cloth and asbestos cloth. They also have other fine cloth, called Shui-yang-ts'ui (Shui-yang-chui) or down of the water-sheep, which is made from the cocoons of wild silk-worms. They collect all kinds of fragrant substances, and boil the juice of them into styrax. All the rare gems of other foreign countries come from there. They make coins of gold and silver, and ten coins of silver are worth one coin of gold. They traffic by sea with An-hsi (An-xi) and T'ien-chu (Tian-zhu),[26] the profit of which trade is ten-fold. They are honest in their disposition, and there is no double-dealing. Cereals are always cheap, and the budget is based on a well filled treasury. When the embassies of neighbouring countries arrive at their furthest frontier, they are

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25. The meaning of Da-qin (Ta-ts'in) in Chinese is 'the large Chinese'.
26. An-hsi (An-xi) is identified with Parthia and T'ien-chu (Tian-zhu) with Shien-tu, India.

driven posthaste to the king's capital, and on arrival, are presented
with golden money. Their kings have always desired to send
embassies to the H'an Empire, but An-hsi wished to continue
trading with them in Chinese silks, and it is for this reason that
they were cut off from communication and could not reach China.
In the ninth year of the Yen-hsi (Yan-xi) period of the Emperor
H'uan,[27] the king of Ta-ts'in (Da-qin), An-tun (An-dun), sent an
embassy who came through Jih-nan (Ri-nan)[28] outside our frontier
to offer ivory, rhinoceros' horns and tortoiseshell, which was the
first time they communicated with us. The list of their tribute
contained no jewels or strange things whatsoever, which fact
makes us suspect that the tradition is exaggerated. It is also said
that in the west of this country there is the Jo-shui (Ruo-shui), or
Weak Water, and the Liu-sha, or desert, near the residence of Hsi-
wang-mu (Xi-wang-mu), or the queen of the western world, which
place is almost the place of the sunset.[29] The *H'an-shu* says: 'from
T'iao-chih (Tiao-zhi),[30] anyone who travels towards the west for
two hundred days is near the place where the sun sets' which
words do not agree with the present book. Former embassies sent
by the H'an Dynasty all reached, and returned from, Wu-i,[31] and
there was none who reached as far as T'iao-chih. It is further said
that from An-hsi one goes northward by the land road around the
sea, and comes to the sea, then proceeds westwards to Ta-ts'in.
The country is densely populated. On the roads there are kiosks
every ten li, and resting-places every thirty li. One is not attacked
by robbers and thieves on the way, but the roads are made unsafe
by fierce tigers and lions that will attack travellers. Unless
travellers are travelling in caravans of over a hundred men
equipped with arms, they may be devoured by those beasts. It is
also said that there is a flying bridge of several hundred li, by
which one can cross to the countries to the north of the sea. The
strange precious stones and marvellous things said to be produced
in this country are sham curiosities and mostly not genuine,
whence they are not mentioned here.

27. The ninth year of the Yen-hsi (Yan-xi) period of Emperor H'uan is 166 CE and
     Emperor H'uan was the tenth emperor of the Later H'an Dynasty, reigned 147–67
     CE.
28. Hirth identifies the name An-tun (An-dun) with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who
     was the emperor at Rome at the time 161–80 CE, cf. 175. Jih-nan (Ri-nan) means the
     name of the district near the Gulf of Tonkin. Hirth identifies it with Annam.
29. I cannot identify this Jo-shui (Ruo-shui) with any river. Herodotus gives this precise
     and interesting description of a fountain in Ethiopia, the water of which is so weak
     that nothing is able to float upon it (III, 23). In Chinese mythology, this Hsi-wang-mu
     (Xi-wang-mu) is the name of the queen of goddesses in the West. Hirth
     misunderstands it as 'the mother of the western kings'.
30. This name is identified with Chaldei in Babylonia.
31. Wu-i is the same as Wu-i-shan-li, identified with Alexandria, in Khorassan, or Herat.

The second example is from the *San-kuo-chih*, written before 297 CE and covering a slightly later period than the *Hou-Han-Shu* but also drawing (to some unknown degree) on the *Wei-lio*.[32]

> Formerly, T'iao-chih (Tiao-zhi) was wrongly believed to be to the west of Ta-ts'in (Da-qin), and now its known position is to the east of Ta-ts'in. Formerly, it was also wrongly believed to be stronger than An-hsi (An-xi), and now it has become a vassal State of An-hsi, the so-called western frontier of An-hsi. Formerly, the Jo-shui River (Rou-shue) was further wrongly believed to be in the west of T'iao-chih, and now the Jo-shui is known to be in the west of Ta-ts'in. Formerly, it was also wrongly believed that from T'iao-chih one went westwards for more than two hundred days and then could be near the place where the sun sets, and now one comes near the place where the sun sets by going westwards from Ta-ts'in. [33] The country of Ta-ts'in, also called Li-chien, is to the west of An-hsi and T'iao-chih, and to the west of the great sea. From the city of An-ku (An-gu) on the frontier of An-hsi one takes passage in a ship,[34] directly traversing the west sea to reach Ta-ts'in with favourable winds in two months; with slow winds, the passage may last a year, and with no wind at all perhap; three years. This country lies to the west of the sea, so is com. 1only called H'ai-hsi (Hai-xi) or (the country of) the west of the sea. There is the city of Ch'ih-san (Chi-san).[35] From below the count; y one goes due north, and reaches the city of Wu-tan (Wu-dan).[36] One travels from there further toward the south-west by river for

32. San-kuo-chih (San-guo-zhi), or the History of the Three kingdoms, written before 297 CE, compiled by P'ei Sung-chih (Pei Song-Zhi) circa 429 CE, quotes, as a note, the Wei-lio (Wei-lue), or the Brief History of the Wei kingdom, written by Yu Huan (Yu Huan) about the middle of the third century. The Wei-lio was a rich source of information for later authors.

33. Here P'ei Sung-chih noted: 'There has been much dispute among scholars as to the correction, by the *Wei-lio*, of many descriptions in the previous histories. To my knowledge, the Ta-ts'in is reasonably identified with the Roman Empire, T'iao-ch'ih with the Chaldei in Babylonia, An-hsi with the Parthian kingdom. During the period of more than four hundred years when the H'an Dynasty reigned, the history, territory, borders etc. of these countries changed much. In this account of Ta-ts'in there are so many mythical names of places and products that it becomes the most controversial passage in the relative texts. I venture to suggest that readers had better not let themselves get hopelessly lost in "the desert"'.

34. The name An-ku is the most controversial one in the passage. Of various opinions, I present here two strong viewpoints. Hirth identifies An-ku with Orchoe, or Uruku, today Warka, a city of southern Babylonia (139, 190). Some scholars, however, identify it with Antiocheia or Antioch, today Antakya in Turkey close to the Mediterranean coast, cf. Feng Cheng-jun, *Textual Research of Western Countries* (Taipei 1962) 85. I believe that Hirth's interpretation is the more credible.

35. It is identified with Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, lat. 31°13′ N, long. 29°55′ E.

36. Adane or Aden today. Chief seaport on the southern coast of Arabia, it became at a very early period the great mart for trade between the East and the West. It is identified with Alexandria by Hirth, but this identity is doubtful.

one day and further toward the south-west by river for one day again. There are three great cities.

From the city of An-ku one goes due north by land to the north of the sea, and again due west to the west of the sea and then one goes southwards straight via the city of Wu-ch'ih-san (Wu-chi-san),[37] then travels by river on board ship for one day, and, coming round the coast by sea, one sails on this great sea for six days to reach this country. There are more than four hundred small cities and towns in all in the country. It extends several thousand li in all directions to the east, west, south and north. The king's capital lies on the banks of a river and by the sea. The defences of the cities are made of stone. The country has trees: pines, cypress, pagoda-trees, catalpa, bamboo, reeds, poplars, parasol trees and all kinds of other plants. The people customarily plant all kinds of grain in the fields. Their domestic animals include the horse, the donkey, the mule, the camel. They cultivate the mulberry silkworm. Jugglers are common there and they can spout fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves, juggle twenty balls, which is very clever. The country has no permanent rulers, and when an extraordinary calamity or disaster visits the country, they replace the ruler with a worthier man as their king, while discharging the former king, who does not even dare to murmur. Generally, the people are tall and upright, somewhat like the Chinese but in foreign dress; they call their country another China. They always wished to send embassies to China, but the An-hsi wanted to make a profit out of their trade with us, so would not allow them to pass through. Usually they can read and write foreign books. As a regulation by law, public and private palaces and houses are built as a building of several stories one after the other. They hoist flags and banners, beat drums, drive small carriages with white canopies, and have postal stations, which are like those in China. From An-hsi coming round the coast by sea northwards, one can reach this country. The people there live close together. There are kiosks (*t'ing*) every ten li and resting-places (*chih*) every thirty li on the roads. There is no fear of attack by robbers and thieves in the country, but the roads can be unsafe because of fierce tigers and lions that will attack travellers, and unless travellers go in caravans, they cannot pass through. Throughout this country they have established several tens of small kings. The king's capital of the country is over a hundred li in circumference. There are officials and governmental secretaries.

37. The Wu-ch'ih-san is probably the Ch'ih-san in the same passage, whence it can be identified with Alexandria in Egypt. Here Hirth's mistake is to add the name of the city, which belongs to the last sentence, to the next sentence. He translates: 'and again you go due south to arrive there. At the city of Wu-ch'ih-san, you travel by river...' (69).

The king has five palaces, ten li distant from each other. The king of the country usually goes to one of the palaces by day to learn the public affairs and sleeps there by night, and next day he goes to another palace; after five days he has completed his round. Thirty-six generals are established, and when they meet to discuss public affairs, they do not begin discussions if one of them has not yet arrived. When going out, the king usually orders one of his suite to follow him with a leather bag. Those who have some matter to submit throw a petition into the bag, and the king examines the merits of each matter when he comes back to his palace. They use crystal in making the pillars of palaces and various vessels, as well as bows and arrows.

The provincial parts of the country have had the titles of small states conferred on them: thus there are kings of Tse-san (Zhe-san),[38] of Lu-fen,[39] of Ch'ieh-lan (Qie-lan),[40] of Hsien-tu (Xian-du),[41] of Ssu-fu (Si-fu)[42] and Yu-luo.[43] There are very many other small kingdoms, which are impossible to enumerate one by one. The country produces fine ch'ih (chi). They make gold and silver coins, and one coin of gold is worth ten of silver. They weave fine cloth which, it is said, is made of the down of water-sheep, and called H'ai-hsi-pu (Hai-xi-bu), or cloth from the west of the sea. In this country all the domestic animals come out of the water. It is said that they do not only use sheep's wool, but also the bark of trees or the silk of wild-worms in weaving cloth and felt, such as the felt blankets and plush rugs, and yurts, which products are all good, and the colours of the products are brighter in appearance than the colours of those manufactured in the countries on the east of the sea. Further, they always make a profit from Chinese silk, which is unravelled to make foreign damask. It is for this reason that they frequently trade by sea with An-hsi and other countries. The water of the sea is bitter and unfit for drinking, which is why few travellers go there. In this country, they produce, in the mountain region, inferior jadestones with nine colours, including blue, crimson, yellow, white, black, green, purple, red, and dark purple. The nine-coloured stones found now in the Yi-u

38. The character Tse was pronounced Ta in the ancient Chinese, so it is identified with Charax Spasinu, a town at the southern end of Babylonia, or perhaps more accurately in Susiana, between the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates and near the Persian Gulf.
39. Nicephorium, a place of considerable importance in Mesopotamia on the river Euphrates.
40. Palmyra, Falmyrenus, a city of Syria, situated at 34°24′ N. and 38°20′ E.
41. It is perhaps identified with Damascus, the capital city of Syria.
42. Hierapolis, Bambyke, Menbyj, or today Membidj, the sacred city of Cyrrhestica in Syria, situated on the high road from Antioch to Mesopotamia, to the west of the Euphrates and to the south-west of Zeugma.
43. It is identified with Hira by Hirth.

mountain[44] belong to this category. In the 3rd year of the Yang-chia (Yang-jia) period,[45] the king and ministers of Shu-le (Shu-le)[46] presented, by other hands, to our court a golden girdle and one piece of lapis lazuli from the west of the sea. The book *Hsi-yu-chiu-t'u* (xi-yu-jiu-tu) or Ancient Map of the Western Countries, now says the beautiful stones from the Chi-pin (Ji-bin),[47] T'iao-chih (Tiao-zhi) and other countries are inferior jadestones.

In Ta-ts'in there are plenty of the following products: gold; silver; copper; iron; lead; tin; marvellous tortoises; white horses; dogs with red bristles; chicken-frightening rhinoceros;[48] tortoise shell; black bears; red precious stone;[49] otters against poison;[50] large conches; jadestone (ch'e-chu);[51] agates; southern gold; jadeites; large feathers; ivory; jade with symbols; pearls with moonshine; the jewel that shines at night;[52] plain white pearls; amber; corals; ten kinds of coloured glaze,[53] viz., crimson, white, black, green, yellow, blue, dark purple, light azure, red, purple; beautiful jadestones of green colour; precious stone like a pearl; rock crystal; sapphire; realgar; orpiment; jasper of five colours; ten kinds of the felt blankets with different colours, viz. yellow, white, black, green, purple, red, dark purple, golden yellow, light azure, light yellow; the plush rugs with five colours; the inferior plush rugs with ten, nine or five colours; gold embroideries; damasks of

44. The mountain is in the north-western part of China.
45. 134 CE.
46. Kashgar, also called Srikritati, Kashgiri, in the Hsin-chiang Autonomous Region in the west of China.
47. Kasmira, Caspiraei, Kashmir today.
48. Cf. the note in the *T'ung-tien* by Tu You, which tells us that this rhinoceros has a white feature, like a basin, which can be used as a container of rice. When chickens want to eat the rice, they will be frightened away by it, whence the native give the animal the name, H'ai-chi-hsi or 'chicken-frightening rhinoceros'.
49. Ch'ih-ch'ih means 'red dragons without horns', and I believe that the text here makes a mistake, because in the *T'ung-tien* and the *Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* the name given is Ch'ih-li or 'red precious stones'.
50. The explanation can be found in the *Pen-ch'ao-kang-mu*, which says that the Pi-tu-shu seems to be a marmot which lives in holes in the ground by a river, with the shape of an otter. I believe that this strange name derives from a mistake.
51. This is described as jadestone in the *T'ung-tien*, which states that Ch'e-chu stone is in. ' jade.
52. Hirth does not know what these three things are, so he translates them as 'Fu-ts'ai-yu, Mi-g-yueh-chu, Yeh-kuang-chu.' I identify the Fu-ts'ai-yu as 'jade with symbols', because Fu-ts'ai mean symbols of red, yellow, white or black colour; the Ming-yu.i -chu as belonging to the superb pearl; the Yeh-kuang-chu as 'jewel that shines at night', for in ancient Chinese all pearls and jades with shine can be called 'Yeh-ku,ing' and the name Chu or 'pearl' can be used to refer or any beautiful pearl or jade.
53. The Chiu-lin is a precious stone of green colour which can be divided into many different types. It is very difficult in ancient Chinese to distinguish them. The Lang-kan is the name of a precious emerald made in the shape of a of a pearl.

various colours; Chin-tu cloth; Fei-ch'ih cloth; Fa-lu cloth; Fen-ch'ih-ch'u cloth; asbestos cloth; T'ao cloth of five colours; dark-red curtains interwoven with gold;[54] square curtains of five colours; twelve kinds of fragrant plant substances, such as Diospyrus ebenum, Styrax officinalis, Aloe perryi, Rosmarinus officinalis, Commiphora molmol, Aconitum carmichaelii, Boswellia carteri, Curcuma aromatica, Balsamodendron africanum, etc.[55] The road from Ta-ts'in reaches here passing to the north of the sea, and another road from Ta-ts'in follows the sea southwards and connects with the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Chiao-chih (Jiao-zhi).[56] There is also a water route from Ta-ts'in to the Yung-ch'ang (Yong-chang) prefecture of the Yi-chou (Yi-zhou) province, for which reason it is that rare gems come from Yung-ch'ang. Formerly only the water route was spoken of, and the land route was not known. Now I list all these routes above. The number of inhabitants and households of this country can not be assessed in detail.

The country is the largest to the west of Ch'ung-ling (Chong-ling),[57] and establishes very many small rulers under its supremacy, of which rulers only the larger ones, therefore, are recorded here. The king of Tse-san is subject to Ta-ts'in, and his residence lies in the central part of Tse-san. From there one goes northwards to Lu-fen by boat in half a year, with quick winds in a month. It is nearest to the city of An-ku in An-hsi. We do not know how many li from there (Tse-san) one goes south-westwards to reach the capital of Ta-ts'in. The king of Lu-fen is subject to Ta-ts'in, and his residence is two hundred li from the capital of Ta-

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54. The names before Pu or 'cloth', such as Fei-ch'ih, Fa-lu etc. above and Pa-tse, Tu-tai. etc. are the names of places of production. Nobody as yet has been able to identify them. An interesting description of these cloths can be found in Shen Fu-wei's *China and Africa: Their Exchanges for Two Thousand Years* (Beijing 1990) 56. It states that among the fabrics mentioned by the *Wei-lio*, six kinds of cloth are made of linen, that is the Ch'in-tu cloth from Cirta (Kipta in Phoenician), the Tu-tai cloth from Palmyra (Tadmor in Arabia), the Fei-chih-chu cloth from Phrygia in Asia Minor, the Fei-chih cloth from Beyruth which was the centre of manufacture of linen, the O-lo-te cloth from Antioch where the river Orontes flows by, and the T'ao cloth from Cilicia where the river Tarsus runs; and two kinds of cloth are made of cotton, that is the Fa-lu cloth from Alexandria, where there was the famous Pharos Tower, and the Wen-hsu cloth from Ethiopia called Al-Habasat in Arabia; one kind of cloth is made from the fur of certain animals living in the sea, that is the Pa-tse cloth from the Aegean Sea.

55. It is certainly very difficult to identify every name here with those familiar to modern scholars. The names in Latin, which are perhaps not unfamiliar to western scholars, are mostly identified by Shen Fu-wei.

56. Chiao-chih (Jiao-zhi) is Kuang-tung, Kuang-hsi provinces in China today.

57. Pamirs, mountainous region of central Asia, located mainly in 'the Tadzhik and extending into NE Afghanistan, and SW Hsin-chiang Autonomous Region (AR) in China.

ts'in. From the city of Lu-fen, one goes westwards to Ta-ts'in, across the sea and 'flying bridge', which is two hundred and thirty li in length. The route across the sea goes toward the south-west, and the route around the sea goes straight to the west.

The king of Ch'ieh-lan (Qie-lan) is subject to Ta-ts'in. The route from the country of Ssu-t'ao (Si-tao)[58] to Ch'ieh-lan, three thousand li away, runs southwards to cross a river, and then straight to the west. The road from Ch'ieh-lan runs again westwards straight to the country of Ssu-fu six hundred li away. The southern road leads to Ssu-fu, and there is the 'Stony Land' due south from Ch'ieh-lan and Ssu-fu. To the south of the stony land there is the great sea which produces corals and real pearls. There is a range of mountains, running east to west, to the north of Ch'ieh-lan, Ssu-fu, Ssu-pin (Si-bin) and A-man. To each side, east and west, of the Ta-ts'in sea there are ranges of mountains, both running south to north. The king of Hs'ian-tu is subject to Ta-ts'in, and his residence is six hundred li south-west of Ssu-fu. The king of Ssu-fu is subject to Ta-ts'in, and his residence is three hundred and forty li away by sea toward the north-east of Yu-lo. Yu-lo is subject to Ta-ts'in, and its capital city is to the north-east of Ssu-fu across the river. The route from the northeastern of Yu-lo crosses a river again, and from the north-east of Ssu-lo (Si-li)[59] crosses another river. The country of Ssu-lo is subject to An-hsi, and is on the boundary with Ta-ts'in. To the west of Ta-ts'in there is the water of the sea.[60] To the west of the sea there is the water of a river. To the west of the water of the river there is a large range of mountain running north to south. To the west of this there is the Ch'ih-shui (Chi-shui), or Red Water (Sea or River), to the west of which there is the White Jade Hill. On the White Jade Hill there lives the Hsi-wang-mu or the Queen of the western world. To the west of Hsi-wang-mu there is the changing desert. On the west of the desert there are the four countries of Ta-hsia (Da-xia), Chien-sha (Jian-sha), Shu-yao (Shu-yao) and Yueh-chih (Rou-zhi). To the west of these countries there is the Black Water, called Hei-shui, which is reported to be the western edge of the world.[61]

There is a large and undisguised overlap between these pre- and post-Constantinian texts and very little disruption between their views of 'Daqin'. Indeed, both texts show continuities with the sixth-century text the *Wei-Shu*

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58. Sittace, a town of ancient Assyria, perhaps on the banks of the Tigris, also called Sitta. Apolloniatis.
59. Ctesiphon, Ktesiphon, on the Tigris.
60. The Ta-ts'in sea can be regarded as the western sea, given that the description that Ta-ts'in lies on the sea which is called Hsi-h'ai or 'the western sea' frequently appears in Chinese books.
61. These places in the western African region have not yet been identified.

quoted at the start of this paper: two sentences from the *Hou-Han-Shu*[62] appear almost unchanged in the *Wei-Shu* while two other striking details in the *Wei-Shu* echo the *San-kuo-chih*.[63] The Chinese historiographic tradition is very like the Byzantine in being imitative, cumulative and slow-moving. Its continuities easily cross the Rome-Byzantinium divide: one might say that Chinese ideas about Byzantium precede Byzantium itself.

I have collected more than three hundred texts from ancient and mediaeval Chinese books about the Roman-Byzantine Empire and they are richly informative about Chinese knowledge of and attitudes to the Roman-Byzantine state, social life, government, administration, food, cloth, building, local products, plants, animals, precious stones, routes and geography. At the same time they are suffused with a sense of distance and a mythologizing habit of thought: in part, they describe a familiar world made strange (Daqin meaning 'tall Chinese'.[64]) Perhaps the ancient writers knew this distant world much as we know outer space: through myth and information together.

62. 'The people of that country are tall and well-proportioned, somewhat like the Chinese, whence they are called Ta-ts'in' (Daqin, 'Big Chinese'). 'The people devote much of their time to agriculture...and harvest the silk of silkworms.'

63. The magical or marvellous tortoise and the red-haired dog.

64. All three quoted translations make this observation.

Robert Mihajlovski

Three Byzantine Lead Seals from Devolgrad
(Ancient Audaristos) near Stobi

Three Byzantine lead seals were found in the grazing lands and vineyards at Devolgrad, thirteen kilometres west of Stobi, in the district of Kavadarci (Republic of Macedonia). [Fig. 101] In 2001 they became part of a private collection.[1] They are not unique nor are they important in themselves. But they do have significance in that they are among a relatively small group of seals which can be related to a particular place.

Devolgrad, also known as Diabolis, was a fortress which had been occupied successively in prehistoric, Paeonian, Macedonian, Roman and Byzantine times. Located on the massive limestone rock at the entrance of the gorge of the river Raec near the village of Drenovo, it controlled the road communication between Stobi and Heraclea Lyncestis on the junction of the Via Egnatia [Fig. 102], as well as being on an ancient route connecting the Pelagonia valley with the corridor of the Vardar-Morava-Danube river system. During Roman times it was an important strategic and military post and was perhaps a fortress-refugium for the population of Stobi and its environs, as reflected in another of its names, Stypeion. Later it played an important role in the military campaigns of Emperor Basil II in 1014[2] and throughout the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods. Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries the area became an object of incessant strife between the lords of Nicaea, Epirus and Thessalonica, including the Crusader, Bulgarian and Serbian invasions.

It is thus not surprising that the first lead seal is connected with the name of the *sebastos* George Palaiologos, a notable military commander and a great supporter (and brother-in-law) of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos. The seal is not well preserved and some significant fragments around the edges are missing. In its present state it has a diameter of 1.9 cm and weight of 4.70 gm [Fig. 103]. On the obverse there is a bust of the Holy Virgin Orans with a medallion of Christ in front of her (Blachernitissa) with the sigla MP ΘΥ (mother of God) to either side. There is a border of dots around the image. Along the circumference there are traces of a circular inscription: Θ(εοτο)κε βο(ηθε)ι Γεω(ργιω). On the

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1. The Marjan Malbašić collection from Bitola. I am very grateful to Mr Marjan Malbašić for his kind permission to publish the seals: R. Mihajlovski, 'Three Byzantine seals from Devol-Grad (ancient Eudaristos), near Drenovo, Kavadarci, Republic of Macedonia' 20 *CEB* [Paris 2001] *Pré-actes* 239; K. Adžievski, 'Stipion (Stupion) ne e Štip' *Godišen zbornik. Filozofski Fakultet Skopje* 14.40 (1987) 81–93; S. Antoljak, *Samuel and his State* (Skopje 1985) 116, 193 n. 943.

2. According to V.N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na Bŭlgarskata dŭržhava* (3 vols Sofia 1918–40, rp. 1971–2) 1:756–7: 'In 1015 Theodore the Kaukhan brother of Dometa was killed in Stypion or Stob (Στουπίον), known before as Diavolis (Διάβολις)'. See T. Tomoski, 'Zapisi za srednovekovniot Devol' *Makedonija niz Vekovite: Gradovi, Tvrdini, Komunikacii* (Skopje 1999) 398–418; S. Pirivatrić, *Samouilova država obim i karakter* (Belgrade 1997) 125 n.167.

reverse there is an inscription in four lines: σε(β)/αστω / (τ)ω Παλαι/ολογω surrounded by border of dots.[3] The whole text can be translated as 'Mother of God, protect George *sebastos* Palaiologos'. George Palaiologos, born around 1057, was the son of Nikephoros Palaiologos, a general and governor of Mesopotamia during the reign of Michael VII. He is prominent in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, being Anna's uncle by marriage. Indeed Anna credits conversations on military matters between him and her father, at which she was present, as being a major source for her work (*Alexiad* 14.7). Anna presents him as playing an important role both in her father's revolt, which brought him to the throne, and in subsequent military campaigns. According to Anna, he was sent to defend the fortress of Dyrrachion against the Normans of Robert Bohemond in 1081 (*Alexiad* 3.9) and later he was active in various campaigns such as the siege of Kastoria in 1083 (*Alexiad* 6.1), against the Pechenegs in 1087 and 1091 (*Alexiad* 7.2–4, 8.2–5), and in 1094 he defended the city of Berroia in Thrace when it was attacked by Cumans (*Alexiad* 10.2). After 1094 he held the title of *sebastos*. He was also active in civic life, being for instance a patron of Theophylact, Archbishop of Ohrid, who refers to him as *pansebastos sebastos*. George Palaiologos may have been one the founders of the monastery of St Demetrios of the Palaiologans in Constantinople and sponsor of a monastery close to Triaditza/Sofia. A *sebastos* G. Palaiologos was commemorated in the typikon of the Monastery of the Pantokrator in 1136. He died in the first years of the reign of John II Komnenos.[4]

As one might expect, there are numerous seals of George Palaiologos. Most bear images of St Nicholas, St George or the Theotokos,[5] with just one being decorated with the bust of St Demetrios.

Our lead seal was made soon after he was given the title of *sebastos*[6] in the Blachernae palace at Constantinople in 1094, a dignity which he kept to the end of his life. The next year he was organizing the defence of the town of Berroia (now Stara Zagora in Bulgaria) in Thrace, which was attacked by the Cumans, and so he sent a letter with military instructions to the commander of the regional post of Devolgrad in an attempt to organize logistic support for his campaign at Berroia.[7] The seal most probably was used to stamp a document drawn up for the organization of the army, including some recruitment from the area of Devolgrad/Stypeion.

3. I. Jordanov, 'Unpublished Byzantine Seals from the Village of Zlati Voyvod' *SBS* 3 (1993) 72.

4. J.-C. Cheynet & J.-F. Vannier, *Études prosopographiques*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 5 (Paris 1986) 140; M. Mullett, *Theophylact of Ochrid: Reading the Letters of a Byzantine Archbishop* (Aldershot 1997) 96, 188, 212.

5. J. Nesbitt & N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and the Fogg Museum of Art* (3 vols Washington 1991) 1:41.

6. *Sebastos* (venerable) was a popular title in the eleventh century as an honorific epithet. The term becomes the foundation of Alexios I's reform of titles and it was conferred on the nobility and the relatives of the Komnenian dynasty. The title *sebastos* served as the root for the highest titles: *sebastokrator, panhypersebastos* and *protosebastos*. See 'Sebastos' *ODB* 3:1862–3.

7. Jordanov, 'Zlati Voyvod' 72–3 nos. 3–4.

The iconography of the seal is Komnenian, created in the sigillographic tradition of the twelfth century. It shows the Holy Virgin Orans in her intercessory role. The image is enriched with the depiction of the Christ Child in a medallion on her chest. As Bissera Pentcheva has pointed out, 'this is a new eleventh-century image of the Virgin and Child that seems to have become popular because of its connection to a repeated miracle in the church of Blachernae in Constantinople.'[8] The iconography of the obverse may refer to George's reception of the title at the Blachernae palace.[9]

The second lead seal, better preserved, has a diameter of 2.3 cm and a weight of 11.10 gm [Fig. 104]. A hole was later made in the centre. The owner is anonymous. On the obverse are depicted two standing figures of saints, with aureoles and holding gospels. Traces of a vertical inscription are discernible between the figures: παντ.....ν; a beardless saint at the left supports a restoration as Παντ(ελημω)ν, i.e. St Panteleimon. On the reverse is an inscription in five lines: (ου) (σ)φραγι(ς)/ (ει)μι τη(ν) / (γ)ραφ(ην) γν(ω)/ση βλ(επ)/ω(ν)[10] which can be translated as: 'Whose seal I am you may know by looking at the writing'. The seal is well known, from several examples, with regard to both its iconography and its inscription. The various examples were issued from different *boulloteria*.[11]

The last lead seal has on its obverse a bust of St Demetrios. He is shown *en face*. On the reverse is a votive inscription in five lines, but the lower part is not well preserved. It has a diameter of 2.2 cm, weight of 8.4 gm with a channel of suspension [Fig. 105]. The bust of St Demetrios is damaged and worn. With his right hand he is blessing or holding a spear. In his left hand he holds an oval shield. This iconographic presentation has some similarities with the bust of St Nicholas blessing and holding a book.[12] A vertical inscription is preserved on either side: Ο Α(γιος) Δημι(τριος). There is a border of dots. The first two lines of the damaged inscription on the reverse contain the formula +σκεποις με/ (μ)αρτυς but the bottom two lines are hardly readable. Some of the letters are preserved: .μιτ(ρ)εινω /.τρι.[13]

8.   B.V. Pentcheva, 'The Virgin of Constantinople: Power and Belief' *Byzantine Women and Their World* ed. 1. Kalavrezou & A.E. Laiou (New Haven 2003) 125.

9.   Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 141.

10. V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens 1932).

11. 'Byzantine Seals: 1' *Spink* Auction 127 (London 7 October 1998) no. 326.

12. On the seal St Demetrios is portrayed as a youthful princely martyr clad in tunic and chlamys. The image of St Demetrios as a military saint had emerged by the tenth century. See 'Demetrios of Thessalonike' *ODB* 1:606; C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot 2003) 67–94.

13. The metric inscription may be read tentatively as: +σκεποις με (μ)αρτυς (Δι)μιτ(ρ)ει(ος) (σ)ω(ν) (λα)τρι(ν) ('May, O martyr Demetrios, you protect me your servant.' In my opinion the owner of this seal could be Demetrios Stypeiotes, a high official in the bureau of the *megas logariastes* in 1094. The Emperor Alexios I Komnenos created the office of the *megas logariastes*, first mentioned in 1094 (see 'Logariastes' *ODB* 2:1244, 'Stypeiotes' *ODB* 2:1972). *Logariastai* were financial officials controlling the economy of the provincial administration, monasteries and private estates. Demetrios Stypeiotes belonged to the family of Stypeiotes, which

Deciphering the present seal is problematic not only on account of its bad condition. The only secure items are the saint prototype of the obverse and the votive inscription 'May you protect me O martyr'. It has similarities with the seal of Anonymous Kalamanos dated to the twelfth century from the Dorin Collection in Sofia.[14]

During the thirteenth century the region of Devolgrad/Stypeion became unstable.[15] After the sudden death of the Bulgarian Tsar Koloman in 1246, the Emperor of Nicaea John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54) invaded the Macedonian fortresses of Stypeion and Hotovo and the regions of Skopje, Veles, Prosek towards Pelagonia and Prilep.[16] In 1334 there was the Serbian invasion of the region of Pelagonia and Ohrid. Following the battle of Marica in 1371, the Ottoman army of Timurtash Pasha conquered the towns of Štip, Prilep and Bitola in 1385.[17] It seems that, after the Serbian invasion followed by the Ottoman takeover, the fortress of Devolgrad/Stypeion lost its importance and the neighboring town of Tikveš took over the region.[18] Irrespective of these vicissitudes, our three seals from a specific place, namely Gradište (Devolgrad) near Drenovo, do allow a small addition to Cheynet and Morisson's list of Byzantine seals from certain or probable provenance.[19]

Appendix

The fortress of Devolgrad, locally known as Gradište, was rebuilt on the ancient Paeonian fortification of Audaristos. The site, which is not well known or well published, should not be confused with another Deabolis on the Devol river in Epirus, famous for the treaty of Devol in 1108. It was located on the massive

produced some dignitaries such as Romanos Stypeiotes, a Dux of the fleet, and Michael Stypeiotes, who was an important military commander of Alexios I. See J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 9 (Paris 1990) 108 n.1.

14. 'Anonymus Kalamanos' [1735: Anonymus 63], *Prosopography of the Byzantine World. PBW: Byzantine Seals 1025–1261. PBW Seals Website Edition 1*: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/PBE/seals/start.htm.

15. Akrop. 1.72–3.

16. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:435; J.S. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222–54: The Legacy of his Diplomatic, Military and Internal Program for the Restitutio orbis* (PhD thesis, University of California 1978); D.M. Nicol, 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires' *CMH*, vol. 4, *The Byzantine Empire*, pt 1, *Byzantium and Its Neighbours* ed. J.M. Hussey (Cambridge 1966) 315–7, rp. D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium: Its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World* (London 1972).

17. K. Adžievski, *Pelagonija vo sredniot vek: od doaganjeto na Slovenite do paganjeto pod turska vlast* (Skopje 1994) 176–281.

18. I acknowledge the kind assistance and great help of Prof. J.-C. Cheynet, Dr J. Barclay Lloyd, the archeologist M.A. Ljiljana Mandić of the Narodni muzej in Užice, and Mr Stefan Malbašić from Bitola. Also, I am grateful to the Australian Academy of Humanities for the Fieldwork Fellowship granted in 2004, which enabled me to visit the archaeological sites of Devolgrad and Stobi.

19. J.-C. Cheynet & C. Morisson, 'Lieux de trouvaille et circulations des sceaux' *SBS* 2 (1990) 105–36.

limestone rock (340m high and 400m long) at the entrance of the gorge of the Raec river near the village of Drenovo. The route from Stobi to the Pelagonian valley enters an impressive defile at the river Raec. The gorge is cut between large limestone rocks from which the whole defile can be very easily observed and defended. It controlled the road communication between the Via Egnatia, the valley of Pelagonia and the Vardar-Morava-Danube river system. The Valley of the Vardar River was a bottleneck through which all overland traffic from Thessalonica via the cities of Stobi, Scupi and Naissus to the Danube and Central Europe and vice versa had to pass. Hence its strategic significance.[20]

As a fortress, Devolgrad has been occupied successively since prehistoric times and was called Deabolis because of its inaccessible position on the rocky hill. The archaeological site of ten hectares contains a large Byzantine and Slavonic military and urban settlement. According to the archaeologist Ivan Mikulčić, the fortification was set out as a triangle with the dimensions of 170m x 40m x 50m. The foundations of two Komnenian churches with some marble furniture are still visible on the citadel, with another basilica two kilometres towards Drenovo. On the western side of the acropolis a medieval fortress was added with a water cistern. The process of constant erosion has washed away many fragments of pottery, glass objects, some bronze jewelry of Slavonic origin (from the tenth to thirteenth centuries) and some iron weaponry. Coins of the Emperors John Tzimiskes, Constantine IX, John III Vatatzes, Michael VIII Palaiologos, Andronikos II and Michael IX have been found.[21]

20. On the road connections between Heraclea-Stobi-Thessalonica see: F. Papazoglou, *Les Villes de Macédoine à l'époque Romaine* (Athens 1988) 256–323 maps 9, 10, 20; I. Nikolajević, 'Stobi i arhitektonska plastika V veka u Makedoniji' *Studii za starinite vo Stobi (Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi)* ed. B. Aleksova & J. Wiseman (Titov Veles 1981, rp. Princeton 1983) 179–96; K. Belke, 'Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period' *Travel in the Byzantine World* ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot 2002) 73–90. In the Peutinger Table, Devolgrad was indicated as Euristus: see N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (3 vols Oxford 1972–88) 1:57; Tabula Peutingeriana (*Cod. Vindob.* 324) section 7.5; Geographus Ravennas, *Cosmographia* 4.9 ed. M. Pinder & G. Parthey (Berlin 1860, rp. Aachen 1962) 196.10.

21. I. Mikulčić, *Srednovekovni gradovi i tvrdini vo Makedonija* (Skopje 1996) 200–4; idem, 'Gradište–Devolgrad' *Arheološka karta na Makedonija* ed. D. Koco & C. Grozdanov (2 vols Skopje 1996) 2:148–9; idem, 'Topografija na Eu(da)rist' *Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica* 1 (1975) 173–5; idem, 'Antički gradovi kod Drenova i Konjuha-topografsko snimanje' *Arheološki pregled* 15 (1973) 177–9; G. Mikulčić, 'Novi staroslovenski naodi vo Makedonija' *Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej na Makedonija* 10–11 (1979–82 [1983]) 142–5.

Bob Priestley

The Varangian Guard

In Old Norse literature, both historical and fictional, there are many references to men who, seeking their fortunes abroad by any of the ways available to Vikings — raiding, trading, fighting, colonising — took the eastern way, up the Baltic, down the Russian rivers, and so to Miklegard (*Mikligarðr*), the Great City, Constantinople. There, in the typical stories, they were received by the emperor and joined his household troops, the famous Varangian Guard. They displayed great military prowess and ultimately returned, covered with glory and laden with riches, to run farms in Iceland like Bolli Bollason in *Laxdœla saga*,[1] or to sit on the throne of Norway like Harald Sigurdson (*Haraldr harðráði Sigurðarson*),[2] better known to us as Harald Hardradi or 'hard-ruler', who met his death at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

Here Anna Comnena's description is relevant. As Alexius was planning to attack the city, John Ducas learnt that one gate was guarded by

> the Varangians from Thule (by these I mean the axe-bearing barbarians)... who bear on their shoulders the heavy iron sword. They regard loyalty to the emperors and the protection of their persons as a family tradition, a kind of sacred trust and inheritance handed down from generation to generation; this allegiance they preserve inviolate and will never brook the slightest hint of betrayal.[3]

Both Bolli Bollason and Harald Hardradi existed in history and much of what is said of them in the literature is true. But it is not all the truth, and some of what is told is untrue. The surviving sagas in which they appear were written some centuries after the events, for an audience whose rather dull agricultural lives could well do with enlivening tales of the heroic deeds of their forebears.

But there is evidence other than the prose sagas on which we can draw for a more realistic view of the life of Scandinavians in Russia, in Constantinople, and in and around the Black, Caspian and Mediterranean seas, during the period from the ninth to the thirteenth century. Some of this evidence is archaeological, some is in historical writings by contemporary Byzantine, German, Scandinavian and Arab authors, and some in inscriptions written in runes on memorial stones in Sweden.[4]

1. *Laxdœla Saga* ed. E.O. Sveinsson. Íslenzk Fornrit 5 (Reykjavik 1934) 212–5, 223.
2. *King Harald's Saga: Harald Hardradi of Norway, from Snorri Sturluson's 'Heimskringla'* tr. M. Magnusson & H. Pálsson (Harmondsworth 1966) 48–64.
3. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 2.9.4 ed. D.R. Reinsch & A. Kambylis. CFHB 40 (2 vols Berlin 2001) 1:79; tr. E.R.A. Sewter, *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (London 1969) 95–6.
4. See S.B.F. Jansson, *The Runes of Sweden* tr. P.J. Foote (London 1962); R.W.V. Elliott, *Runes: An Introduction* (Manchester 1959, rp. New York 1989).

In addition, Icelandic court poets, attached to kings and chieftains, wrote of events in which they themselves, as well as the royal subject of the adulatory verse and some of the listening audience, all took part. In such circumstances, the poet's licence tends to be used in subtlety of form and diction rather than in falsification of fact. Indeed, some of the statements made by Icelandic poets are confirmed by contemporary Greek accounts.

. it was only after centuries of trading, raiding and colonising in the east that the Varangian Guards were established in the context of the great Scandinavian expansion that is referred to romantically and misleadingly narrowly as the Viking Age.

The word 'Varangian' has puzzled some, perhaps none more than the author of a work written (in Greek) in the late eleventh or early twelfth century that sets out certain wholesome advice for an emperor. A passage in it goes:

> Araltes [i.e. Haraldr] was the son of the King of Varangia, the brother of Julavos [i.e. Ólafr] who had inherited the kingdom after his father.[5]

The author saw Varangia as a place, which is not so, although it was an understandable error. The Harald referred to was Harald Hardradi and the Olaf was King Olaf the Saint (*Óláfr inn helgi Haraldsson*) who Christianised Norway with the same sort of weapons that he had used in Viking raids on England.

The form of the word in Old Norse — i.e. the language in which the first Varangians described themselves — was *Væringi* (plural *Væringjar*). It is derived from Old Norse *vár* (plural *várar*). The singular was not used except as the name of the goddess, Vár, who had some care over oaths between men and women and therefore a certain control over marriage. The general meaning of *várar* was loyalty, faithfulness, pledge, troth, plight, and the *Væringjar* were those who gave an oath of loyalty, particularly to a leader. The word is older than the movements of the Norse to the eastern lands and existed in related forms in other Germanic languages: Anglo-Saxon *waeranga*, Lombard *waregang*, Frankish-Latin *wargengus*. It was applied to those who pledged faithful service to a foreign leader in exchange for protection. The Goths were in this relationship to Roman emperors as early as the third century AD.

Swedes (and other Scandinavians) who served as soldiers for the Norse princes of Novgorod and Kiev were described by the word; and it appears to have been used of men who banded together for an expedition and exchanged oaths of loyalty with each other. Eventually the word was applied generally to merchants from northern lands, and indeed in its Greek form *Varangos* came to mean a Scandinavian in general, and later still a mercenary soldier of any Germanic origin, including the English.

Trading voyages from Sweden to the Eastern Baltic were undertaken before any written history of the area. By the close of the ninth century, Scandinavians

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5.   *Logos Nouthetetikos* ed. B. Wassiliewsky & V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De officiis regiis libellus* (St Petersburg 1896, rp. Amsterdam 1965) 97.2–4, cited by Sigfús Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium* tr. and rev. B.S. Benedikz (Cambridge 1978) 57.

had established a kingdom stretching from Novgorod to Kiev, powerful enough to dominate trade from the Baltic to Kiev. It had a population of Slavs ruled by a Norse military and mercantile aristocracy. They were known as *Rhosi,* a name derived from *Ruotsi* (the name given them by the Finns) which is derived from Old Norse *róðr*, 'rowing'. The country they ruled became known as Russia.

By the time that Michael III was emperor in Constantinople (842–67) there were 'Russian' mercenary troops in his army.[6] The most convincing piece of evidence that they were Scandinavians lies in the names of Russians who in 911 signed a peace and commercial treaty with the Empire. They were Vermoðr, Ingjaldr, Hralleifr, Fréleifr, Kári.[7] In a subsequent treaty in 945 the names of the *Rhosi* were all Slav.

From the time of Michael III onwards the empire was under continual attack by Arabs of various caliphates and emirates, Russians, Norse, Bulgars, Khazars, Turks of various tribes and sultanates, Normans and, not least but most shameful, the barbarians from western Europe in the Fourth Crusade who, with Venetian help, captured and sacked Constantinople in 1204. The empire survived in dissipated form — Nicaea, Epirus, Trebizond and Rhodes. Constantinople was again in Greek hands before the end of the thirteenth century (i.e. in 1261) and theoretically so it remained until the city itself, by then the only surviving part of the eastern Roman Empire, was taken by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

Throughout this long period it was dependent (as was the Western Empire in its declining days) for its survival upon foreign mercenaries. As long as it thrived commercially, it was able to recruit them from many sources. In 1081, for instance, in the battle against the Normans who had landed at Dyrrachium, the foreign troops included Russians and Varangians (note the distinction here) while a chrysobull of 1088 names these among the emperor's forces together with English, Franks, Germans, Bulgarians, Alans and Iberians.[8] There were, of course, also Greeks. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller who lived in Constantinople about 1165, made somewhat disparaging remarks about them. He gives a description of a life of luxury and pleasure in the city and says:

> They hire from amongst all nations warriors called Loazim (Barbarians) to fight with the Sultan Masud, King of the Togarmim (Seljuks), who are called Turks; for the natives are not warlike, but are as women who have no strength to fight.[9]

But as we know, the Norsemen did have the strength to fight and were in general good at it. From the mid-ninth century they came in increasing numbers to Constantinople. The first mention, though, of a particular unit of Varangians in the imperial army was in the time of Basil II (976–1025).[10] Before that they

6. Blöndal/Ben., 32–3.
7. Blöndal/Ben., 36.
8. Blöndal/Ben., 122–3.
9. M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (London 1907) 23.
10. Michael Psellos, *Chronographie: ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)* I.13 ed. and tr. É. Renauld (2 vols Paris 1926–8, rp. Paris 1967) 9; tr. E.R.A. Sewter,

figure more loosely as a force in Crete: 700 Russian mercenaries are recorded as being paid 7,200 nomismata in 902[11] and 629 as taking part in another Cretan expedition in 949.[12] In 964–5 they are recorded as fighting in southern Italy and Sicily.[13]

In the time of Basil I (867–86) there were smallish numbers of *Rhosi* in the army and navy in both southern Italy and Cyprus. They were said to have fought well. Bari was reconquered from the Arabs. Under Leo VI (886–912) there was a great increase in the numbers of *Rhosi*, despite which things did not go well for the empire. The Arabs won back Sicily, gaining a great victory at Rametta in 965 and taking as part of their booty some 200 mercenaries surmised to have been Armenians and Russians.[14]

Perhaps it was because news of this fighting with Arabs reached Kiev that Oleg (Helgi) sent a great fleet south to Constantinople, not as reinforcements but as enemies.[15] They attempted to take Constantinople but were soundly defeated by the Greeks, who were reported to have used 'Greek fire' with devastating effect.

In the peace treaty of 911, mentioned above,[16] particular clauses were inserted governing conditions under which *Rhosi* merchants could stay in the city. These were very favourable to the *Rhosi*. In return it was stipulated that men would be sent to serve as mercenaries in the imperial army. In 987–8 a large number of Norsemen came to Constantinople; according to Greek, Armenian and Arab sources, about 6,000.[17] These were probably Swedes (and other Scandinavians) and very likely the same men whom Valdemar (*Valdamarr Jarizleifsson*) had recruited from Sweden to help him subdue his brother Jaropolk in 980. In the ensuing century large numbers of men came from Scandinavia, mainly Sweden but also Norway, Denmark and Iceland, to serve in the many areas of fighting to the east, south, west and north of Constantinople.

It was not until the late tenth century that regular military units were established. And it was probably at the same time, or perhaps later, that a particular Varangian unit was included in the emperor's personal bodyguard.

Very few, if any, men could have joined the Varangian Guard (the household bodyguard) in the early part of their service as mercenaries for, apart from the fact of having to prove oneself capable of and trustworthy enough for such duties, an admission fee was payable.

Mercenary soldiers were paid so much a month, and in addition were entitled to a proportion of the proceeds of military engagements (loot, ransom etc). The

Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The 'Chronographia' of Michael Psellus (London 1966) 34–5. See also Blöndal/Ben., 43–4.

11. Blöndal/Ben., 27, 36.
12. Blöndal/Ben., 27, 37.
13. Blöndal/Ben., 39.
14. Blöndal/Ben., 39.
15. Blöndal/Ben., 36.
16. See n. 7.
17. Blöndal/Ben., 43.

imperial treasury customarily received one seventh of the value of booty, and the remainder was shared equally between the officer in charge of the army and the troops. Individual soldiers who had distinguished themselves by bravery and/or intelligence in the action might receive an additional bonus, presumably from the treasury share. It was a retainer and incentive payment, as with modern salesmen. In the imperial bodyguard, regular pay was higher, salary and incentive and perks greater, as with modern senior business executives. It would normally take something like a minimum of two to three years for a soldier to save up enough for his admission fee to the guard and, having been admitted, a similar time for him to show any reasonable profit.

It is unlikely that the Varangian unit exceeded about five hundred men. There were other units, and the total of the household troops was probably in the vicinity of 5,000–6,000. Many were foreign mercenaries, perhaps for good reason. Of approximately 110 emperors from the days of Constantine the Great (323–337), 34 died peacefully, eight in battle, and 65 were murdered. Foreigners were safer lifeguards than members of one's own aristocracy. And of the foreigners, perhaps the loyalty oath of the Scandinavians was the most trustworthy. Various comments such as Anna Comnena's attest their loyalty.[18] But of course, every time an emperor 'died', a change of loyalty was necessary; and there were known occasions when Varangians changed sides in a war (e.g. after Samos to the Arabs, and after Bari to the Normans). It was a great period for oath-making and therefore for oath-breaking.

We are now close to the time of the most famous and certainly the best-known Varangian of all — Harald Sigurdson, the Araltes mentioned earlier in this paper. He was the son of Sigurd the Sow (*Sigurðr sýr*), king of Ringeríki in Norway. He was born about 1015 and first appears in history at the age of three, in a friendly family situation with his half-brother King Olaf the Saint.[19] At the age of fifteen he fought at Stiklestad (*Stiklarstaðir*), where the Norwegians, having thrown out King Olaf, defeated and killed him when he attempted a come-back. Harald escaped to Novgorod, where he served King Jaroslav (*Jarizleifr Valdamarsson*) from 1031–5.[20] He then went to Constantinople and served in the emperor's forces from 1035–44. He arrived with a force of 500 men and, from the beginning of his career there, was commander of a particular Varangian unit. He particularly distinguished himself in actions in Asia Minor and in Sicily, where he served, not as commander-in-chief as Old Norse sources might suggest,[21] but under the famous Byzantine general Georgios Maniakes during the reign of Michael IV (1034–41). Early in his service in Asia Minor he was in command of a naval force operating against Arabs and raiders. It is said that, for each Arab ship that he took, he had to pay the emperor 120 marks and could keep for himself and his men whatever the ship, its cargo and its crew

18. See also Psellos, *Chron.* (Romanos IV) 7.28 (Renauld 2:165, Sewter 359).

19. Snorre Sturluson, 'Saint Olaf's Saga' *Heimskringla: The Olaf Sagas* tr. S. Laing (London 1915) ch.75, 183–4.

20. Ibid. ch. 245, 378.

21. *Harald's Saga* 5–10 (Magnusson-Pálsson 51–8).

(who might be sold as slaves or ransomed) could bring in.[22] He was later charged with having falsified his reckonings and, it is said, imprisoned for cheating the emperor of his due.[23]

After the campaigns in Sicily against the Arabs, he probably took part (as did a force of Varangians) in campaigns against the Normans, and very shortly thereafter was moved to the Balkans to take part in suppressing a rebellion of the Bulgarians. He was honoured with military titles by the emperor and admitted to the Varangian Guard after his return from Italy.[24]

After the death of Michael IV in 1041 and the accession of Michael V (1041–2) he lost favour, apparently because of old jealousies on the part of George Maniakes that had their beginnings in the Italian campaign. According to Snorri and other Norse and Greek sources, he was imprisoned.[25] If so, it was during the reign of Michael V. His release (and that of other Varangians) was brought about during the revolution that displaced Michael in favour of Zoë and Theodora. The blinding of Michael, a standard penalty for a politically vanquished emperor or pretender, was probably carried out under the supervision of Harald, not, as the Norse sources would have us believe, as an heroic act of vengeance [26] but as the work of an officer in charge of a unit of lifeguards acting under orders.[27]

Shortly thereafter, he sought and was refused leave to return to his country. One tale (probably apocryphal) was that the Empress Zoë wished to keep him in Constantinople for her own libidinous purposes.[28] He left Byzantium in 1044.

And perhaps we should leave with him; not that the Varangians went out of existence at that time. They remained in the army generally as mercenaries, and as the Varangian Guard until the fall of the city to the Sultan in 1453. They fought, and with all the others of the emperor's army were vanquished, at the famous battle of Manzikert in 1071 which gave the Seljuk Turks virtually the whole of Asia Minor and from which the Empire never recovered.

They took part in the defence of Constantinople against the Fourth Crusade, apparently still included in their ranks Norsemen, English, Russians (Slav-speaking by now), Alans and others. When at the last stand they were asked to carry on with the defence, they refused unless they were given an increase in pay.

But from the mid-eleventh century (if not sooner) the number of Norsemen seeking service gradually diminished. After 1204 there were virtually none, although there were still English, many of whom were of Norse descent.

Harald Sigurdson, on his way home, stayed at Kiev with King Jaroslav and married his daughter Elizabeth (*Elisabeth* or *Ellisif Jarizleifsdottir*). In 1046 he became joint ruler of Norway with his nephew Magnus the Good (*Magnús inn*

22. Blöndal/Ben., 60.
23. *Harald's Saga* 13 (Magnusson-Pálsson 60); Blöndal/Ben., 77–86.
24. Blöndal/Ben., 75.
25. *Harald's Saga* 13 (Magnusson-Pálsson 61); Blöndal/Ben., 77.
26. *Harald's Saga* 14 (Magnusson-Pálsson 61–2).
27. Blöndal/Ben., 94.
28. *Harald's Saga* 13, (Magnusson-Pálsson 60); Blöndal/Ben., 98.

góði Óláfsson) upon whose death in 1047 he ruled Norway and Denmark alone, until he was given his seven feet of English ground when King Harold Godwinson of England defeated him at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

He had played a notable part in the history of Constantinople, Norway and England; even his last battle had perhaps some influence on the composition of the Varangian Guard. It is held by some that the victory of William the Conqueror greatly increased the number of Englishmen who, in the word of one writer, 'streamed' to Constantinople.[29] Perhaps, if we yield to the tempting 'ifs' of history, William might not have won that battle if Harold Godwinson had not had to make two forced marches from the south of England and back again (with, of course, a battle in between) immediately before meeting him. And if William had lost at Hastings, perhaps Constantinople (by then not so tempting to adventurers from the north west) would not have had so many Englishmen offering their services as mercenaries.

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29. Blöndal/Ben., 141–7.

Fig. 1. Bardas is slain. Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26-2, miniature 80ra.

Fig. 2. Danelis. Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26-2, fol. 102r.

Fig. 3. San Celso Sarcophagus. Milan workshop (?) 350–80. Marble.
Milan. Santa Maria dei Miracoli presso San Celso.

Fig. 4. Junius Bassus Sarcophagus. Rome c.359. Marble. Vatican City, Museo
Storico Artistico Tesoro, S. Pietro in Vaticano [from A. Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*
(Rome c.1632) 45].

Fig. 5. Borgo Vecchio Sarcophagus. Lost. Previously: Palazzo del Duca di Ceri
in Borgo Vecchio [from Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* 79].

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Fig. 6. Domitilla Sarcophagus. Rome, Cemetery of Domitilla. Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Cristiano, inv. nr. 31525 (ex. Lateran 171) [from R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte* vol. 5 (1879) tav. 350.1].

Fig. 7. Brescia Lipsanothek, detail: Lid. Milan (?), 4th century. Ivory. Height 21.2 cm, width 31.6, depth 22. Height with lid 24.7. Brescia. Civici Musei d'Arte e Storia. Inv. Avori n.1 [from R. Garrucci *Storia della arte* vol. 6 (1880) tav. 445].

Fig. 8. Maskell casket panels. Rome c. 420-430. Ivory. 7.5 x 9.8 cm.
London. British Museum, Maskell Collection: P&E 56, 6-23, 4-7
[from R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte* vol. 6 (1880) tav. 446, 1-4].

Fig. 9. Prediction of Peter's denial.
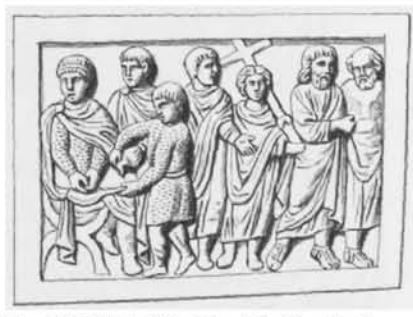
Fig. 10. Pilate Washing his Hands; Jesus
going to Calvary.
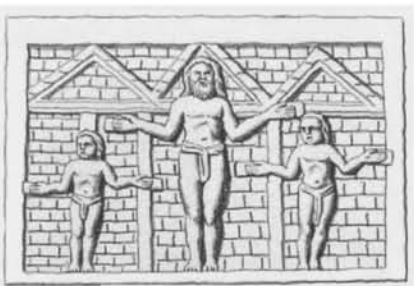
Fig. 11. The Crucifixion.

Fig. 12. Resurrected Christ appearing to
Two Women.

Figs 9–12. Santa Sabina Doors. Rome (?), 432–40. Cypress wood. 5.30 x 3.12 m.
Rome. Church of Santa Sabina, Aventine Hill [from Garrucci, *Storia della arte*
vol. 6, tav. 499].

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Fig. 13. The Bagawat Necropolis.

Fig. 14. Typical mudbrick funerary chapels.

Fig. 15. Typical tetrapyle chapel.

Fig. 16.
The
Exodus
Chapel.

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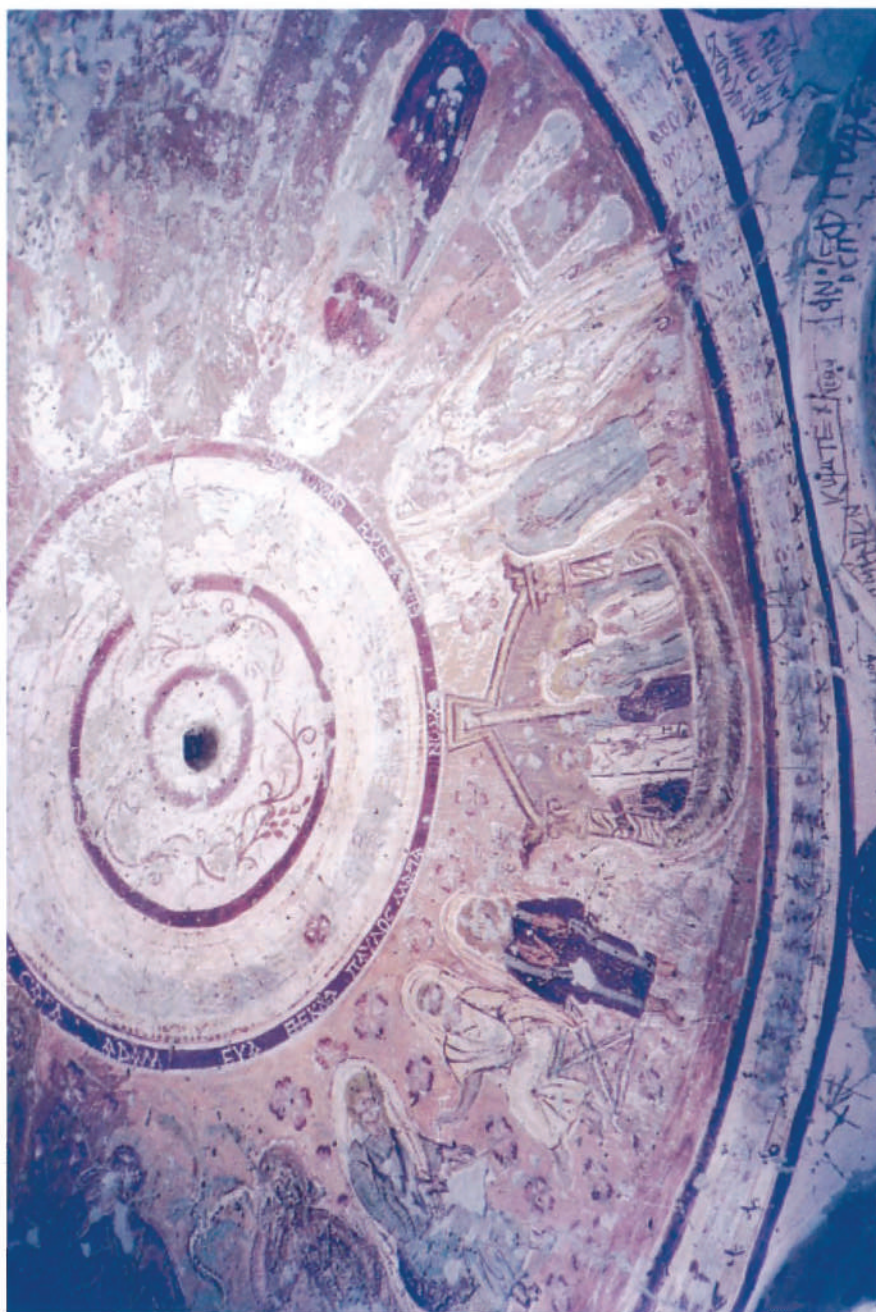
Fig. 17. Bagawat Necropolis. Dome of the Chapel of Peace.

540
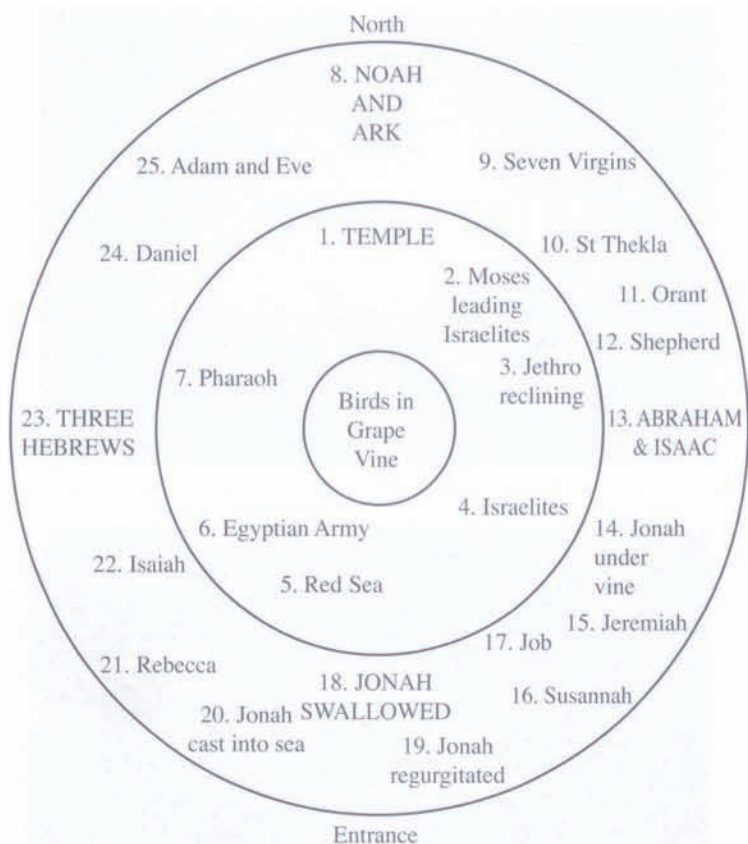
Fig. 18. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. Plan of Dome Paintings.
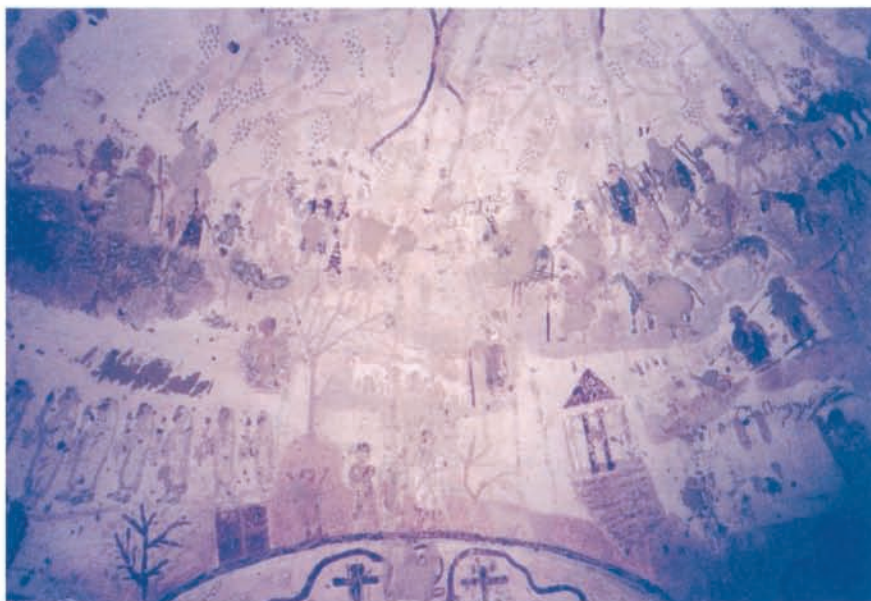
Fig. 19. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. The Exodus.

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Fig. 20. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. The Jerusalem Temple.

Fig. 21. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. Jonah.

Fig. 22. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis.
The *aqedah*, flanked by Jeremiah and Seven Virgins.

Fig. 23. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. The Three Hebrews.

Fig. 24. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. Jeremiah.

Fig. 25. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. Seven Virgins.

Fig. 26. Exodus Chapel, Bagawat Necropolis. The Egyptian Army.
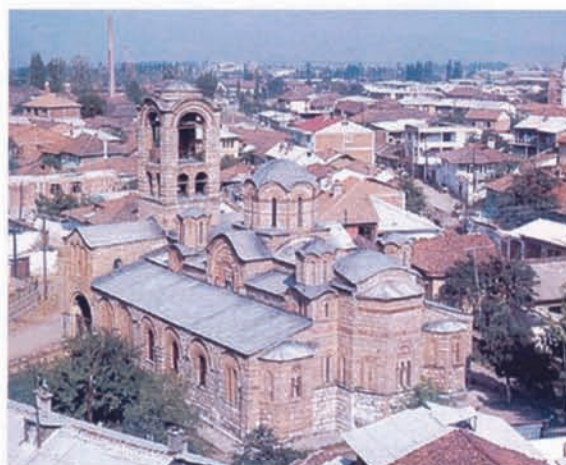
Fig. 27. Church of the Virgin Ljeviska, Prizren. South-east view.

Fig. 28. Church of the Virgin Ljeviska, Prizren, as a mosque, end of 19th century.
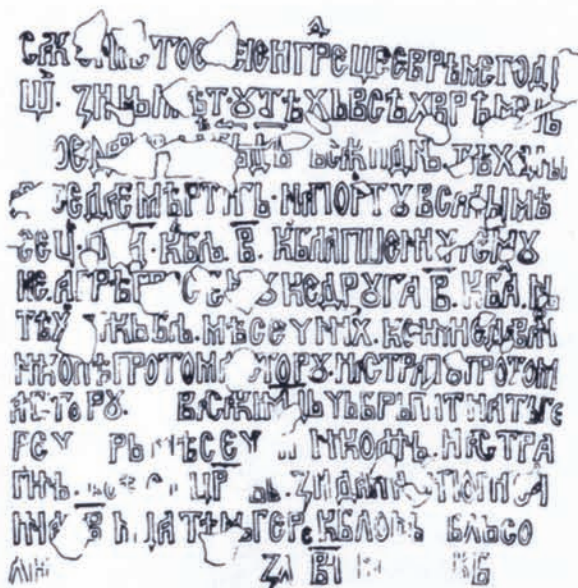
Fig. 29. Church of the Virgin Ljeviska, Prizren.
Inscription in the exonarthex with the names of the
master craftsmen Nikola and Astrapa.

Fig. 30. Church of the Virgin
Ljeviska, Prizren. Philosophers
and Sibyl.

Fig. 31. Church of the Virgin Ljeviska, Prizren.
South-west view, 2004.

Fig. 34. Adoration of the Magi,
Etchmiadzin Gospels. 6th century.

Fig. 33. Annunciation to the Virgin,
Etchmiadzin Gospels. 6th century.
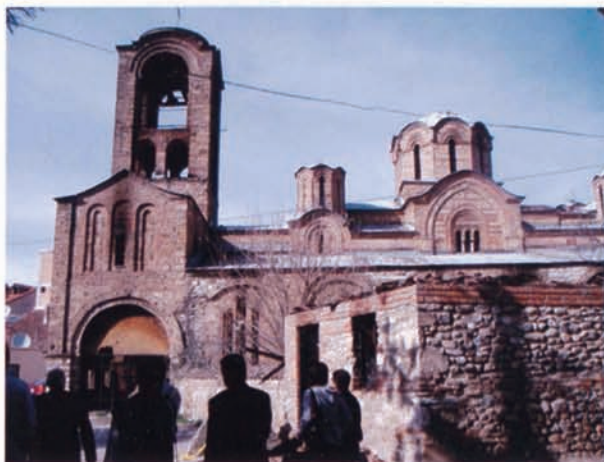
Fig. 32. Annunciation to Zechariah,
Etchmiadzin Gospels. 6th century.

Fig. 35. Temptation of Christ, King Gagik Gospels, 11th century.
Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate manuscript J2556.

Fig. 36. Temptation of Christ 2, King Gagik Gospels, 11th century.

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Fig. 37. Entry into
Jerusalem, Awag
Gospels, J212, fols
68v–69r.

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Fig. 38. Entry into Jerusalem (Ethiopic), 15th century.

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Fig. 41. Nativity. J1920, 1591 AD copied from Queen Keran Gospels. 13th century.

Fig. 40. Annunciation (Complex). Tʻoros Taronacʻi. 13–14th centuries.

Fig. 39. Annunciation at Well. Anonymous of Siwnikʻ. 13–14th centuries.

Fig. 42. Jonah Cast Overboard, Aghtamar, Church of the Holy Cross, 11th century.

Fig. 43. Jonah Rests Under the Gourd, Aghtamar, Church of the Holy Cross, 11th century.

Fig. 44. Jonah Cast Overboard, Lectionary of Het'um II, 1286.

Fig. 45. Jonah ejected by the Whale, Lectionary of Het'um II, 1286.

Fig. 47.
Creation,
Grandval
Bible,
Carolingian,
9th century.

Fig. 46.
Creation,
Getty Bible,
1637–8.

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Fig. 48. The Holy Spirit hovering over the waters, the creation of light and the creation of the firmament. Palermo, Cappella Palatina, south nave wall, c.1143–66 [Photo: Alinari].

Fig. 49. Adam in Paradise and the Creation of Eve. Palermo, Cappella Palatina, south nave wall, c.1143–66 [Photo: Alinari].

Fig. 50. The beginning of Creation, and the Creation of Day and Night (Creation of the Angels?). Monreale, south nave wall, c.1176–85 [Photo: Alinari].

Fig. 51. Creation of the quadrupeds and Adam and God resting. Monreale, south nave wall, c.1176–85 [Photo: Alinari].

Fig. 52. Creation Cupola, Venice, San Marco, narthex c.1200–25
[Photo: Alinari].

Fig. 53. Maestro di S. Francesco, *St Francis and Four Posthumous Miracles*, c.1253. Assisi, Museo-Tesoro della Basilica di San Francesco.

Fig. 54. Maestro di S. Francesco, *St Francis with Two Angels*, c.1260. Assisi, Nuovo Museo della Porziuncola.

Fig. 55. *Cripples at the Tomb of St Francis of Assisi*, c.1280, Cantorino 2, MS 1, Antiphonary, fol. 235r, Assisi, Biblioteca del Sacro Convento.

Fig. 56. *St Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata* c.1310, Laudario of Santo Spirito, Banco Rari 18, fol. 119r, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.

Fig. 57. *St Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata*, , c.1330–40, Laudario of Sant'Egidio, Banco Rari 19, fol. 51r, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.

Fig. 58. Theophanes presents his book to the Virgin and Child, The Gospel Book of Theophanes, Constantinople, 1125–50. 24.2 x 17.4 cm, Melbourne, The National Gallery of Victoria, MS Felton fol. 1v.

Fig. 60. Monastic Virtues. Canon Tables 3/4 and 4/5. The Gospel Book of Theophanes. fols 4v and 5.

Fig. 59. Calendar Figures. Canon Table 1/2. The Gospel Book of Theophanes. fol. 3v.

Fig. 63. Beginning of the Gospel according to St Matthew. The Gospel Book of Theophanes. fol. 10.

Fig. 62. Calendar Figures. Canon Table Page. Gospel Book, Constantinople. c.1150. 17.5 x 12.3 cm. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana. MS gr. Z. 540 (=557). fols. 3v–4.
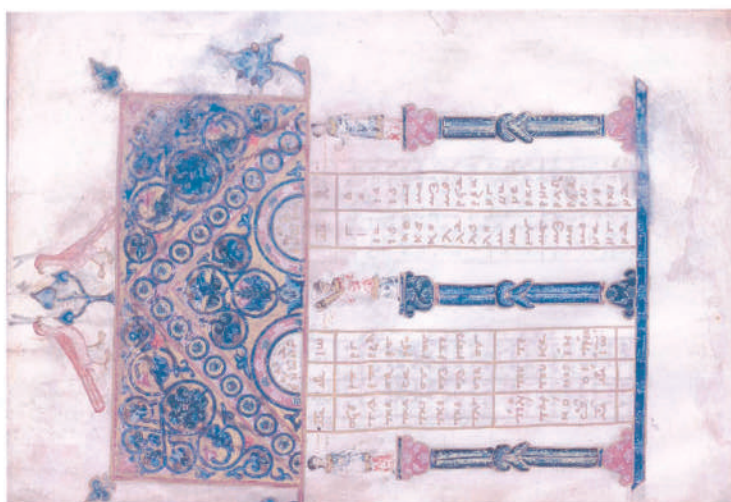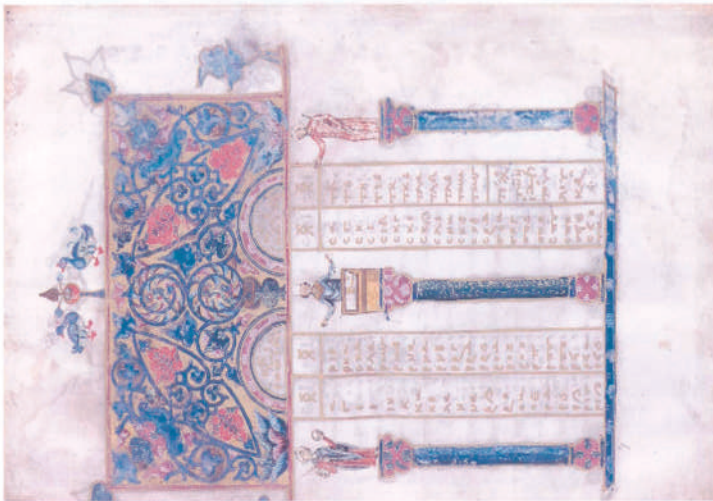
Fig. 61. Canon Tables. Canon Table 10. The Gospel Book of Theophanes, fol. 7.

Fig. 66. Beginning of the Gospel according to St John, The Gospel Book of Theophanes, fol. 19.

Fig. 65. Beginning of the Gospel according to St Luke, The Gospel Book of Theophanes, fol. 125.

Fig. 64. Beginning of the Gospel according to St Mark, The Gospel Book of Theophanes, fol. 80.
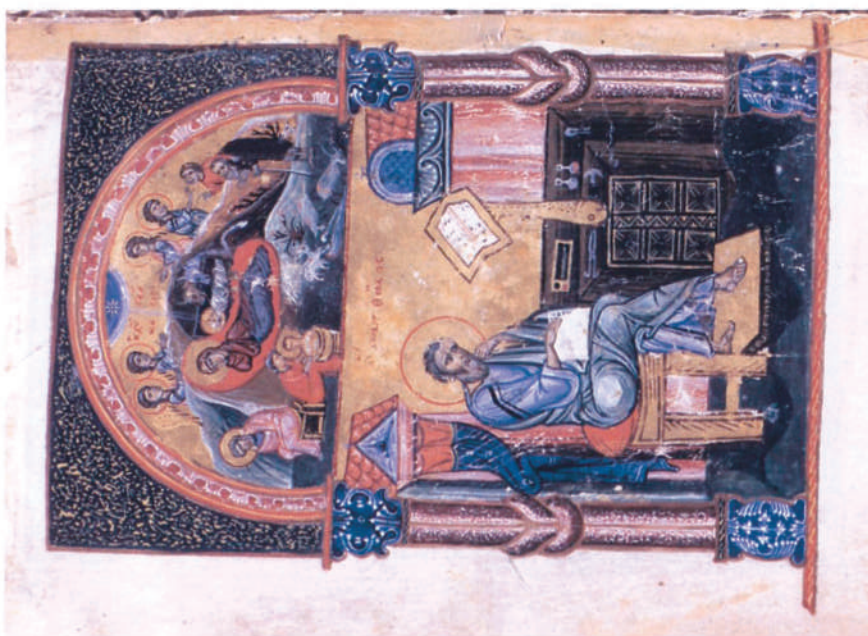
Fig. 67. St Matthew and the Nativity, Gospel Book, Constantinople, c.1150. 17.5 x 12.3 cm. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS gr. Z. 540 (=557), fol. 14v.

Fig. 68. St Mark and the Baptism of Christ, Gospel Book, Marciana MS gr. Z. 540 (=557), fol. 89v.

Fig. 70. St John and the *Anastasis*, Gospel Book, Marciana MS gr. Z. 540 (=557), fol. 215v.

Fig. 69. St Luke and the Birth of St John the Baptist, Gospel Book, Marciana MS gr. Z. 540 (=557), fol. 141v.

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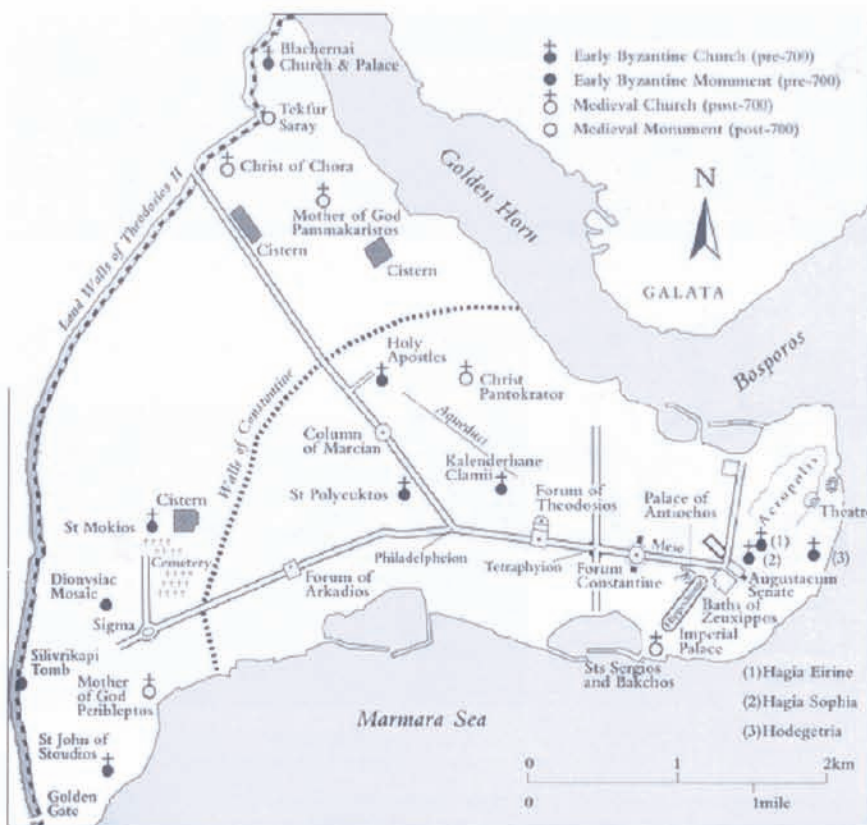
Fig. 71. Constantinople [after T. F. Mathews, *The Art of Byzantium: Between Antiquity and the Renaissance* (London 1998)].

Fig. 72. Anicia Juliana,
Vienna Dioscorides MS fol. 6v.

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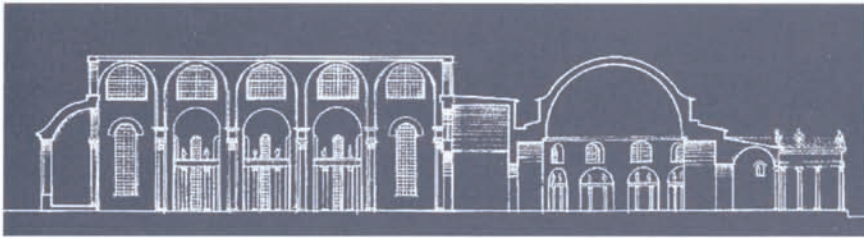
Fig. 73. Palace of Antiochus (reconstruction thanks to Nigel Westbrook).
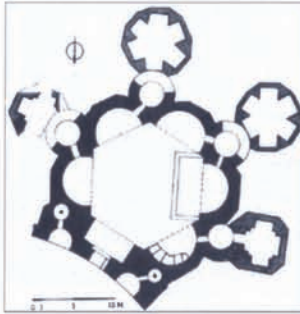
Fig. 74. Floor plan of St Euphemia [after M. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977)].

Fig. 75. Excavations of St. Polyeuktos [from Harrison, *Temple*].

Fig. 76. Reconstruction of St. Polyeuktos [after Harrison, *Temple*].

Fig. 78.
Ebersolt's
reconstruction
of the Great
Palace [J.
Ebersolt, *Le
grand palais de
Constantinople
et le livre des
cérémonies*
(Paris 1910)
enclosed map].

Fig. 77.
Overall view
of Palace area.

Fig. 79. Conjectural reconstructed plan of Palace [*Constantin VII Porphyrogénète: Le livre des cérémonies* ed. and tr. A. Vogt (2 vols Paris 1935) enclosed map].

Fig. 80. Partial plan of Palace [C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959) fig. 1].

Fig. 81. Plan of Palace [W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977) abb. 263].

Fig. 82. Diocletian's Palace. Split (overlay by author showing main reception rooms).

Fig. 83. Palace of Galerius, Thessalonica, c.300 (plan compiled from various sources).

Fig. 84. Palatial villa, Piazza Armerina, Sicily, possibly built by Maxentius Hercules, late 3rd to early 4th century; overlay showing main reception rooms [H. Kähler, *Die Villa des Maxentius bei Piazza Armerina* (Berlin 1973) fig. 3].
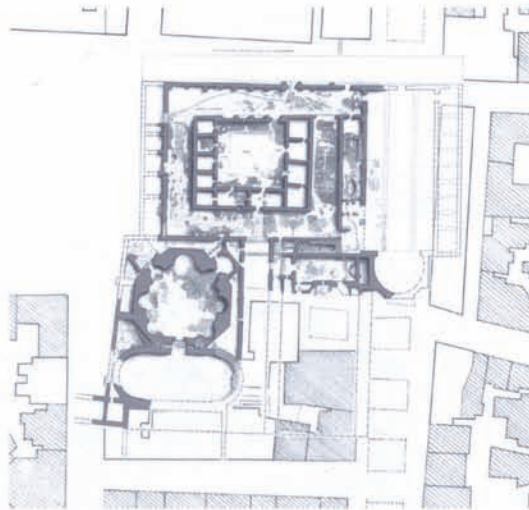
Fig. 85. Gorgon keystone, possibly from arch, grounds of Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
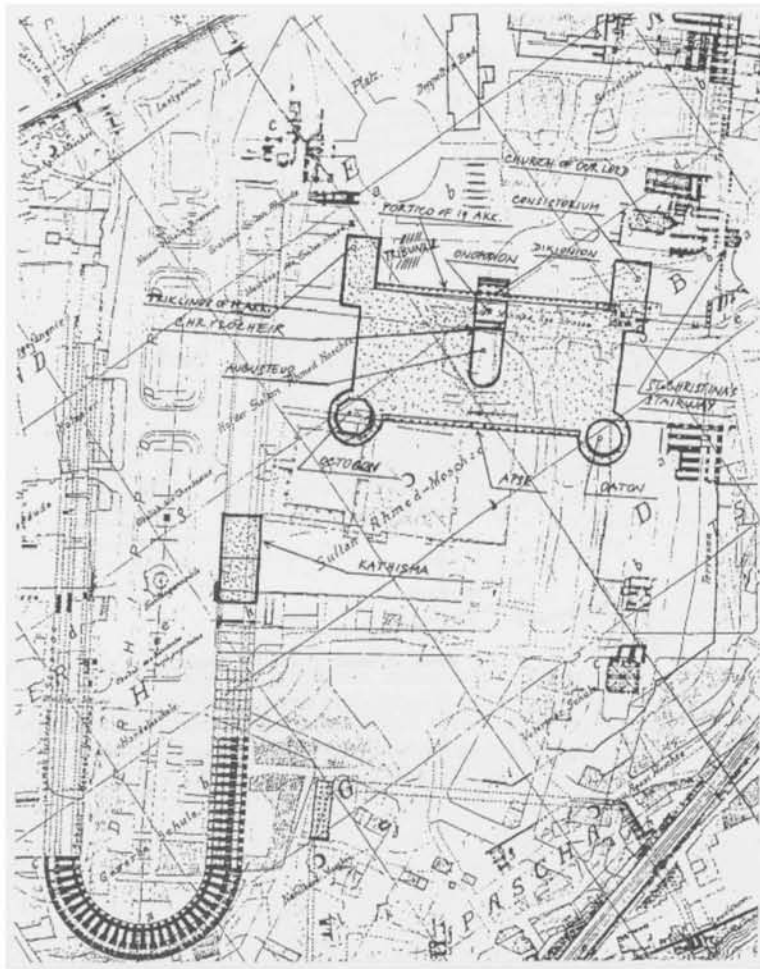
Fig. 86. Sketch plan of Palace of Constantine in Constantinople [J. Kosteneç, 'Studies on the Great Palace in Constantinople: I The Palace of Constantine the Great' *BSl* 59 (1998) 294 fig. 9a].
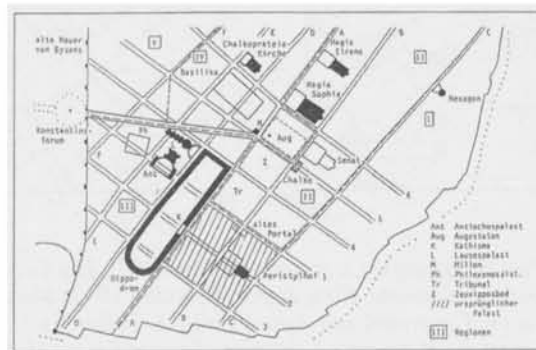
Fig. 87. Plan of Palace area [A. Berger, 'Die Altstadt von Byzanz in der vorjustinianischen Zeit' *Varia II*. Poikila byzantina 6 (Bonn 1987) reproduced Kosteneç, 'Palace of Constantine' 280 fig. 1].
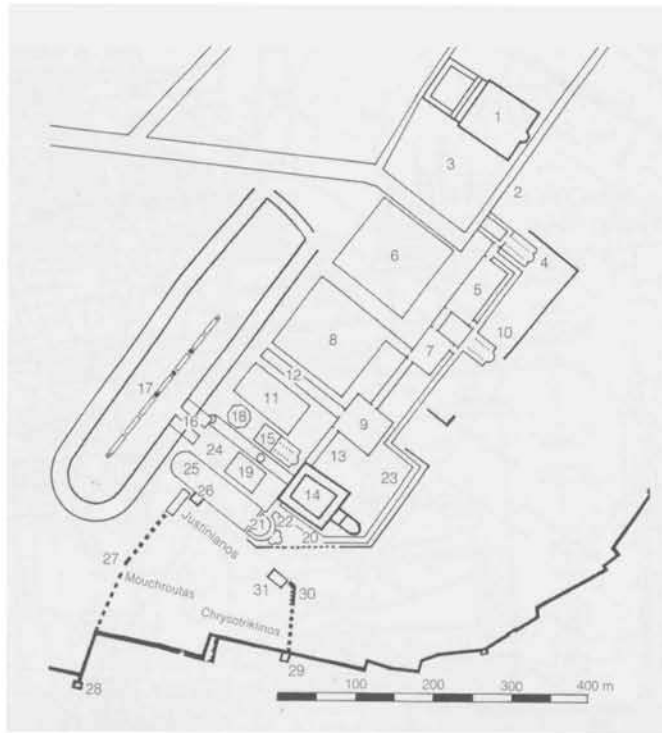
Fig. 88. Reconstruction of Great Palace layout [J. Bardill, 'The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations' *JRA* 12 (1999) fig. 2].
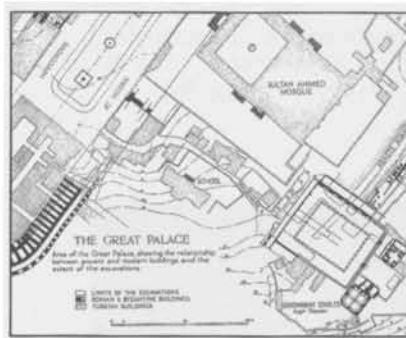
(i)
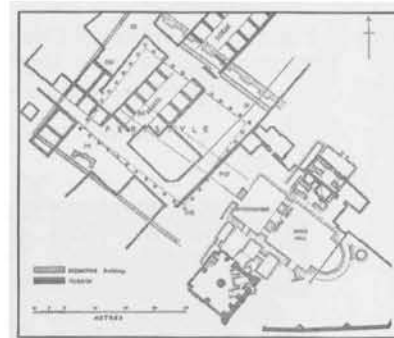
(ii)

Fig. 89. (i) Plan of Peristyle Courtyard [G. Brett, ed., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: First Report* (London 1947) plan 59]. (ii) Plan of Peristyle Courtyard and Apsed Hall [D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors: Second Report* (Edinburgh 1958) fig. 1].

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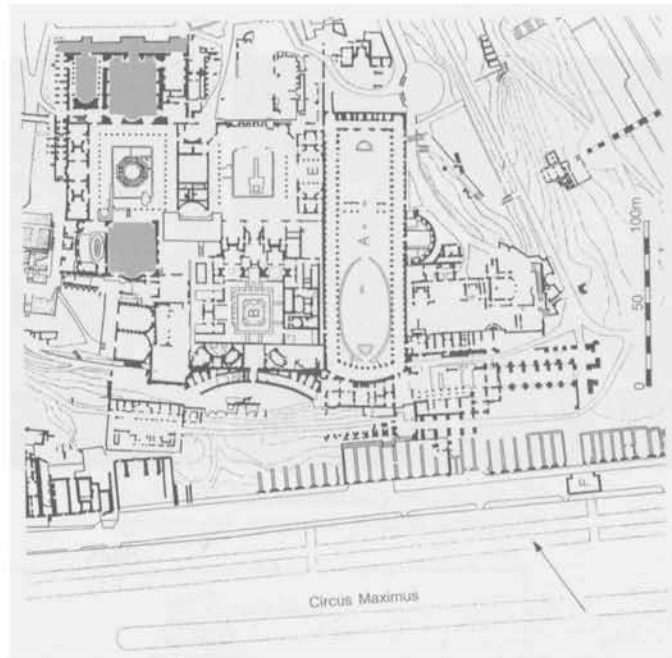
Fig. 90. Plan of Palace of Domitian, Palatine Hill, Rome; overlay by author showing main state apartments [from Bardill, 'Great Palace' fig. 3].
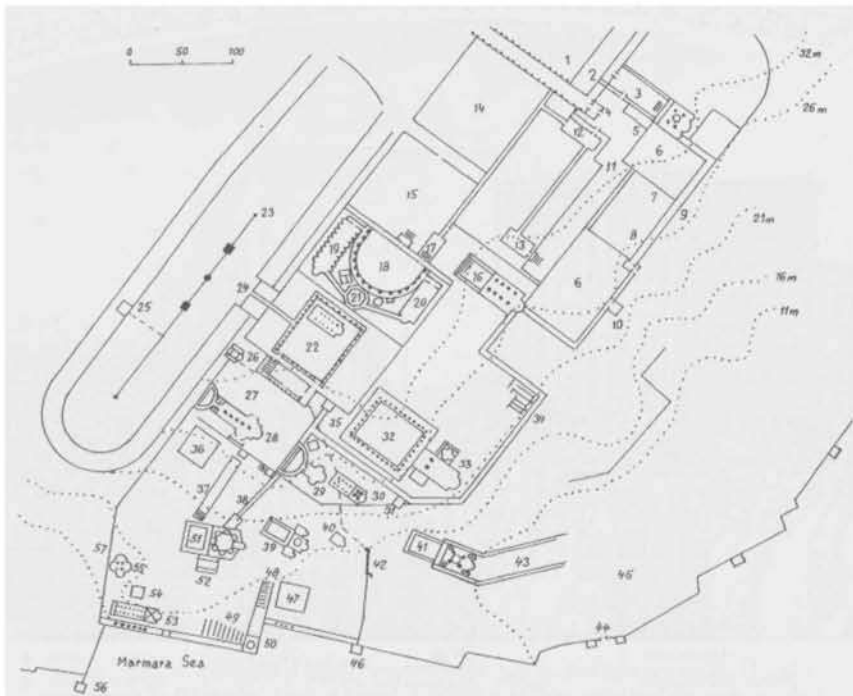
Fig. 91. Sketch plan of Great Palace [J. Kosteneç, 'The Heart of the Empire: The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors' *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire* ed. K.R. Dark (Oxford 2004) 8 fig. 1.1].

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Fig. 92. Mosaic representation of palace facade,
S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, 5th century.

Fig. 93. Representation of the 9th-century papal triclinium in the Lateran
Palace (demolished) depicted in a fresco located in the Vatican [R. Krautheimer,
Rome, Profile of a City 312–1308 (Princeton 1980) 121 fig. 93].

Fig. 94. Kythera and its geographical setting.

Fig. 95. The APKAS study area.
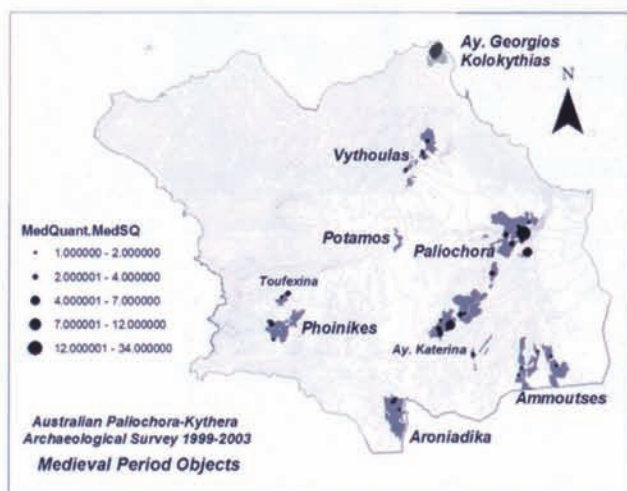
Fig. 96. Distribution of material of medieval date, contemporary with the efflorescence of Paliochora.

Fig. 97. Distribution of
material of Venetian date,
after the destruction of
Paliochora in 1537.

Fig. 98. Distrubution of
churches dated to prior to
1537 in APKAS study area.

Fig. 99. Distribution of
churches prior to 1200 in
APKAS study area.

Fig. 100. Distribution of
churches prior to 1300 in
APKAS study area.

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Fig. 101. Map of Macedonia.

Fig. 102. Map of the Pelagonian region in the Roman period.
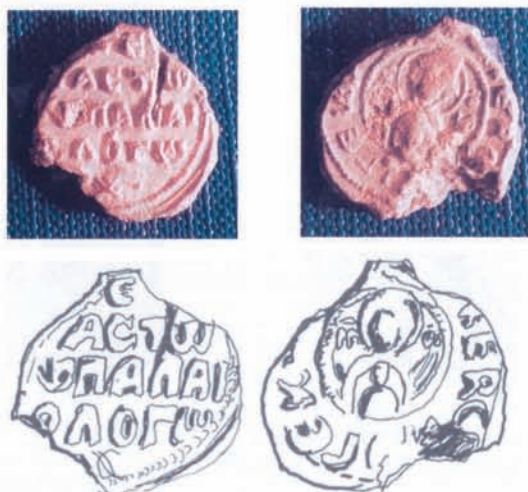
Fig. 103. Lead seal of the *Sebastos* George Palaiologos [A. Ristevski].
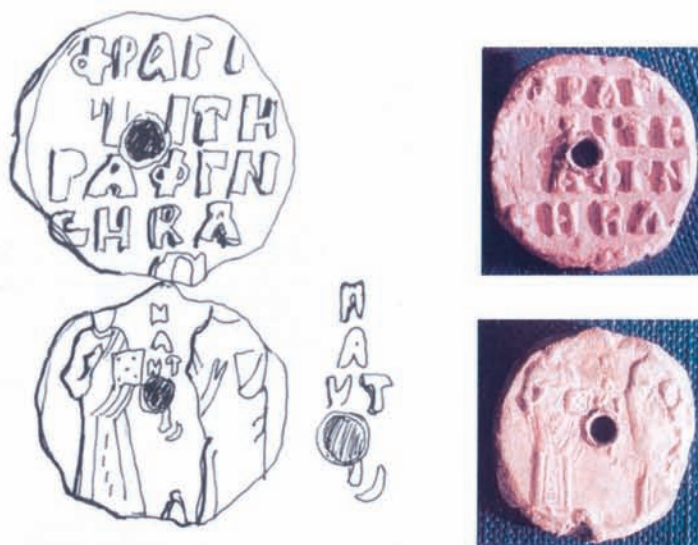
Fig. 104. Lead seal of Anonymous [A. Ristevski].
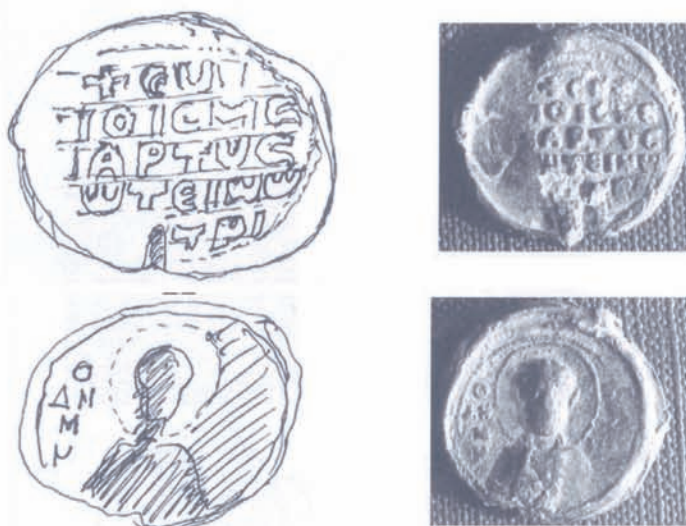
Fig. 105. Lead seal with St Demetrios [A. Ristevski].

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AASS *Acta Sanctorum* (71 vols Paris 1863–1940)

AB *Analecta Bollandiana*

ACO *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* ed. E. Schwartz (4 vols in 27 pts Berlin–Leipzig 1922–74); Series 2 ed. R. Riedinger (Berlin 1984–)

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AFrH *Archivum franciscanum historicum*

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AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*

AkadAthPr Πρακτικά 'Ακαδημίας 'Αθηνῶν

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Anon. Mercati Anon. *Mercati* ed. K. N. Cigtaar, 'Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais' *REB* 34 (1976) 211–67

ANRW Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt

Ant. Nov. Antony of Novgorod, *Kniga palomnik* ed. C. Loparev (St Petersburg 1899); M. Ehrhard, 'Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod' *Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65

AnthGr Anthologia Graeca tr. W.R. Paton, 'The Greek Anthology' (5 vols London 1917–18, rp. 1858–69)

AnzWien Anzeiger der [Österreichischen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse

AOC Archives de l'Orient chrétien

Apthonios, *Progymnasmata Aphthoniou Sophistou Progymnasmata* ed. Spengel, *RhetGr* 2:19–56

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ArsOr Ars Orientalis

ArtB Art Bulletin

ArtHist Art History

ASAE Annales du service antiquités de l'égypte

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Austral J A Australian Journal of Art

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BAR British Archaeological Reports

BAR Int.Ser. British Archaeological Reports, International Series

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BBBS   Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies

BBTT   Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations

BCM   Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art

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BEFAR   Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome

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BHAC   Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium

BHG   Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca ed. F. Halkin (3rd ed. 3 vols Brussels 1957)

Biblion Historikon   Dorotheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον Ἱστορικόν, Περιέχον ἐν Συνόψει Διαφόρους καὶ Ἐξόχους Ἱστορίας... (Venice 1631)

BIFAO   Le Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

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BMCR   Bryn Mawr Classical Review

BMGS   Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies

BMMA   Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

BNJ   Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher

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BSA   The Annual of the British School at Athens

BSAC   Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte

BSFE   Bulletin de la Société Francais d'Égyptologie

BSl   Byzantinoslavica

Buchthal, *Gospel Book*   H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of About
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BullJRylandsLib   Bulletin of the John Rylands Library

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Byz   Byzantion

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ByzAus   Byzantina Australiensia

ByzF   Byzantinische Forschungen

ByzMetabyz   Byzantina-Metabyzantina

ByzSt   Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines

ByzVindo   Byzantina Vindobonensia

BZ   Byzantinische Zeitschrift

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Canth   Current Anthropology

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CCSG   Corpus christianorum, Series graeca

CEB   Congrès international des Études Byzantines: Actes

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CETEDOC   Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin texts [electronic resource]: *CLCLT* (Turnhout 1991–)

CFHB   Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae

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ChHist   Church History

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CJ   Codex Iustinianus ed. P. Krüger (Berlin 1929)

ClAnt   Classical Antiquity

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CMH   Cambridge Medieval History

CNRS   Centre national de la recherche scientifique

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Coll. Avell.   Collectio Avellana

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CPh Classical Philology

CQ Classical Quarterly

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CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

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Diac Diacritics

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DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

DOS Dumbarton Oaks Studies

DOT Dumbarton Oaks Texts

Douk. *Ducas: Istoria Turco-Bizantină (1341–1462)* ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958); tr. H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit 1975)

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DSp *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*

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EO *Echos d'Orient*

Ἐπ.Ἐπ.Φιλ.Σχο.Ἀθη. *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*

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Er *Eranos*

EtSlR *Etudes slaves et roumaines*

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FM   Fontes minores

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   98

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GOTR   Greek Orthodox Theological Review

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Hesp   Hesperia

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HTh   History and Theory

HukSt   Harvard Ukrainian Studies

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HZ   Histo.ˈsche Zeitschrift

IEJ   Israel Eˈploration Journal

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    Giunta & A. Grillone, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia 117 (Rome 1991)

IstMitt   Istanbuler Mitteilungen

*Itineraries for the Year 2000   Itineraries for the Year 2000: Assisi: Art and History in the
    Centuries* (Terni 1999)

*IzvORJaS   Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk po otdeliniju russkago jazijka i
    slovesnnosti*

Jacopone   Jacopone da Todi: The Lauds tr. S. & E. Hughes (London 1982)

JAH   Journal of American History

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    siège de Constantinople et la patriarcat oecuménique* (Paris 1969)

JbAC   Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JbBM   Jahrbuch der berliner Museen

JBL   Journal of Biblical Literature

JEChrSt   Journal of Early Christian Studies

JECS Journal of Eastern Christian Studies

Jeffreys, 'Chroniclers' E. Jeffreys, 'The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers Towards Ancient History' *Byz* 49 (1979) 199–238

JEH Journal of Ecclesiastical History

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JFA Journal of Field Archaeology

JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies

JMA Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology

JMedHist Journal of Medieval History

JÖB Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

John of Sardis, *Commentarium Ioannis Sardiani Commentarium in Apththon.' Progymnasmata* ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1928)

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JRA Journal of Roman Archaeology

JRA Supp.Ser. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

Jsav Journal des Savants

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

Juckel, 'Introduction' A. Juckel, 'Introduction to the Harklean Text' *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions* ed. G.A. Kiraz (4 vols Piscataway 2004)

Jwarb Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes

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MGH *SS* Monumenta Germaniae historica *Scriptores*

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NMS *Nottingham Medieval Studies*

Norwich, *Byzantium* J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium* (3 vols London 1988–95)

NT *Novum Testamentum*

NTS *New Testament Studies*

OC *Oriens christianus*

OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta

OCD S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth, eds, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed. Oxford 1996, 3rd ed. corr. 1999)

ODB A.P. Kazhdan, A.-M. Talbot, A. Cutler et al., eds, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (3 vols New York 1991)

OECT Oxford Early Christian Texts

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PBE1 *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire*, vol. 1, *641–867* [CD–Rom] ed. J.R. Martindale (Aldershot 2001)

PBR *Patristic and Byzantine Review*

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PG Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (161 vols. in 166 pts. Paris 1857–66)

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PO Patrologia Orientalis

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PPres *Past and Present*

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ProcBrAc *Proceedings of the British Academy*

ProcCPS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

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RA *Revue archéologique*

RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1957–)

RACr *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*

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RDAC *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*

RE *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* ed. G. Wissowa [& W. Kroll] (new rev. ed. Stuttgart 1894–1978)

REArm *Revue des études arméniennes*

REB *Revue des études byzantines*

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REG *Revue des études grecques*

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RepKunstw *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*

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RM Relatio Motionis; Greek and Latin text *Scripta* 12–51; Greek ed. and tr. *Maximus* 49–73

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RQ Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte

RSBN Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici

RSBS Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi

RSR Revues des sciences religieuses

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SBS Studies in Byzantine Sigillography

SC   Sources chrétiennes

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SemKond   *Seminarium Kondakovianum*

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SosI   *Symbolae Osloenses*

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StMed *Studi Medievali*

Stor Art *Storia dell'Arte*

StP *Studia Patristica*

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SubsHag Subsidia hagiographica

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TAPS *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*

Theod.Mel. Theodosios Melissenos, *Chronographia* ed. T.L.F. Tafel *Monumenta Saecularia* (Munich 1859) 143–238

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ThLL *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (Leipzig 1900–)

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TM Travaux et mémoires

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VChr Vigiliae christianae

VCyrilPhil Βίος καὶ πολιτεία καὶ μερικὴ θαυμάτων διήγησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου τοῦ Φιλεώτου συγγραφεὶς παρὰ τοῦ ὁσίου Νικολάου τοῦ Κατασκεπηνοῦ ed. and tr. E. Sargologos, *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (†1110)*. SubsHag 39 (Brussels 1964)

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WbyzSt   Wiener byzantinistische Studien

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ZbLikUmet Zbornik za likovne umetnosti

ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gessellschaft

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Zkircheng Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte

Zkunstg Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte

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Zosim. *Zosimus: Historia nova* ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig 1887)

ZPE Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

ZRVI Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta. Srpska akademija nauk

ZThK Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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